GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

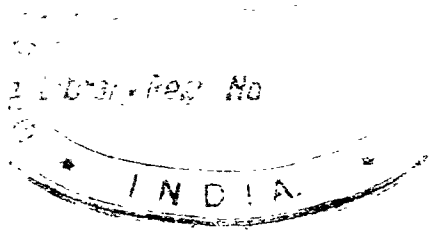
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

CENTRAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL LIBRARY

CALL NO. 891.05/B.S.O.S.

ACC. NO. 25161

D.G.A. 79
GIPN—S4—2D G. Arch. N. D./56.—25-9-58—1,00,000.


INDIA

BULLETIN

OF

THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES,

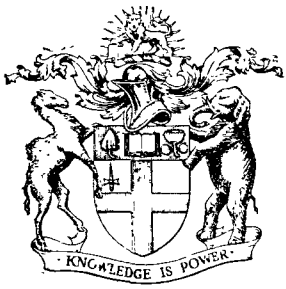
LONDON INSTITUTION.

BULLETIN

OF THE

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES, LONDON INSTITUTION

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY New Delhi



VOLUME II: 1921–23.

S91.05
B.S.O.S

A342

Published by

The School of Oriental Studies, London Institution,

Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2.

Agents: Messrs. LUZAC & Co., *46 Great Russell Street, W.C. 1.*

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.
Acc. No.....
Date.....
Call No.....

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, LTD
PRINTERS, HERTFORD

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II

PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

	PAGE
Bengali Phonetics. By S. K. Chatterji	1
On the Phonology of the Malay and Negrito Dialects spoken in the Malay States of Lower Siam. By R. J. Lloyd	27
Kadu and its Relatives. By Sir George A. Grierson	39
Turkana Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary. By Juxon Barton	43
On the interpretation of some passages in Al-Tha'alibi's "Ahsan ma Sami'tu". By C. A. Storey	75
Utendi wa Ayubu. Translation. By A. Werner	85
Ludovico Marracci. By Sir E. Denison Ross	117
Phonetic Transcriptions from Indian Languages. By S. K. Chatterji	177
The Religion of the Kurds. By G. R. Driver	197
The Formation of Modern Persian. By C. E. Wilson	215
Hausa Legend and Earth Pyramids. By H. R. Palmer	225
Khamriyyah (The Wine Song) of Shaykh 'Umar ibn al-Fārid, with translation by A. Sefi	235
Arabic Literature. By Shaykh M. H. 'Abd al-Raziq.	249
The Lotuko Language. By Lord Raglan	267
Utendi wa Ayubu. Translation (*cont.*). By A. Werner	297
,, ,, Notes. By A. Werner	347
Notes on Kimakonde. By Frederick Johnson	418
The Arab Invasion of Kashgar in A.D. 715. By H. A. R. Gibb	467
A British School of Indian Studies in India. By Dr. J. Ph. Vogel	475
Studies in Kurdish History. By G. R. Driver	491
The Manuscripts collected by William Marsden, with special reference to two copies of Almeida's "History of Ethiopia". By Sir E. Denison Ross	513
The Pronunciation of Urdu and Hindi. By Dr. T. Grahame Bailey	539
Two Indian Standards of the Eighteenth Century, with facsimiles and translations of tracings from Arabic Inscriptions. By Dr. T. Grahame Bailey	549

PAGE

The Lay of Brahma's Marriage: An Episode of the Alh-Khand. By Sir George A. Grierson 573

Two Parallel Anecdotes in Greek and Chinese. By Dr. Lionel Giles 609

Chinese Records of the Arabs in Central Asia. By H. A. R. Gibb 613

Text and Transliteration of Gramophone Records in Mandarin and Cantonese 623

Draxt-i-Asurīk. By Dr. J. M. Unvala 637

The Discovery of the Original Devanāgarī Text of the Christian Purāna of Thomas Stevens. By Dr. Justin E. Abbott . 679

A Dissertation on the Phonetics of the Zulu Language. By Clement M. Doke 685

Preliminary Report on the "Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais". By Jarl Charpentier 731

Arabic Literature since the beginning of the Nineteenth Century (*cont.*). By Shaykh M. H. 'Abd al-Raziq 755

An "Abyssinian" Vocabulary of the Seventeenth Century. By M. B. Gover 763

Almeida's "History of Ethiopia": Recovery of the Preliminary Matter. By Sir E. Denison Ross 783

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

W. H. Moreland. India at the Death of Akbar. By A. D. Innes 125

J. N. Farquhar. An Outline of the Religious Literature of India. By Dr. L. D. Barnett 128

Samuel A. B. Mercer. Ethiopic Grammar. By J. M. Harden 131

Sir George Grierson. Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. viii, pts. i and ii. By Dr. T. Grahame Bailey 134

James Tod. The Antiquities of Rajasthan. By H. E. A. Cotton 139

Nicol MacNicol. Psalms of Marāṭhā Saints. By W. Doderet 145

Otto Dempwolff. Die Lautentsprechungen der indonesischen Lippenlaute in einigen anderen austronesischen Südseesprachen. By C. O. Blagden 151

G. W. Briggs. The Chamārs. By H. E. A. Cotton . . 153

W. A. Crabtree. Manual of Luganda. By A. Werner . 158

Ernst Herzfeld. Am Tor von Asien. Felsdenkmale aus Irans Heldenzeit. By Sir T. W. Arnold 161

PAGE

JAMES CUNINGHAME GRANT DUFF. A History of the Mahrattas. By H. E. A. Cotton 321
Studia Semitica et Orientalia. By Sir T. W. Arnold. . 328
Studies in honor of Maurice Bloomfield. By L. de la Vallée Poussin 329
W. H. SALMON. An Account of the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt. By Sir E. Denison Ross 330
T. GRAHAME BAILEY. An English Punjabi Vocabulary of 5,800 words. By Jules Bloch 334
C. A. S. WILLIAMS. A Manual of Chinese Metaphor. By 瑞 336
J. J. DANNHOLZ. Im Banne des Geisterglaubens. By A. Werner 338
Mrs. LESLIE MILNE. An Elementary Palaung Grammar. By Sir George A. Grierson 339
F. E. KEAY. A History of Hindi Literature. By Dr. T. Grahame Bailey 555
J. N. CARPENTER. The Theology of Tulasi Das. By Dr. T. Grahame Bailey 556
EDWIN GREAVES. Hindi Grammar. By Dr. T. Grahame Bailey 557
Sir GEORGE GRIERSON. Linguistic Survey of India—Eranian Languages. By Dr. T. Grahame Bailey 558
EDWIN GREAVES. A Sketch of Hindi Literature. By Dr. T. Grahame Bailey 560
MAURICE DELAFOSSE. Les Noirs de l'Afrique. By A. Werner 561
G. BEYER. A Handbook of the Pedi (Transvaal Suto) Language. By A. Werner 563
E. B. H. GOODALL. Some Wemba Words: some Meanings and Explanations. By A. Werner 563
SURENDRANĀTH SEN. Śiva Chhatrapati. By W. Doderet . 564
ANANTAPRASAD BANERJI-SĀSTRĪ. Evolution of Māgadhī. By Sir George A. Grierson 805
JARL CHARPENTIER. Die Suparnasage. By Dr. L. D. Barnett 807
ERNST ARBMAN. Rudra—Inaugural Dissertation. By Dr. L. D. Barnett 807
The Vinaya-Pattrikā of Tulasī-Dāsa. With a commentary by Pandit Rāmêśvara Bhatta. By Sir George A. Grierson 810
ARNOLD W. HODSON and CRAVEN H. WALKER. An Elementary and Practical Grammar of the Galla or Oromo Language. By A. Werner 812

PAGE

FRIEDRICH SPELLENBERG. Die Sprache der Bo oder Bankon in Kamerun. By A. Werner 813

C. J. BENDER. Die Volksdichtung der Wakweli. By A. Werner 815

CLEMENT M. DOKE. The Grammar of the Lamba Language. By A. Werner 817

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER. Assyrian Grammar. By Theophilus G. Pinches 819

D. L. R. LORIMER. The Phonology of Bakhtiari, Badakhshani, and Madaglashti. By Dr. T. Grahame Bailey . . . 825

H. St. J. B. PHILBY. The Heart of Arabia. By Dr. D. S. Margoliouth 827

T. GRAHAME BAILEY. Linguistic Studies from the Himalaya. By Dr. F. W. Thomas. 829

NOTES AND QUERIES 163, 311, 567, 833

OBITUARY

Sir Charles Lyall 175

T. W. Rhys Davids 838

Note on the Transliteration of Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and Hindi 173

BULLETIN

OF THE

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
LONDON INSTITUTION

PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

BENGALI PHONETICS

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A.

A. THE SOUNDS OF BENGALI

§ 1. Bengali is spoken by over 48 millions of people, and naturally it has many dialects. These dialects range themselves into four main groups—Western, North Central, Northern, and Eastern (with a South-Eastern sub-group). The morphological differences between the four groups of dialects are slight, except in the case of the South-Eastern sub-group; but considerable divergences exist in sounds and phonology. These divergences, however, are not so great as to create mutual unintelligibility among speakers of Bengali in different parts of the country, except, perhaps, in the extreme east and south-east. The language which is commonly used in literature is a "high" dialect, which is composite in its inflections, although it is based mainly on West Bengali of several centuries ago. The grammar of this "high" Bengali—the *sādhu bhāṣā*, as it is called—is archaic, and explains most of the forms of the modern dialects as presenting the prototypes of these latter; but its pronunciation and intonation vary with the different dialectal areas.

§ 2. A study of Bengali phonetics, in order to be complete, must take into consideration the sounds of all the dialects. Such a task is beyond the scope of a short sketch like the following. Moreover, I cannot claim to possess enough knowledge of all the forms of spoken Bengali. Besides, in the study of the phonetics of a language, some dialect or other must be taken up as the basis or norm, even when the aim is to investigate historical or comparative phonology. I shall, therefore, take up one dialect

only—my own, which is that habitually spoken by the educated classes of Calcutta and of West Bengal generally. Like Southern English in Britain, this dialect is at present the dominant one, both in life and literature. It is understood all over the country; it has already become the speech of the educated people everywhere, modified, no doubt, by local pronunciation and intonation in varying degrees; the literary language has been profoundly influenced by it, so much so that present day literary Bengali is often nothing but the Calcutta colloquial, with only a few archaic inflections for the verb; it is freely used in literature, especially in poetry, drama, and fiction, and there is a strong body of writers who advocate the supersession of the old literary language by this living and vigorous form of spoken Bengali. Grammatically it is more advanced than most other dialects. Besides, it is the pronunciation of this dialect alone which is the recognized standard for the literary language. For these reasons, the standard colloquial of Calcutta is particularly suitable as a basis for the study of Bengali phonetics as well as morphology.

§ 3. In phonetic studies, whether general or of a special language, the letters of the alphabet of the *International Phonetic Association* alone should be used as symbols for speech-sounds. The International Phonetic Script is the only phonetic system of writing that is based on the most up-to-date scientific treatment of the subject; it has become within recent years the one recognized system to be employed in phonetic work, and has already become truly international by being used for languages of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Like the symbols for the elements in chemistry, the symbols for speech-sounds, the elements in spoken language, should be represented by the same letters, no matter what the language is; and the I.P.A. script alone of all existing phonetic scripts supplies the best possible symbols, under the present circumstances. As such, I would advocate the employment of these symbols (p, t, ʃ, ɔ, ɯ, etc.), even in works on phonetics written in languages such as Bengali, Tamil, Persian, or Japanese, which do not use the roman script, upon the basis of which the I.P.A. alphabet is built; just as every student of chemistry would insist on the employment of the symbols H, S, Na, K, etc., in a Bengali, Tamil, Persian, or Japanese book on that science.

§ 4. The principles as well as methods and terminology of the modern science of phonetics need not be recapitulated. These methods have been applied, so far, to three Indian languages—Panjabi (in Dr. T. Grahame Bailey's *Panjabi Phonetic Reader*, University of London Press, 1914), Sinhalese (in Messrs. H. S. Perera & Daniel Jones' *Colloquial Sinhalese Reader*, Manchester University Press, 1919), and Bengali. The I.P.A. alphabet has also been applied to some extent in recording the pronunciation of Tamil and Telugu, and of some of the languages of Burma. The late Dr. J. D. Anderson's paper on Bengali phonetics was published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* for 1917. I have expressed elsewhere (in the Calcutta *Modern Review* for January, 1918) some of my

views on Bengali phonetics and phonology. The present sketch is an attempt to record as accurately as possible the speech-sounds of the Bengali language as spoken by the educated classes, with a view to help foreigners to acquire a correct pronunciation of these speech-sounds by visualizing them, as well as to provide additional material in the study of general phonetics.

§ 5. The Bengali language has thirty-five essential "phonemes",[1] although the number of actual "speech-sounds" is greater. These are represented in the International Phonetic Script by the letters p, b, t, d, ʈ, ɖ, k, g, c͡ʃ, ɟ͡ʒ (or c, ɟ with a conventionalized value), m, n, ŋ, l, r, ɽ, s, ʃ, h, ŏ, ĕ, i, ĩ, e, ẽ, æ, æ̃, ɑ, ɑ̃, ɔ, ɔ̃, o, õ, u, ũ. To these may be added ꜰ, ʋ, f, v, z, ʌ: but these are non-essential sounds, although quite common; the first four occur as common substitutes for ph, bh̆, but they are not used by all speakers; z occurs mostly in foreign words, and occasionally as a variant of ɟ͡ʒ; and ʌ is sometimes found in borrowed words; but the use of ɟ͡ʒ for z, and of æ, ɑ, or ɔ for ʌ is quite normal.

§ 6. Several of these phonemes include more than one sound, e.g. the n phoneme, the ʃ phoneme, the l phoneme, the h phoneme.

§ 7. It would appear that the analysis of sounds as presented by the arrangement of the Indian alphabetic system (which referred to Indo-Aryan phonetics of several centuries B.C.) does not fully apply to Bengali, since Bengali sounds have developed a great deal, and the old Indian sound analysis, in spite of its wonderful scientific accuracy, is itself capable of restatement in the light of modern phonetics.

[1] "A *phone* or *speech-sound* is a sound of definite acoustic quality produced by the organs of speech. A given speech-sound is incapable of variation."

"A *phoneme* is a group of sounds which are related in character, and are such that no one of them ever occurs in the same position as any other in connected speech in a particular language."

Thus, l (front or "clear") and ɫ (back or "dark") are different speech-sounds, and to represent properly the South English words *let* and *well* in phonetic script we should write lɛt, wɛɫ. So *little*=litɫ. But, since in English l is not heard in positions where ɫ occurs, they are regarded as different forms of one l-*phoneme*. So, too, in Bengali, the l sounds in the words আল্‌তা *lac-dye* and উল্‌টা *upside down* are different—in the first instance the sound is dental, because it precedes a dental ত—*alta*, in the second, it is rather retroflex, occurring between the back vowel u and the retroflex ট—ulṭa. ɭ is not a sound which occurs in any other position in Bengali, and it and the more common "clear" l are members of one phoneme in Bengali. For practical purposes it is not necessary to represent in phonetic transcription *all* individual speech-sounds in a language, except where a very minute or comparative study is required, or where the different values of the same phoneme are based on complicated phonological laws which cannot be easily tackled by a foreigner. Otherwise quite a large number of symbols would be necessary for one single language. The most common and typical sound only of a phonemic group is generally adopted for visual symbolization by means of a letter: thus one l would do for both l and ɫ in English, and l and ɭ in Bengali. Ignoring l and ɭ pronunciation will not affect the meaning of the word, although a foreign speaker should try to pronounce them at the proper place.

§ 8. The sounds of standard colloquial Bengali can be arranged in tabular form as follows :—

CONSONANTS

	Bilabial	Dento-labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d				ṭ ḍ	k g	
Affricate					c͡ʃ ɟ͡ʒ				
Nasal	m			n				ŋ	
Lateral				l					
Flapped				r			ṛ		
Fricative	(ɸ ʋ)	(f ʋ)		s (z)	ʃ				ɦ (h)
Semivowel	ŏ					ĕ			

VOWELS

	Bilabial	Front	Central	Back
Close . .	[u]	i ĩ		u ũ
Half close .	[o]	e ẽ		o õ (ò)
Half open .	[ɔ]	æ æ̃	(ʌ)	ɔ ɔ̃
Open . .			ɑ ɑ̃	

THE CONSONANTS

§ 9. The voiceless plosives p t ṭ k are, unlike the ordinary English voiceless plosives, unaspirated—there is not the accompaniment of slightest breath in their pronunciation.

§ 10. Initial and final b d ḍ g are only slightly voiced, but full voicing occurs in intervocalic position.

§ 11. There is complete explosion of the first element of a plosive group like pt pṭ kt ṭk, etc. But where the same plosive occurs doubly, the first one is unexploded. In English, in a consonant nexus like kt pt tk gd, etc., the first element is not fully exploded, e.g. compare Bengali bʰokti ভক্তি *faith*, lɪpto লিপ্ত *smeared*, c͡ʃitkar চীৎকার *shout*, bagdi বাগ্‌দী *a caste*, with English *fact* fæk|t, *apt* æp|t, *begged* bɛg|d (the | indicating the absence of plosion in the k p g).

§ 12. p, b : pɑ: পা *foot*, ɔpɔr অপর *other*, pɑ:p পাপ *sin*; baba বাবা *father*, ʃi:b শিব *Śiva*.

§ 13. t d are true dentals, made by striking the point of the tongue against the back or the edge of the upper teeth. The tongue is fully spread out, as in pronouncing the English *th* = θ, ð. Examples—tɑ:p তাপ *heat*, pɑ:t পাত *leaf*, tɔto তত *so much*; dada দাদা *elder brother*, c͡ʃã:d চাঁদ *moon*.

§ 14. ṭ ḍ are slightly higher than the S. English alveolar t d, the point of articulation being just behind the teeth-ridge. They are therefore not the true retroflex sounds which are heard in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and perhaps Panjabi; they might be called "supra-alveolar" or "forward or pre-retroflex". The tip of the tongue, however, is just slightly curled up. ṭaka **টাকা** *rupee*, bɔṭe **বটে** *is indeed*, ʃa:ṭ **ষাট** *sixty*; ḍa:b **ডাব** *green coconut*, aḍḍa **আড্ডা** *rendezvous, club*.

ḍ final or intervocal, unless doubled in the latter case, becomes ṛ in Bengali.

The English alveolar sounds are ordinarily regarded by all Bengali speakers as equivalent to their ṭ ḍ, e.g. ṭebɪl **টেবিল** = *table* ṭʰeibɪl, ḍeputi **ডেপুটী** = *deputy*. The difference between the dental and retroflex sounds is of very great signific importance, e.g. pa:ṭ **পাট** *jute, fold*, and pa:t **পাত** *leaf*; ka:t **কাত** *awry*, and **কাট** ka:ṭ *cut*; ḍana **দানা** *grain, oats*, and ḍana **ডানা** *wing*.

§ 15. k g. Articulation as in English. Before front vowels articulation more forward, but not sufficiently to produce c, ɟ. ki: **কি** *what?*, bɔ:k **বক** *heron*; ga:c͡ʃh **গাছ** *tree*, ra:g **রাগ** *passion*.

§ 16. The affricates c͡ʃ ɟ͡ʒ are pronounced by the normally spread-out blade of the tongue well against the teeth-ridge where it commences from the hard palate. They are sounds in which the palatal plosive elements (c ɟ), produced at a rather forward position, are blended with ʃ ʒ glides. The English sounds of *ch j* = t͡ʃ d͡ʒ, are pronounced in the first instance by the tip of the tongue. c͡ʃ ɟ͡ʒ are acoustically very similar to t͡ʃ d͡ʒ and other similar alveolar affricates, but there is some difference in their production. There is no accompanying lip rounding which is present in the English sounds, except when the sound is emphasized. The Spanish *ch* is said to be a palato-alveolar sound like the Bengali c͡ʃ.

A Bengali speaker is accustomed to regard **চ জ** c͡ʃ ɟ͡ʒ as simple plosive sounds, since the palatal plosives c and ɟ do not occur in the language by themselves, and the old Indian system of phonetics and the graphic system based on it recognize only palatal plosives. In fact, in Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic and Sanskrit) the sounds were plosives—c ɟ, or even kj gj; in Middle and New Indo-Aryan they became corresponding affricates. The theory of affricates is a recent one; but that the sounds of the Bengali letters **চ ছ** are not simple "stops" can be shown by continuing the ʃ (or ʒ) glide, e.g. ma:c͡ʃʃʃʃ . . . **মাছ** *fish*, a:ɟ͡ʒʒʒ . . . **আজ** *to-day*. Old Indo-Aryan possessed the palatal plosives c ɟ when the sounds of Vedic (Sanskrit) were first studied by the ancient Indian grammarians: but these sounds later became affricates, and it is the affricate values that have mainly come down to the New Indo-Aryan languages. c͡ʃa: **চা** *tea*, ãc͡ʃol **আঁচল** *skirt, hem*, kã:c͡ʃ **কাঁচ, কাচ** *glass*; ɟ͡ʒa: **যা** *go*, raɟ͡ʒa **রাজা** *king*, ka:ɟ͡ʒ **কাজ, কায** *work*.

c and ɟ do not occur as phonemes in Bengali; as a matter of convenience, when only the phonetics of Bengali, without any reference to that of Sanskrit or Vedic (i.e. Old Indo-Aryan), is studied, c ɟ might be employed to represent the affricate sounds of c͡ʃ ɟ͡ʒ, as it has been done by Dr. Grahame Bailey in his *Panjabi Phonetic Reader*.[1] In this way the use of these cumbrous ligatures, which may not be found in every press, can be avoided.

§ 17. m. Fully voiced nasal. ma: মা *mother*, mama মামা *maternal uncle*, na:m নাম *name*. Intervocal m tends to pass into a nasalized ৩, and even to a mere nasalization of the contiguous vowels in quick speech: cf. § 31. An unvoiced m occurs in the exclamatory word হুঁঃ = hm̥̄h, pronounced m̥m, as in English.

§ 18. n. Ordinarily it is an alveolar sound. Before t d it is somewhat forward; before ṭ ḍ it is cerebralized, but acoustically that is not noticeable. na: না *no, not*, kanna কান্না *weeping*, ka:n কান *ear*, ɔnto অন্ত *end*, kɔnṭho কণ্ঠ *neck*.

§ 19. ŋ. As in English *sing*. Can occur intervocally, but does not occur initially, e.g. rɔ:ŋ রং, রঙ্গ *colour*, genitive rɔŋer রঙের, রঙ্গের.

§ 20. l. Ordinary clear l, as in English *long*. The dark variety, as in English *cycle*, is not heard in Bengali. Before retroflex sounds ṭ ḍ, l has a subsidiary retroflex value, e.g. phulṭi ফুল্‌টী *the flower*, but this need not be written by a special symbol, as it is found in no other position. The unvoiced l̥ is unknown. lekha লেখা *writing*, kɔla কলা *plantain*, la:l লাল *red*. In the speech of women and children and of the uneducated classes there is a tendency (noticed from early times, and now modified by education) to pronounce an n for an l, in initial positions. The reverse (change of n to l) is also to be noticed in the speech of the lower classes.

§ 21. r. It has two, or rather three, values. Initially it is an alveolar rolled r (with two or three taps of the tongue against the teeth-ridge); medially and finally it is just an alveolar flap. Before ṭ it has a slightly higher articulation. The genuine fricative ɹ is unknown, but a slightly fricative yet rolled r, not a flap, is sometimes the only one with some speakers. There is no unvoicing of r in Bengali. ri:n ঋণ *debt*, kɔra করা *to do*, ma:r মার *strike*.

§ 22. ṛ is a sound which cannot be called strictly a retroflex one. The tip of the tongue is curled up, and is brought near the point of articulation for ṭ ḍ, but is quickly made to move forward and strike against the teeth-ridge with the underneath side, and then lie flat; or, in other words, it is raised to the retroflex position and then made to fall flat, hitting the teeth-ridge with the underneath side on the way.

[1] Dr. Bailey, however, calls the Panjabi sounds plosives. They appeared to me acoustically to be identical with my Bengali sounds.

r and ɽ are distinct sounds in Bengali, and the distinction is retained in educated speech everywhere; e.g. pa:r পার *a going across* and pa:ɽ পাড় *border, bank*; ka:r কার *whose?* and ka:ɽ কাড় *snatch away!* But in certain class dialects in Calcutta and elsewhere, r and ɽ are confused: with the spread of education this is disappearing. In East Bengal, ɽ, except in a few localities, always becomes r.

ɽ never occurs initially in Bengali, or doubly. ha:ɽ হাড় *bone*, gaɽi গাড়ি *carriage*, paha̐ɽ পাহাড় *hill*.

§ 23. s. This is a rare phoneme in Bengali; it occurs in native words only before t d n l and r: ɔsto অস্ত *setting*, stha:n স্থান *place*, mesda, also mezda মেজদা *second elder brother*, sna:n স্নান *bath*, sli:l শ্লীল *decorous, genteel*, sri: শ্রী *prosperity, beauty*. s may occur also before p initially: spɔrdha̐ স্পর্দ্ধা *presumption*, sphurti স্ফূর্ত্তি *hilarity*. But ʃt ʃd (beside zd, and, with some, ʒd, but this is rare) ʃn ʃl and ʃr also occur; also ʃp. s may be regarded as a subsidiary member of the ʃ phoneme, and as such may be omitted from the list of essential phonemes. But s and ʃ serve to distinguish some words from each other, at least in the speech of some: although the feeling of the native speaker does not distinguish between s and ʃ ordinarily, in the standard colloquial form of Bengali. Thus: aʃto আস্‌ত *he used to come* and asto আস্ত *entire*, aʃte aʃte আস্‌তে আস্‌তে *while coming* and aste aste আস্তে আস্তে *slowly*; the verbal forms, however, may be pronounced with st, and the adjectival and adverbial words with ʃt. But since ʃ and s alone would distinguish words like above, the adoption of it as a distinct phoneme might be justified. In East Bengali s, corresponding to c͡ʃh ছ of West Bengali, forms a distinct phoneme.

s: occurs as an interjection as a variant of ʃ: in educated speech.

st of English becomes sṭ in the speech of those who know some English, and ʃṭ in that of ordinary people: maʃtar মাষ্টার *master* (sometimes maʃṭɔr মাষ্টর), 'iʃṭiʃɔn, 'eʃṭeʃɔn, 'sṭeʃan ষ্টেশন *station*.

§ 24. ʃ is without lip rounding; it is more forward than the English ʃ: ʃɔbiʃeʃ সবিশেষ *in detail*; ʃundɔr সুন্দর *handsome*; bɔrʃa বর্ষা *rains*.

Before ṭ, ʃ may be said to have a retroflex value, ʃ, but it is only a subsidiary form of the phoneme, which has no noticeably different acoustic quality. ʃ is the characteristic sound of Bengali when contrasted with other Indo-Aryan languages. Certain classes (Musalman working classes mainly) in Calcutta, through Upper Indian influence, use s for ʃ; this is avoided by the true Bengali speaker, and is as much a sign of vulgar speech as the dropping of h in words like *hall, hat, head* in English.

§ 25. ɦ (= ɦ). It is the voiced variety of the ordinary English h, which occurs in English in an intervocalic position, as in the words *behind, perhaps*. ɦ occurs in all positions, except finally after a vowel,

in Bengali, e.g. ĥa:t হাত *hand*, aĥa আহা *ah*, bĥa:r ভার *burden*, la:bĥ লাভ *gain*. An unvoiced variety, a subsidiary form of this phoneme, h, also occurs, after the voiceless stops to form the unvoiced aspirates ph th ṭh kh and c͡ʃh. In some interjections, in a final position, unvoiced h is also found, but the quality of the preceding vowel changes it to a fricative of the corresponding class, e.g. a:h আঃ, also a:x ; ih ইঃ, also iç, occurring also as ɪʃ:, ʃ: ইশ্ ; eh > eç: এঃ ; uh, oh উঃ, ওঃ, also uF oF, uf, of.

In English loan-words h becomes ĥ: 'ĥaiko(r)ṭ হাইকোর্ট *High Court*, etc.

In very quick speech intervocalic ĥ is unvoiced, or even dropped : ĥataĥati হাতাহাতি *a hand-to-hand fight*, also ĥataĥati, ĥataati.

Medial h, prevocal, and after m n l, is very unstable and is commonly dropped, except in careful speech, the preceding consonant being doubled by way of compensation : e.g. bramĥon, brammon ব্রাহ্মণ *a brahman*, c͡ʃinĥo, c͡ʃinno চিহ্ন *sign*, alĥad allad আহ্লাদ *joy*.

This phoneme may be represented by h, with the necessary convention that it is a voiced sound, occurring unvoiced in interjections and in unvoiced aspirates.

§ 26. The aspirates ph th ṭh kh c͡ʃh, bĥ dĥ ḍĥ gĥ ʒ̄ĥ are characteristic Indian sounds, and, as they have separate letters, to the average Indian they are simple sounds. The aspirated ṛĥ has hardly a place in modern Bengali phonetics, it being pronounced ṛ, except by some careful speakers in Sanskrit words like muṛĥo মূঢ় *fool*, gaṛĥo গাঢ় *deep*. This aspiration has great semantic value, e.g. pa:ṭ পাট *fold, jute* and pha:ṭ ফাট *crack* ; ka:t কাত *awry* and kha:t খাত *pit, trench* ; ta:l তাল *palm-fruit, time beat*, and tha:l থাল *plate* ; ba:r বার *day of the week, outside* and bĥa:r ভার *burden* ; ḍa:l ডাল *branch* and ḍĥa:l ঢাল *shield* ; c͡ʃa:l চাল *rice*, c͡ʃha:l ছাল *skin* ; ʒ̄ama জামা *coat*, ʒ̄ĥama ঝামা *charred brick*, etc.

§ 26*a*. There is, however, a strong tendency to deaspiration of aspirated consonants, especially in a medial or final position, in Bengali, and attempts to emphasize the aspiration in a *final* position would be looked upon as an affectation ; e.g. ĥa:t হাত *hand*, cf. Hindostani ĥa:th ; bã:dĥ বাঁধ *dyke*, also bã:d ; ma:ʒ̄(ĥ) মাঝ *middle* ; la:b(ĥ), also la:ভ, la:v লাভ *gain* ; dæ:k(h) দেখ্ *see* ; ba:g(ĥ) বাঘ *tiger* ; kɔc͡ʃ(h)e ক'চ্ছে *is doing*.

An aspirate when it occurs before another, or before the corresponding stop, loses its ĥ or h, as the case may be: e.g. rɔttɔla for rɔth-tɔla রথতলা *place where the car-festival is held* ; so kaṭ(h)ṭhokra কাঠঠোকরা *woodpecker*.

§ 27. ŏ. The sound of w (=consonantal ŭ) does not occur in Bengali, and groups like wu we wi wɔ can only be pronounced with difficulty

by Bengali speakers: attempt to pronounce wu will bring in the glottal stop, ʾu. we, wi, wɔ will give ŏe, ui, ɔ: or uɔ. The language has a consonantal ŏ which occurs only intervocally, mainly before ɑ, in native words, e.g. ĥɔŏɑ হওয়া *to be*, khɑŏɑ খাওয়া *to eat*, relŏe রেলওয়ে *railway*. This ŏ may be called the second element in a number of diphthongs (see § 48).

ŏ initially occurs in a few foreign words: ŏɑkɔph, ŏɑkɔF, ŏɑkɔf ওয়াকফ *Moslem religious trust property*, "*waqf*." -ŏ- was originally a glide; it can be dropped: ĥɔɑ হ্‌আ *to be*, khɑɑ খাআ *to eat*, etc. (see § 49).

§ 28. ĕ. This is the Bengali equivalent of j (=consonantal ĭ of English and other languages). The real fricative or semivowel j is unknown to Bengali, i being substituted for it. ji would become ʾi, je, ja, jo, ju would become ʾie, ʾiɑ, ʾio, ʾiu. e.g. Persian jɑ:r *friend* > Beng. ʾiɑr ইয়ার *boon companion*; ʾiorop, ʾiurop ইয়োরোপ, য়ুরোপ *Europe*. Medially ĕ is found between two ɑ's, e.g. mɑĕɑ মায়া *illusion, love* (not mɑjɑ or mɑiɑ), and between ɔ and ɑ: dɔĕɑ দয়া *pity*. Finally, it occurs after ɔ ɑ e æ o, forming the second part of diphthongs (see § 49).

Except in words borrowed newly from the Sanskrit, ĕ in native words is more of a glide origin than anything else.

In modern Bengali ĕ very frequently occurs between two vowels to avoid a hiatus in a breath-group: ʃeĕelo সে এলো *he came*, pɑr kɔroĕɑmɑre পার করে আমারে *make me cross over*, etc. Cf. the intrusion of r in English ðɪ aɪdɪərəvɪt *the idea of it*, ɪndɪərɔfɪs *India Office*, etc.

§ 29. z. As in English, with medium voice. Not a native sound in Bengali, i.e. it cannot be found as an original or essential sound in a single native word. Yet it has developed in a few words from ʃ͡ʒ or ʃ͡ʒh, e.g. ʃezdɑ সেজদা *third elder brother*, from ʃeʃ͡ʒ(ĥo)dɑdɑ; buzte (also buzte buste) বুঝতে *to understand*, from buʃ͡ʒĥ(ɪ)te. In a number of foreign names and words z occurs, but one can employ ʃ͡ʒ, or in certain cases s, in pronouncing them; but it would be regarded old-fashioned or uneducated to do so, especially in English and other European words not naturalized; e.g. nizɑm, niʃ͡ʒɑm নিজাম *the Nizam*, brezil, breʃ͡ʒil ব্রেজিল *Brazil*; ʃ͡ʒebĥiɑr, zebĥiɑr, zeʊiɑr, zeviɑr জেভিয়ার *Xavier*, etc.

z strictly should be regarded as a subsidiary value of the ʃ͡ʒ phoneme; but because it is a sound which is quite different in acoustic quality from the latter, and is quite common in educated speech, it is better to give it a place in the list of essential sounds in Bengali, although not a phoneme.

§ 30. f F, v ৬. The aspirate ph is pronounced very commonly as a dento-labial f, or as a bilabial F, but all speakers recognize ph to be

the "correct" sound, and careful speakers say ph. f ꜰ ph, all these three are in fact used by the same person; except that f seldom occurs initially, but in the speech of the younger generation of people in Calcutta, it (f) is fast becoming common. ꜰ and ph, especially the latter, are the sounds heard in the villages and among those who know no other language, e.g. phɔ:l, ꜰɔ:l or fɔ:l **ফল** *fruit*, prophullo, proꜰullo, profullo **প্রফুল্ল** *cheerful* (also *a name*). Final and intervocal ph tends to be deaspirated, hence we have hã:p, hã:ph **হাঁফ** *deep breath*, but very rarely hã:ꜰ or hã:f; but all the four in lafalafi, laꜰalaꜰi, laphalaphi, or lapalapi **লাফালাফি**, *leaping and jumping* afiʃ, aꜰiʃ, aphiʃ, apiʃ **আফিস, আপিস** = Eng. *office*.

v, ৬ are similarly used for bh. Effort to pronounce the full aspirate sometimes gives vh or ৬h. Initially, bh is more common than v or ৬. bhai **ভাই** *brother*, bhalo **ভাল** *good*. Medially, ʃobha, ʃo৬a, ʃova **সভা** *meeting, society*; obhibhabok, o৬i৬abok, ovivabok **অভিভাবক** *guardian*. Final bh is either deaspirated to b, or changed to ৬ or v, but rarely pronounced as a full-voiced aspirate: la:b, la:v, la:৬ **লাভ** *gain*, ʃulɔb, ʃulɔv, ʃulɔ৬ **সুলভ** *cheap*.

ph and bh should be used in phonetic transcriptions ordinarily, as f ꜰ and v ৬ pronunciations have not ousted the older aspirates, and as the aspirates are recognized to be the proper sounds, the best speakers avoiding the fricatives. For a foreigner to pronounce ph and bh initially and medially (see above, § 26*a*) would be perfectly proper, and no native speaker would notice anything un-Bengali, more so when in this matter the Bengali habit is capricious, and has not decided entirely for one of the three groups—ph bh, ꜰ ৬, or f v.

§ 31. In unstressed syllables intervocal b d g m have a tendency to become a sort of ৬ ð ɣ ৬, with very little audible friction, when words are pronounced carelessly; e.g. baba **বাবা** *father* = ba৬a, or even baða; cf. in the Calcutta slang ki৬a৬a, even kiða, for kibaba = *I say, old chap*; o৬i৬a৬ok = obhibhabok **অভিভাবক** *guardian*; dada **দাদা** *elder brother* = daða; kaɣoʃ **কাগজ** *paper*; mama **মামা** *uncle* = mã৬a. k intervocal in some words similarly becomes a voiced ɣ; and occasionally the spirants are elided: e.g. dada ṭhakur **দাদা ঠাকুর** *revered elder brother* (an address of respect to Brahmans among lower classes) becomes daðaṭhaɣur, with no friction in ð and ɣ, and even daaṭhaur. Compare dialectal (Eastern) Bengali hɔɔl, hɔ:l = hɔgɔl **হগল** *all* for ʃɔkɔl **সকল**. The dialect of Chittagong favours the spirantization and elision most, but in the standard language this spirantization is not universal.

§ 32. There is *regressive assimilation* when stops and aspirates of the same class occur side by side: e.g. æ:k gu:n > æggun **এক গুণ** *one fold*; me:gh koreC͡ʃhe > mekkoreC͡ʃhe **মেঘ ক'রেছে** *it's cloudy*; pã:C͡ʃ

ʃ͡ɟo:n > pãi̯ʃ͡ɟon **পাঁচ জন** *five people*; so kacc.alano for ka:ʃ͡ɟ- **কাজ চালান** *carrying on work*, ʃoppaŏa for ʃɔ:b- **সব পাওয়া** *get-all*, babbæṭa for ba:p- **বাপবেটা** *father and son*, ĥaddækha for ĥa:t- **হাত দেখা** *seeing one's palm*, etc. Assimilation by voicing or unvoicing when the consonants belong to different classes is rare, since the first stop in the group is fully exploded: e.g. adĥphoṭa **আধফোটা** *half-open bud*: c͡ʃãdpal **চাঁদপাল** *a name*; lokʃ͡ɟon **লোকজন** *people, attendants*; ĥaṭbaʃ͡ɟar **হাটবাজার** *market*; but it is found in a case like ubgar for upɔkar > up-gar **উপকার** *benefit*.

Progressive assimilation is rare, but it is sometimes found, e.g. ʃ͡ɟɔbdɔ **জব্দ** *punishment* from Pers. zʌbt (= ضبط).

z, however, as a foreign sound, becomes unvoiced before t and ṭ in the speech of many: buzte, buẓte, buste, also buzde **বুঝ্‌তে** *to understand* (from buʃ͡ɟĥite); kaẓṭa, kaẓṭa, kasṭa **কাজটা** *that work* (from ka:ʃ͡ɟ ṭa).

§ 33. Doubling of consonants, or, rather, their length, is significant; e.g. dibi **দিবি** *thou wilt give* and dib|bi, dibbi **দিব্বি** *oath* (also *handsome*) (= Skt. divjʌ *divine*); paṭa **পাতা** *leaf*, paṭṭa **পাত্তা** *trace* (a recent borrowing from Hindostani); aṭa **আটা** *flour*, aṭṭa **আট্‌টা** *eight ones, eight pieces*; c͡ʃɔkor **চকোর** *a bird*, c͡ʃɔkkor **চক্কর** *whirl, sea-sickness*; mala **মালা** *wreath*, malla **মাল্লা** *crew of a boat or ship*; kana **কানা, কাণা** *one-eyed, blind*, also *edge of a pot*, kanna **কান্না** *crying*; kãc͡ʃa **কাঁচা** *raw*, kãcc͡ʃa **কাঁচ্চা** *a weight*, etc.

The groups, a plosive followed by the same sound aspirated, like tth, kkh, ddĥ, etc., are very common.

The mark for indicating length is (:), and instead of doubling the consonants, as is the ordinary practice, it would be more scientific to mark them long: e.g. dib:i, pat:a, at:a, ɔk:or, kan:a, mal:a, kãc:ʃa. In the present paper, however, the old practice has been followed.

Before l r, a consonant is doubled: this doubling is not phonemic, but it may be written in transcriptions, e.g. ɔmmlo (ɔm:lo) **অম্ল** *sour*; bĥɔddro **ভদ্র** *gentle*; puttro **পুত্র** *son*; nɔmmro (nɔm:ro) **নম্র** *humble*, etc.

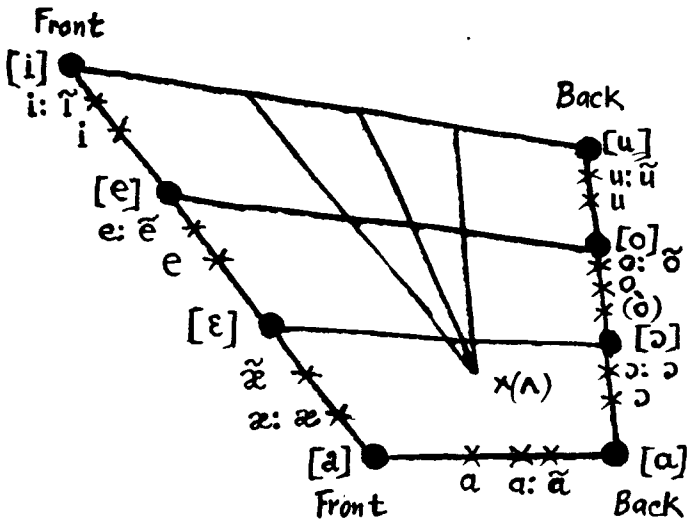
§ 34. Foreign sounds. This is how they are treated in Bengali: z = z or ʃ͡ɟ (or s, e.g. when in English words and names the original spelling has *s*); alveolar t d = retroflex ṭ ḍ; fricative ɹ = ordinary trilled and flapped r; t͡ʃ d͡ʒ = c͡ʃ ʃ͡ɟ: ʒ = z or ʃ͡ɟ; θ ð = th d; x = kh; g = g. f in foreign words is written by the letter **ফ** ph, and pronounced ph ꜰ or f; v is ordinarily written **ভ** bĥ, and pronounced indifferently bĥ, ৩, or v.

Vowels

§ 35. The formation of the Bengali vowels can be shown with greater precision by comparing them with the *Cardinal Vowels* in the

cardinal vowel figure, as below. The theory of the cardinal vowels is a very recent one in phonetics, and one familiar with the cardinal vowels will have no difficulty in making out the approximate values of the Bengali vowels in the vowel figure.

§ 35a. The cardinal vowels are sounds which have certain fixed and definite tongue positions as well as known acoustic qualities. Vowel sounds produced by certain tongue positions, high, low, or middle, front, back, or central, are taken as the standard, and the vowels of different languages are studied with reference to that standard. For a study of the question of cardinal vowels, see G. Noel-Armfield, *General Phonetics*, 2nd ed., 1919, Heffer, Cambridge; D. Jones, *Pronouncing English Dictionary*, 1917, Dent, London; and H. S. Perera & D. Jones, *Colloquial Sinhalese Reader*. The cardinal vowel figure has been used with the kind permission of Mr. Daniel Jones, who has systematically worked and established the idea.



Cardinal vowels [in square brackets], ●.
Bengali vowels (approximate positions), ×.
Bengali i tends to be slightly retracted from the cardinal position, and Bengali u to be slightly advanced, like Southern English ɪ and ʊ.

The tongue positions for the Bengali vowels in the above diagram are only approximate. Exact positions can only be determined by means of X-rays photographs of the mouth in articulating the sounds. The above are the seven (including ʌ, eight) vowels heard in educated speech.

§ 36. i:, i. Bengali i: (the long sound) is slightly lower than the cardinal sound. It is a pure vowel, not diphthongized as it frequently is in English.

The short i of Bengali is lower than the long one, about halfway or slightly below halfway between cardinal i and cardinal e. Short i in initial syllables very commonly tends to become e in the dialect of the city of Calcutta, e.g. bʰetor, c͡ʃhelo, petol, etc., for bʰitɔr ভিতর *within*, c͡ʃhilo ছিল *was, were*, pitol, pitɔl পিতল *brass*, etc.

Some people pronounce a long i: as only a lengthened form of the short vowel, without any difference in quality, i.e. without raising the tongue for the long sound.

Long i: ri:n ঋণ *debt*, ti:n তিন *three*, ri:t রীত *custom*; in reading aloud the literary language, words like moli:n মলিন *pale, dirty*, sthobi:r স্থবির *old*, etc.

Short i: diʃi দিশি *native, country-made* or *-born*; biliti বিলিতি *foreign*; didi দিদি *elder sister*; ĥiʒibiʒi হিজিবিজি *scrawls*, etc.

The emphatic particle i in words like tinii তিনিই *he indeed*, ʒaboi যাবোই *I shall go indeed* has a tongue position nearly as high as the long i:.

§ 37. Bengali e: is slightly higher than Bengali e, and Bengali e (short) is about halfway between cardinal e and ɛ. In the standard colloquial, e is carefully distinguished from æ, but in East Bengal ɛ is substituted for both ɛ and æ. c͡ʃɔle চলে *walks*, খেয়ে kheĕe (also khee, and in the pronunciation of some, kheĕe) *having eaten*, ĥēʃekēde হেঁসেকেঁদে *laughing and weeping*; ke:ʃ কেশ *hair*, be:t বেত *cane*, teʃṭa তেষ্টা *thirst*; onneʃɔn অন্বেষণ *search*; bekti ব্যক্তি *person*, kheti ক্ষতি *injury*.

§ 38. æ:, æ. Position a little above cardinal No. 4, somewhat lower than the Southern English sound of æ in mæn (*man*). Long æ: has mouth open wider than in the case of short æ. æ:k এক *one*, dæ:kh দেখ্, দ্যাখ্ *look thou*, tæ:g ত্যাগ *renunciation*, ottæc͡ʃar অত্যাচার *oppression*, biggæn বিজ্ঞান *science*, obbʰæʃ অভ্যাস *habit*, ĥottæ হত্যা *murder*, rokkhæ (commonly rokkhe in Calcutta) রক্ষা *preservation*.

ɑ is frequently heard for æ when it represents in the middle of a word Middle Bengali ɛɑ, written য়া (i.e. *-yā*), for Sanskrit -ja:: e.g. kollɑn, besides kollæn কল্যাণ *well-being*; ĥottɑ, ĥottæ হত্যা *murder*; rokkhɑ, rokkhæ রক্ষা *preservation* (from earlier rɔkkhɛɑ, Sanskrit kʃ becoming kkhj).

§ 39. ɛ is a sound rarely heard among speakers of standard Bengali, although it is common in East Bengal dialects, e.g. kɛ:n for kæno কেন *why*, tɛ:l for te:l তেল *oil*, dɛ:ʃ for de:ʃ দেশ *country*, ɛ:k for æ:k এক *one*. But the interjection of address, he হে *oh*, when used finally at the end of a sentence, is frequently ĥɛ; but this is not universal, ĥæ being pronounced by many: e.g. bɔloto ĥɛ or ĥæ বল তো হে *you say*,

here! dækho to hɛ or hæ **দেখতো হে** *look here!* hæ̃ hɛ or hæ (also he) **হাঁ হে** *I say!*

In English words like t͡ʃɛə(r), ʃɛə(r), kʰɛə(r) (*chair, share, care*), the ɛə diphthong becomes eɑr in Bengali: c͡ʃeɑr, ʃeɑr, keɑr.

§ 40. Bengali ɑ is a clear sound, halfway between the cardinal a and ɑ: mɑ̃:, mɑ: **মা** *mother*; bɑbɑ **বাবা** *father*; ɑmɑr **আমার** *my*; hɑ:t **হাত** *hand*; gɑ:c͡ʃh **গাছ** *tree*, etc.

In the "cockney" of Calcutta, ɑ in an initial syllable, with the syllable following having another ɑ, has a frontal pronounciation, that of the cardinal a, in a great many words, and this frontal value is commonly changed to a full æ. This is a characteristic of speech which is avoided by the best speakers. The modification ɑ > a > æ is not consistently carried out, but it is noteworthy that a large proportion of the words showing æ for ɑ have the vowel nasalized; e.g. kɑ̃tɑl > kæ̃ṭɑl **কাঁটাল** *jack fruit*, bɑ̃kɑ > bæ̃kɑ **বাঁকা** *crooked*, kɑ̃ʃɑri > kæ̃ʃɑri **কাঁসারী** *worker in bell metal*, ʃɑ̃khɑri > ʃæ̃khɑri **শাঁখারি** *worker in shells* (but ʃɑ̃khɑ **শাঁখা** *a conch shell* is rarely ʃæ̃khɑ, and kɑ̃ʃɑ **কাঁসা** *bell metal* is never kæ̃ʃɑ), kɑ̃kṛɑ > kæ̃kṛɑ **কাঁকড়া** *crab*, ṭɑkɑ > ṭækɑ **টাকা** *rupee*, etc., etc.

In the pronunciation of some, final ɑ tends to be raised to ʌ, but this is not common; the low ɑ is retained.

ɑ through the influence of a preceding i and u always becomes e and o. This change takes place through vowel-harmony, and is recognized in Bengali; e.g. binɑ > bine **বিনা, বিনে** *without*; ninɗɑ > ninde **নিন্দা, নিন্দে** *blame*; Persian xʌri:dɑ:r *buyer* > *khɔirdɑr, *khoiddɑr, khodder **খদ্দের**; puʒɑ > puʒo **পূজা, পূজো** *worship*; ʒutɑ > ʒuto **জুতা জুতো** *shoe*. Similarly, when there is æ in the preceding syllable, ɑ through vowel-harmony is fronted to a, but this is not noticed; e.g. bæbʃɑ > bæbʃa **ব্যবসা** *trade*; ækɑ > ækla **একলা** *alone*. This fronted a, approaching æ, is a subsidiary form of ɑ, and ordinarily it is not necessary to indicate it in phonetic transcription.

§ 41. ɔ short is slightly lower than the cardinal vowel ɔ, but considerably higher than the English sound in *not*. Ordinarily there is very little or no lip rounding, but long ɔ: has a certain amount of lip rounding, but not so much as in S. English ɔ:. With some among the best speakers of Bengali, ɔ tends to move forward towards ʌ. ɔ is the most characteristic vowel-sound in Bengali, distinguishing it, with the ʃ and b pronunciation of s and ৩ or w, from other Indian languages. A final ɔ at the end of a syllable or word becomes a very lax and open kind of o, and this may be written ɔ or o according to preference in individual pronunciation. This lax o may also be rendered by ò. The more common pronunciation among speakers of the standard colloquial is o. In reading a literary composition in prose or verse, however, ɔ or ò pronunciation is more common than o.

ʃɟɔ:l জল *water*, bɔ:r বর *bridegroom*, kɔtɔ, kɔtò কত *how much*, উপর upɔr (Calcutta cockney opor) উপর *above*, udɔĕ উদয় *rise*, ɔbɔʃɔnnɔ, ɔbòʃɔnnò অবসন্ন *tired*, ɔbɔʃʃɔ ɔbòʃʃò ɔboʃʃo অবশ্য *certainly*, ɔnɔbɔrɔtɔ ɔnòbɔrɔtò ɔnobɔroto অনবরত *continuously*.

The English short vowel in *not hot* has a guttural quality which is lacking in the Bengali ɔ, because the latter is pronounced with a higher position of the tongue.

§ 42. There is a half-distinct form of ɔ, which results from an attempt to slur a syllable containing ɔ in quick pronunciation. It is at the present day occasionally heard in rapid pronunciation of learned words which when fully enunciated will retain the ɔ, and in common words (which have already dropped the ɔ) when the latter occur in literary composition in high style with a too Sanskritized vocabulary. This indistinct sound may be written ˀ. gombĥirˀnadi gòmbĥirɔnadi গম্ভীর নাদী *deep sounding*; ʃagɔrˀtɔrɔŋgɔ সাগরতরঙ্গ *ocean billows*, ʧikurˀbĥa:r চিকুরভার *heavy tresses*; apˀnar আপনার *of self*; ʃutˀraŋ সুতরাং *therefore*, tarˀkeʃʃɔr তারকেশ্বর *Tarkeshwar* (a name), upˀkar উপকার *benefit*, amˀra আমরা *we*, dɔrˀan দরওয়ান (also dɔrōan) *gate-keeper*.

§ 43. The o phoneme in Bengali has three values: when it is long, it is a vowel of rather high quality, but slightly lower than the cardinal o; the lip rounding is not so great as in the case of the cardinal sound. Ordinary short o has a lower position than long o, perhaps a little above the middle point between cardinal o and ɔ. There is a third kind, a lax form of o, which may be written ò, slightly above the cardinal ɔ, and which occurs mainly as a modification of an ɔ in a final syllable—in fact, which is a sort of ɔ tending to become an o. Ordinarily, a single letter, o, would be enough for the three varieties. ò is an extremely volatile sound, and no definite rule can be laid down as to its occurrence. e.g.: ro:g রোগ *illness*; bo:n বোন *sister*, বন *forest*; ro:ʃɟ রোজ *day, every day*; ʃɟo:m যম *Yama (the God of Death)*; ʃɔroʃɟ সরোজ *the lake-born (=lotus)*; oti অতি *much*; ponero, ponerò পনের *fifteen*; loĥa লোহা *iron*; boʃɟĥa বোঝা *load*; kolu কলু *oilman*; biog বিয়োগ *subtraction, loss*.

§ 44. u: and u present a parallel to i: and i; du:r দূর *distant*, bĥu:t ভূত *ghost*, bĥutɔ, bĥutò ভূত *past*, ku:p কূপ *well*, ru:p রূপ *beauty*, ʃadĥu সাধু *good, honest*; nupur নূপুর *anklet*, mukuṭ মুকুট *crown*, kukur কুকুর *dog*, dĥonuk ধনুক *bow*, boʃu বসু *wealth* (*a surname=Bose*). u short interchanges with o in a few words, especially through laws of vowel harmony, e.g. ʃoĕ শোয় *he lies down*, but ʃu-e শুয়ে *having lain* from ʃuia শুইয়া; gona গোণা *counting*; but guni গুণি *I count*.

u: has no tendency towards diphthongization.

§ 45. ʌ, as in English, Hindostani, etc., occurs in a few foreign words. English ə becomes ʌ when any attempt is made to pronounce in the English way. ʌ is not universal in Bengali, in fact, it is distinctly a foreign sound; ɔ, ɑ, and occasionally æ are substituted for it. bʌs, also bɑs, bæs (with ʃ as well) **বাস্ বস্** *enough!*; sʌr, sɔr, sɑr, sær **সর্, সর, সার, সার** *Sir.*

§ 46. Nasalized vowels. All the seven vowels of Bengali, i e æ ɑ ɔ o u, can be nasalized, and thus we have seven more phonemes—ĩ ẽ æ̃ ɑ̃ ɔ̃ õ ũ. A vowel preceded or followed by a nasal generally has a slight nasalization; and this nasalization by contact need not be represented. In the speech of some, however, this nasalization by contact is not present. Nasalized vowels have higher tongue position than the simple ones: ɑ̃ has more backward a tongue position than ɑ: or ɑ. e.g. pĩṛɑ, pĩṛe **পিঁড়া, পিঁড়ে** *a wooden board to sit on*; kẽde **কেঁদে** *having wept*; pæ̃:ʧ **পেঁচ** *turning, screwing*; pɑ̃:ʧ **পাঁচ** *five*; ʃɔ̃pɑ **সঁপা** *surrendering*; ʃɔ̃ron **স্মরণ** *remembrance*; ṭhõ:ṭ **ঠোঁট** *lip*; kũ:ʧ **কুঁচ** *a red berry.*

§ 47. Bengali vowels generally are pronounced in a lax way. This laxness of enunciation gives the Bengali vowel-system its characteristic *timbre*, when contrasted with ordinary educated Southern English or Panjabi or Hindostani.

§ 48. The vowels i e ɑ o u can occur twice within the same word, side by side: tinii **তিনিই** *he indeed*; khee **খেয়ে** *having eaten*; khɑɑ **খাআ** *eating*: bolboo **ব'ল্‌বো ও** *and I shall say*; kuu **কুউ** onomatopoetic—*cry of the cuckoo.* An ĕ glide is usually intruded between two e's, and an ŏ glide between two ɑ's, but it is not essential.

§ 49. The Bengali system of writing, which is that of Sanskrit, recognizes only two diphthongs—oi ঐ and ou ঔ. But the number of diphthong (and triphthong) sounds actually found in the language is remarkably large. These are mostly *falling* diphthongs, the stress being on the first element. But a few of them can be called *rising* ones. In deliberate speech, it is quite possible to pronounce the diphthongs either as *level* ones, or as two syllables; the latter thing would be encouraged by the spelling. But in ordinary speech of sufficient rapidity the sounds are nothing but diphthongs, of which the unstressed part is a consonantal vowel.

When the two vowels do not form a diphthong, a hyphen may be employed between the vowels to indicate that they form two syllables.

ie: gie **গিয়ে** *having gone*; a rising variety also makes the syllable ultimately ge **গে** < gĭe, gje.

iɑ: iɑr **ইয়ার** *boon companion*: eʃiɑ **এসিয়া** *Asia.*

io: dio **দিও** *give* (precative future), iorop **ইয়োরোপ** *Europe.*

iu: ʃiuli **শিউলি** *a flower.*

ei: nei নেই *is not*, also *indulgence, affection.*

ea: ʧear চেয়ার *chair.* In some words like beala বেয়ালা বেহালা *violin*, it becomes æe, bæela.

eo: ʃ̃eo যেও *go* (future precative). Cf. *Mayo Hospital* = meo hãʃpatal.

eu: keu কেউ *somebody.*

æe: dæe দেয় *gives.*

æo: dæor দেওর, দেবর *husband's younger brother*, kæot কেওট *a caste*; bæora বেওরা *affair* (slang).

ai: bhai ভাই *brother.*

ae: khae খায় *eats*, paera (paĕra) পায়রা *pigeon.*

ao: dao দাও *give.*

au: lau লাউ *gourd.*

ɔe: hɔe হয় *is, are*; bhɔe ভয় *fear*; bɔeʃ বয়স *age.*

ɔa: ʃɔa সআ, সওয়া, সহা *endure*, bɔate বআটে *loafer.*

ɔo: hɔo হও *be.*

oi: boi বই *book*, doi দই *curds.*

oe: doe দোয় *milks*, noe নোয় *bends*, koe (also ko-e) ক'য়ে *having spoken*; occasionally heard as a rising diphthong.

oa: koaʃa কোয়াসা *mist*, doat (also do:t) দোয়াত (দোত) *inkpot.*

ou: bou বউ, বৌ (*newly-wed*) *wife*; douṛ দৌড় *run.*

ui: ʃ̃ũi জুঁই *jasmine*, dui দুই *I milk*, two; uil উইল *will*, huil হুইল *wheel* (in fishing) (the last two are English words).

ue: dhue ধুয়ে *having washed*, ʃue শুয়ে *having lain, lying*; a rising diphthong frequently.

ua: duar (also do:r) দুয়ার, দ্বার *door*; ʃ̃ua জুয়া *gambling*; rather a rare diphthong in the Calcutta dialect, frequently changed to uo, o.

uo: dhuo ধুয়ো *burden of a song*, kuo কুয়ো *well*; a rising diphthong originating from the preceding, which is frequently simplified to o:.

§ 50. The above twenty-five diphthongs can have nasalized forms, the first element being always the one to have nasalization.

§ 51. In addition to the diphthongs, the following triphthongal combinations are found in native words: iei, ieo, iae, eie, eio, eao, eoi, euo, æei, æoi, aie, aio, aei, aoi, aui, ɔei, ɔoi, ɔeo, oie, oei, oeo, oai, oae, oui, uie, uio, uei, ueo, uae, uao, uoe. Some of these are frankly two syllables, others are compressed into one.

§ 52. In the following tetraphthongal groups, eoai, eoae, aoai, aoae, oaio, we have two diphthongs really, the push on the a giving a division of the group into two parts. The groups ɔoaio, aoaio similarly are ɔŏ-ai-o, aŏ-ai-o.

Sound Attributes

Length

§ 53. Length of consonants, commonly described as "doubling", has been treated in § 33. A consonant can also be lengthened or doubled in some cases, when the word is emphasized: e.g. ʃɔkol **সকল** *all*, also ʃɔkkol; ʃɔbai **সবাই** *everybody*, also ʃɔbbai; kiʧhu **কিছু** *a little*, also kiccʃhu. This doubling is represented in writing in Bengali.

§ 54. On the other hand, length is not a significant sound attribute for vowels. Quantity of Bengali vowels depends on the rhythm of the sense group. Except in the case of Sanskrit words, quantity is not consistently indicated in Bengali orthography. Vowel quantity is an extremely baffling thing, and there are various shades of length, but ordinarily three are recognized, long (:), half-long (·), and short. Except ʌ, all Bengali vowels can have all the three quantities.

§ 55. Spoken Bengali has also a characteristic habit which I have called *bimorism* or *dimetrism* (*dvi-mātrika-tā*). Isolated words tend to take up a standardized time-beat or *mora* (space of time). A normal Bengali word takes two time-beats, or units of time, or *moræ*. Words of three *moræ* are also common. In case of monosyllabic words, there is a lengthening of the syllable; and polysyllables are cut short or divided into groups of syllables which take each the normalized length of time. e.g. kɔ: **ক** *k* (2 *moræ*, with rather long stop for *k*), kɔkar **ককার** *the letter k* (¾+1¼ *moræ*), ɔpra-ʃʃite for ɔpɔraʃʃita **অপরাজিতা** *a flower*, etc.

§ 55*a*. Monosyllabic words pronounced as separate words always have the vowel long: e.g. kɔ: **ক** *the letter k*; ti:n **তিন** *three*; ke: **কে** *who?*; æ:k **এক** *one*; ka:r **কার** *whose*; phɔ:l **ফল** *fruit*; ʃʃhɔ:l **ঝোল** *soup*; ru:p **রূপ** *form, beauty*. Foreign monosyllabic words naturalized obtain the long quantity in Bengali; e.g. Pers. gul *flower* > gu:l **গুল**; English fʊt *foot* > phu:t **ফুট**; tʰɪn *tin* > ṭi:n **টিন**; wʊl *wool* > u:l **উল**. When these monosyllables occur in a sense group, in composition or otherwise, the long quantity is curtailed; e.g. tinṭi **তিনটী** *three pieces*; rup-kɔtha **রূপকথা** *fairy tale*; du-phuṭ **দুফুট** *two-foot*; ul-bona **উলবোনা** *to knit wool*; ṭin-mistri **টিনমিস্ত্রী** *tin-worker*.

§ 56. It has been found out from kymographic mouth-tracings that in disyllabic and polysyllabic words and sense groups like 'ekṭi **একটী** *one piece*, 'pata **পাতা** *leaf*, 'paka **পাকা** *ripe*, bagda **বাগ্‌দা** *prawn*, 'manot **মানত** *vow*, 'ʧɔndɔn **চন্দন** *sandal*, 'bonduk **বন্দুক** *musket*, 'dek(h)te **দেখ্‌তে** *to see*, dib'bendro **দিবেন্দ্র** *a name*, 'kɔtokṭa **কতকটা** *a little*, 'tɔktaṭa **তক্তাটা** *that plank*, 'kæmon-aʧhen **কেমন আছেন** *how do you do?*, 'ami-debo **আমি দেবো** *I shall give*, 'ʃe-elo **সে এল** *he came*, etc., the final vowels, although not stressed, are invariably longer than those

preceding. The length of these final syllables is not so great as that of an isolated monosyllable, and they can as such be described as half-long.

§ 57. Long and half-long quantity may be indicated in isolated words, but it is extremely difficult to determine the exact quantity of words in connected speech in a sense group. When there is no doubt, length or half-length may be indicated, but the best thing would be to omit length marks and to divide the sentence into portions by vertical lines | and ‖, indicating sense groups, the double line expressing a slight pause. Stress also may be expressed where it is pronounced. General rhythm of the sentence, which is based on the speaker's emotion, comes into play in adjusting the lengths of the different syllables in a sense group, and high pitch of voice is accompanied by long quantity.

Stress

§ 58. Stress (denoted by ′ before the syllable which bears it) is not significant, i.e. presence or absence of it does not alter the sense of a word. In Standard Bengali, stress is dominantly initial. Word-stress is always subsidiary to sentence-stress; and this sentence-stress is always on the initial syllable of the first important word in a sense group. The stress on individual words comprising a sense group is sacrificed, the initial syllable in the first important word being the only one that retains its stress. A Bengali sense group, viewed from the standpoint of stress, has been compared to a railway train, the first stressed syllable being the one which draws the rest. Normal Bengali versification is based on this principle of division of the sentence into sense groups with strong initial stress. But this is changed in giving emphasis to a particular word. In learned as well as common words from Sanskrit, the root syllable generally has stress (and length), to the exclusion of the prefix —a state of things which is out of harmony with the native Bengali habit of initial stresses. Examples: ʃɔ′ti:ndrɔ **যতীন্দ্র** *a name* (familiarly ′ʃɔti:n); ɔpɔ′ra:ʃita **অপরাজিতা** *unconquered* (colloquially ′ɔpraʃite *the name of a flower*); a′ra:dʰɔna **আরাধনা** *adoration*; ɔp′pra·ʧurʃɔ or ɔppra′ʧu:rʃɔ **অপ্রাচুর্য** *paucity*; bi′be:k **বিবেক** *conscience*; ɔ′ne:k **অনেক** *much, many*; ɔ′tu:l **অতুল** *incomparable* (but ′otul as *a name*); onu′ra:g **অনুরাগ** *affection*; ɔ′boʃʃo **অবশ্য** *certainly* (colloquially ′obiʃʃi, ′obbiʃʃi).

§ 59. Pronominal words, conjunctions, and other particles, as a rule, are not stressed even when they begin a sense group; also auxiliaries in compound verbs. An adjective which precedes its noun takes the stress, the following noun generally losing it.

§ 60. In spite of the literary influence of Sanskrit noted above, stress in Bengali is initial, and phrasal accent is the dominant thing in connected speech. This initial stress has given rise to umlaut and vowel harmony on a very large scale in modern spoken Bengali; these properly come under Bengali Phonology. As in English and French and other

languages, polysynthetic expressions as a result of slurring of unstressed syllables abound in Bengali: e.g. 'æddin অদ্দিন for æto din এত দিন *such a long time* (lit. *so many days*); 'ʄɜaccʃhetai যাচ্ছেতাই *very bad*, for যাহা ইচ্ছা তাই ʄɜaĥa iccʃha tai *as one would wish, most wilful*: 'koʃʄɜaccʃo 'কোজ্জাচ্চ' *where are you going?*, for kotha ʄɜaitecʃhɔ কোথা যাইতেছ; ʄɜægge যাজ্ঞে *as you command*, for ʄɜe aggĕã যে আজ্ঞা, etc.

§ 61. Sentence rhythm in colloquial Bengali is extremely varied and picturesque, there being the musical quality of speech—pitch—always present. But in the literary language when it is read out, there is an approximately equal interval of time for the various sense groups with the strong initial phrase stress, which gives rise to a certain rhythmic quality to a Bengali line, e.g. the opening line of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagara's *Sītār Banabās*: 'ra:m 'ra:ʄpɔde | 'protiʃthitɔ ĥoia 'ɔpprɔtiĥɔtɔ bĥabe | 'raʃʄɔ ʃa:ʃon | 'korite lagile:n রাম রাজপদে প্রতিষ্ঠিত হইয়া অপ্রতিহতভাবে রাজ্যশাসন করিতে লাগিলেন *Rāma, established in the dignity of kingship, began to rule the kingdom without any obstruction*; or, from the same writer's *Kathāmālā*, in a simpler style: 'ekɔda | '(ĕ)æk | 'bagher gɔlaĕ | 'ĥa:ṛ phuṭia|-cʃhilɔ | একদা এক বাঘের গলায় হাড় ফুটিয়াছিল *Once a bone got stuck within the throat of a tiger.*

Intonation

§ 62. Intonation or pitch of voice is not a significant element of speech in Bengali. In one or two isolated cases, however, intonation has a signific value; such cases of words having different meanings owing to difference in intonation are the two syllables m (sometimes written ঁ, i.e. ũ), and ĥã হাঁ *yes*; e.g.

'm with high rising tone, indicates a query. So 'ĥã = *yes*?

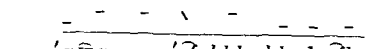
ˊm with mid rising tone, with abrupt ending, indicates annoyance or disgust.

ˎm with low falling tone = the English expression *I see.*

ˇm with mid fall-rise tone = *yes, it may be so, but—.*

ˆm: with high falling tone = *very well, I shall see* (threatening, used jocosely or seriously).

§ 63. But in a sentence intonation is a highly expressive speech attribute in the language, possibly to a greater extent than in English. The laws of intonation in the Bengali sentence have not been studied at all, but the following sentences are given as illustrative of Bengali intonation. These are taken at random from Girish Chandra Ghosh's drama *Bilwamangal*:—

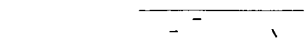


'aʄɜama:r 'cʃokkhukhulecʃhe!

আজ আমার চক্ষু খুলেছে! *To-day my eyes have opened.*

'tuikikore 'ʄanli ? or tui'ki·kore 'ʄanli

তুই কি ক'রে জান্‌লি ? *How did you know ?*



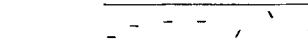
c͡ʃheleṭi ma·bolle

ছেলেটি মা ব'ল্‌লে *The little boy called "Mother !"*



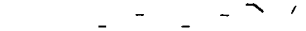
aĥa, 'ki ʃundɔ:r

আহা, কি সুন্দর! *Ah, how beautiful !*



'ʃebina(ĕ)ar'neima·nei

সে বিনা আর নেই মা নেই । *There's none else but he, none, mother !*



tomar 'ʃamike·ma: ?

তোমার স্বামী কে মা ? *Who is your husband, little mother ?*



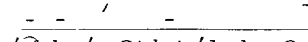
'goṭakɔtɔk'ṭaka(ĕ)eno

গোটা কতক টাকা এনো *You will bring some rupees.*



'bæbʃaṭa ʃiggir 'ʄombe

ব্যবসাটা শীগ্‌গির জ'ম্‌বে *The business will flourish quickly.*



'c͡ʃɔlo, 'a:ʄi brin'da:bonʄattra kori

চল, আজই বৃন্দাবন যাত্রা করি *Come, let's start for Brindaban even to-day.*



'kæno bhai ? 'ækla kæno bhai ? 'amiʄe tomar'ʃɔŋgeroec͡ʃhi'bhai ?

কেন ভাই ? একলা কেন, ভাই ? আমি যে তোমার সঙ্গে র'য়েছি ভাই ?

Why, brother ? why alone, brother ? Here am I in your company, brother !

§ 64. I conclude this sketch of the phonetics of Modern Bengali by giving the transcription of a connected text. I give a short prose poem (reproduced and translated with the kind permission of the author) by the greatest writer of Bengali, Rabindranath Tagore ; it was published in the

Sabuj Patra for Bhādra and Āshwin, Bengali year 1326. ĥ h have been used; h might be used for both. Also ò has been employed: o would do ordinarily.

kothika

'phõṭa phõṭa 'briʃṭi ĥoe (ĕ)akaʃer | 'megĥ name, | —'maṭir kaC͡ʃhe 'dĥɔra debe bole. | temni 'kotha theke 'meĕera (ĕ)aʃe | 'prithibite 'bãdĥa poṛte.

'tader ʒonnò 'ɔlpò ʒaĕgar 'ʃɔgɔt, | 'ɔlpò manuʃer. 'oiṭukur moddĥe (ĕ)apnar 'ʃɔ·bṭake 'dĥɔranò C͡ʃai —apnar 'ʃɔ:b kɔtha, | 'ʃɔ:b 'bætha, | 'ʃɔ:b bĥab(ɔ)na. 'tai tader 'mathaĕ 'kapòṛ, 'ĥate 'kãkòn, 'aŋinaĕ 'bæṛa. 'meĕera ĥolo 'ʃima(ʃ) ʃɔrger 'in·drani.

kɪntu | 'ko:n deb(o)tar | 'koutuk(ɔ)ĥaʃʃer motò | ɔporimitò 'C͡ʃɔnC͡ʃòlòta nie(ĕ)amader 'paṛaĕ oi 'C͡ʃhoto me(ĕ)eṭir 'ʒɔnmò? | 'ma take rege bɔle "'doʃʃi", 'ba:p take ĥeʃe bɔle | "'pagli".

ʃe pɔ'la:tɔka 'ʒĥɔrnar 'ʒɔ:l, 'ʃaʃɔner pathòr 'ḍiŋie C͡ʃɔle. tar 'monṭi ʒænò | 'benuboner 'upɔr ḍaler 'pata, keboli 'ʒĥir ʒĥir kore 'kãpC͡ʃe.

'aʃʒ dekhi | ʃei 'durònto me(ĕ)eṭi 'barandaĕ 'reliŋe 'bĥɔ·rdie 'C͡ʃupkore 'dãṛie | —badòl ʃeʃer 'indrò dĥonuṭi bollei 'ĥoĕ. | tar 'bɔṛò bɔṛò duṭi | 'kalo 'eʃo:kh aʃʒ ɔ'C͡ʃɔnC͡ʃɔ·l, 'tɔmaler ḍale 'briʃṭir dine 'ḍanabĥeʒa 'pakĥir motò.

* * * * * *

'kiC͡ʃhu dɪn age 'rouddre:r 'ʃaʃòn C͡ʃhilò 'prokhɔr; | 'digɔnter mu:kh 'bibɔrnò ; 'gaC͡ʃher ĥɔ'taʃʃa·ʃ patagulo 'ʃukie 'ĥolde ĥoe gæC͡ʃhe.

'æmon ʃomɔĕ 'ĥɔṭhat 'kalo aluthalu 'pagla 'me:gĥ | 'akaʃer 'kone kone 'tãbu phelle. 'ʃurʒaster ækṭa 'rɔktòrõʃʃī 'khaper bĥɪtòr theke 'tɔlõarer motò 'berie (ĕ)elo.

'ɔrdĥek rattre dekhi 'dɔr(ò)ʒagulo 'khɔṛkhɔṛ | ʃɔbde 'kãpC͡ʃe. 'ʃomostò 'ʃɔhɔrer | 'gĥumṭake 'ʒĥɔṛer ha(ò)a 'ʒĥũṭi dĥore | 'ʒĥãkie dile.

'uṭhe dekhi, | 'golir aloṭa | 'gĥɔnò briʃṭir moddĥe 'mataler | 'gĥola C͡ʃokher motò | 'dekhte. | ar 'girʒer gĥoṛir 'ʃɔbdò(ĕ)elo ʒænò | 'briʃṭir ʃɔbder 'C͡ʃadòr muṛi die.

'ʃɔkale 'ʒɔler dĥara 'aro 'gĥonie (ĕ)elo —'rouddrò (ĕ)ar | 'uṭhlo na.

* * * * * *

ei 'badlaĕ amader paṛar 'me(ĕ)eṭi 'barandar reliŋ dĥore 'C͡ʃup kore 'dãṛie.

tar 'bo:n eʃe take | 'bolle, | "ma'ḍakC͡ʃe." | ʃe kebòl | 'ʃɔbege | 'matha naṛlo, | tar 'beni 'dule (ĕ)uṭhlo. | 'kagòʒer nouko nie | tar 'bĥai, tar 'ha·t dĥore 'ṭanle. | ʃe ĥat 'C͡ʃhinie nile. | 'tobu tar 'bĥai | 'khælar ʒonne 'ṭanaṭani korte laglo. | take (ĕ)æk 'thapòṛ boʃie dile.

* * * * * *

ˈbriʃʈi poṛc͡ʃe. | ˈɔndĥòkaːr ˈgĥɔnò ĥoe (ĕ)elo. | ˈme(ĕ)eʈi | ˈsthiːr dãṛie. |

ˈadi ʄ͡ʒuge | ˈsriʃʈir mukhe | ˈprothòm kɔtha | ˈʄ͡ʒegec͡ʃhilò | ˈʄ͡ʒɔler bĥaʃaĕ | ˈĥaŏar kɔnʈhe. ˈlokkhò koʈi bɔc͡ʃhɔr ˈpaːr ĥoe | ʃei ˈʃɔ̃ròn ˈbiʃʃɔ̃rònerˈ oˈtiːtkɔtha | (ĕ)aʄ͡ʒ ˈbadlar kɔlòʃʃɔre | oi ˈme(ĕ)eʈike (ĕ)eʃe | ˈɖak dile. | ˈoː tai ˈʃɔkòl bæṛar ˈbaire | ˈc͡ʃole gie | ˈĥarie gælo. |

ˈkɔtò bɔṛò ˈkaːl, | ˈkɔtò bɔṛò ˈʄ͡ʒɔgɔt, | ˈprithibite | ˈkɔtò ʄ͡ʒuger | kɔtò ˈʄ͡ʒibɔlıla. | ʃei ʃuˈduːr, | ʃei biˈraːʈ, aʄ͡ʒ ei ˈdurònto me(ĕ)eʈir | ˈmukher dike ˈtakalo, ˈmegĥer c͡ʃhaĕae | ˈbriʃʈir kɔlòʃɔbde. |

o tai ˈbɔṛò bɔṛò | ˈc͡ʃokh mele | niˈstɔbdĥò | ˈdãṛie roilo | —ʄ͡ʒænò ɔnˈòntòkaleri | ˈprotima.

sri: robindrònath ṭhakur.

STORIETTE

The cloud in the sky comes down in drops of rain, to be held by the earth below. So women come, no one knows from where, and get bound to this earth.

For them the world of a small space, and of a few people. That small area must hold their all—all their story, their suffering, their fears. That is why they have the wimple on the head, the bracelet on the arm, and the wall round the yard. Women are queens of the heaven of narrow bounds.

* * * * * *

But that little girl in our neighbourhood was born with a brimming liveliness.—what god's mirthful laughter was it like ? Her mother gets cross and calls her " naughty ", but her father laughs and calls her " my madcap darling ".

She is the water of a running fall, defying the rocks that would check her. And her heart is as the leaf on the topmost branch in a bamboo grove, which is always ashiver with the slightest breath of air.

This day I saw that sprightly little girl standing quietly leaning upon the rails of the balcony—one might say she was like the rainbow after rain. Her two big black eyes were without their merry twinkle to-day, like birds on the branch of the *tamāl* tree, with wet wings in a day of rain.

* * * * * *

For some days the sun's heat was oppressive ; the face of the ends of the sky was pale ; the leaves of trees, with all hope dead, had become dried up and yellow.

At such a time quite of a sudden, an erratic cloud, black, dishevelled, pitched its tent in the corners of the sky. A red ray of sunset issued forth like a sword from the sheath.

At midnight I found the doors and windows trembling and groaning with a rattling noise. The storm wind shook by the forelock the sleep of the whole town.

I rose and saw the light in our lane looking through the thick rain like the dull eye of a drunkard. And the sound of the church bell came as if shrouded in the patter of rain.

In the morning the streams of rain became greater and still greater, and no sun rose.

* * * * * *

In this rainy weather the little girl in our neighbourhood was standing quietly by the balcony rails.

Her sister came and said to her, "Mother is calling." She only vigorously shook her head, her plait of hair swung round. Her brother came with a paper boat and drew her by the hand. But she snatched her hand away. But still her brother pressed her for play. She gave him a slap.

* * * * * *

It was raining. The darkness became deeper and deeper. The little girl stood still.

In the primeval age, at the beginning of creation, the first word awoke in the speech of the waters, in the voice of the wind. Through millions and millions of years that word of days beyond remembrance and forgetting, came and called the girl to-day in the gentle sound of the rain. That is why she passed beyond all barriers and lost herself.

How vast the time, how great this world, the life of how many ages on this earth! That far-off, that vast magnitude looked at the face of this sprightly girl, under the shadow of the cloud and in the gentle sound of the rain.

She therefore remained standing, with her big eyes wide open, silent—as if an image of eternity.

Rabindranath Tagore.

কথিকা।

ফোঁটা ফোঁটা বৃষ্টি হয়ে আকাশের মেঘ নামে,—মাটির কাছে ধরা দেবে বলে'। তেমনি কোথা থেকে মেয়েরা আসে পৃথিবীতে বাঁধা পড়তে।

তাদের জন্য অল্প জায়গার জগৎ, অল্প মানুষের। ঐটুকুর মধ্যে আপনার সবটাকে ধরানো চাই—আপনার সব কথা, সব ব্যথা, সব ভাবনা। তাই তাদের মাথায় কাপড়, হাতে কাঁকন, আঙিনায় বেড়া। মেয়েরা হল সীমাস্বর্গের ইন্দ্রাণী।

* * * * *

কিন্তু কোন্ দেবতার কৌতুকহাস্যের মত অপরিমিত চঞ্চলতা নিয়ে আমাদের পাড়ায় ঐ ছোট মেয়েটির জন্ম? মা তা'কে রেগে বলে "দস্যি", বাপ তাকে হেসে বলে "পাগ্‌লী"।

সে পলাতকা ঝরনার জল, শাসনের পাথর ডিঙ্গিয়ে চলে। তার মনটি যেন বেণুবনের উপরডালের পাতা, কেবলি ঝির্ ঝির্ করে কাঁপচে।

আজ দেখি সেই দুরন্ত মেয়েটি বারান্দায় রেলিঙে ভর দিয়ে চুপ করে দাঁড়িয়ে—বাদলশেষের ইন্দ্রধনুটি বল্লেই হয়। তার বড় বড় দুটি কালো চোখ আজ অচঞ্চল, তমালের ডালে বৃষ্টির দিনে ডানা-ভেজা পাখীর মত।

কিছুদিন আগে রৌদ্রের শাসন ছিল প্রখর; দিগন্তের মুখ বিবর্ণ; গাছের হতাশ্বাস পাতাগুলো শুকিয়ে হল্‌দে হয়ে গেছে।

এমন সময় হঠাৎ কাল আলুথালু পাগ্‌লা মেঘ আকাশের কোণে কোণে তাঁবু ফেল্‌লে। সূর্য্যাস্তের একটা রক্ত-রশ্মি খাপের ভিতর থেকে তলোয়ারের মত বেরিয়ে এল।

অর্দ্ধেক রাত্রে দেখি দরজাগুলো খড়্‌খড় শব্দে কাঁপ্‌চে। সমস্ত সহরের ঘুমটাকে ঝড়ের হাওয়া ঝুঁটি ধরে ঝাঁকিয়ে দিলে।

উঠে দেখি, গলির আলোটা ঘন বৃষ্টির মধ্যে মাতালের ঘোলা চোখের মত দেখতে। আর গির্জ্জের ঘড়ির শব্দ এল যেন বৃষ্টির শব্দের চাদর মুড়ি দিয়ে।

সকালে জলের ধারা আরো ঘনিয়ে এল—রৌদ্র আর উঠ্‌ল না।

* * * * *

এই বাদলায় আমাদের পাড়ার মেয়েটি বারান্দার রেলিঙ ধরে চুপ করে দাঁড়িয়ে।

তার বোন এসে তাকে বল্লে, "মা ডাক্‌চে"। সে কেবল সবেগে মাথা নাড়ল, তার বেণী দুলে উঠ্‌ল। কাগজের নৌকো নিয়ে তার ভাই তার হাত ধরে টান্‌লে। সে হাত ছিনিয়ে নিলে। তবু তার ভাই খেলার জন্যে টানাটানি করতে লাগ্‌ল। তাকে এক থাপড় বসিয়ে দিলে।

* * * * *

বৃষ্টি পড়চে। অন্ধকার আরো ঘন হয়ে এল। মেয়েটি স্থির দাঁড়িয়ে।

আদি যুগে সৃষ্টির মুখে প্রথম কথা জেগেছিল জলের ভাষায়, হাওয়ার কণ্ঠে। লক্ষ কোটি বছর পার হয়ে সেই স্মরণ বিস্মরণের অতীত কথা আজ বাদ্‌লার কলস্বরে ঐ মেয়েটিকে এসে ডাক দিলে। ও তাই সকল বেড়ার বাইরে চলে গিয়ে হারিয়ে গেল।

কত বড় কাল, কত বড় জগৎ, পৃথিবীতে কত যুগের কত জীবলীলা। সেই সুদূর সেই বিরাট, আজ এই দুরন্ত মেয়েটির মুখের দিকে তাকাল, মেঘের ছায়ায় বৃষ্টির কলশব্দে।

ও তাই বড় বড় চোখ মেলে নিস্তব্ধ দাঁড়িয়ে রইল,—যেন অনন্তকালেরই প্রতিমা।

শ্রীরবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর।

[The above article is based on a paper read before the General Phonetics Class at the University College, London, on October 29, 1919. The author expresses his best thanks to Mr. Daniel Jones for kindly looking through the proofs, and for many valuable emendations and suggestions.]

ON THE PHONOLOGY OF THE MALAY AND NEGRITO DIALECTS SPOKEN IN THE MALAY STATES OF LOWER SIAM

By R. J. Lloyd, D.Lit., M.A., F.R.S.E.,
Hon. Reader in Phonetics in the University College, Liverpool[1]

Mr. W. W. Skeat, M.A., the leader of the Cambridge University Exploring Expedition to Lower Siam in 1899–1900, has placed in my hands for detailed examination the transcriptions and phonographic records of a number of native songs and chants. They were gathered by him in the States of Patani, Kĕlantan, and Kĕdah, and are therefore chiefly worded in the Malay dialect of those States, which presents very interesting phonological differences from Standard Malay. But they also comprise specimens of strange primitive chants, sung by remote and fugitive Negrito tribes (Sĕmang and Pangan), and worded, of course, in those languages.

For linguistic purposes the written transcriptions, with Mr. Skeat's oral comments, proved more serviceable than the phonographic records. The phonographic record of consonants is never entirely perfect, and the wax cylinders, on which the record is inscribed, had in this case been exposed at times to tropical heat, which had led to deterioration. In some cases they seemed to have lost their exact cylindrical shape, in others a physical change, resembling crystallization, seemed to have been set up in the substance of the cylinder. This was enough to make their rendering of speech-sounds untrustworthy, and often quite vague, but not to destroy the musical impressions, which are always much deeper than the phonetic. The vowel impressions also remained much clearer than the consonant impressions, and for the same reason—they are always much deeper.

The following are the principal Malay songs recorded. They are given here in two forms, interlined with each other. The line is first given as it would be printed in Roman type in Standard Malay, and then as it is

[1] This paper was written by the late Dr. R. J. Lloyd in May, 1902. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it contains the first reproduction in phonetic transcription of texts in dialects of the North of the Malay Peninsula. The States of Kĕlantan and Kĕdah, it may be mentioned, are now under British protection, having been ceded by Siam a few years ago. A portion of the original paper, including the text (both romanized and in phonetic transcription) and translation of the Negrito songs referred to below, was (with the author's permission) incorporated in Skeat & Blagden's *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, and has therefore not been reproduced here; see, especially, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 627–9, and vol. ii, pp. 128–30. A few minor alterations have been made in the paper by Mr. W. W. Skeat (who collaborated with Dr. Lloyd in preparing it), and I have added a few footnotes, which I have initialled.—C. O. B.

pronounced by Patani and Kĕlantan or Kĕdah singers. For the latter purpose the alphabet and signs of the *Association Phonétique Internationale* have been employed, the values of which will be gathered from the explanations at foot. An English translation is also interlined.

Song (for man and woman) by Che Sah, of Lubok Bedil, Kĕdah.

HE. Line 1. Sireh kuning molek sa-junjong,
ˈsiːrɪh ˈkuːnin ˈmuˑlɪʔ sʌˈdʒuˑndʒuˑn,
Fair and beauteous grows the betel-vine on its props,

2. Sireh rĕbah dalam bĕlukar.
ˈsiːrɪh ˈrʌˑbɔh ˈdʌˑlæ̃ˑ bˇˈluːkɑˑ.
And its leaves fall into the undergrowth.

3. Puteh kuning molek ta' tanggong,
ˈpuːtɪh ˈkuːnin ˈmuːliʔ tɑˑʔ ˈtʌˑŋuˑn,
Fair and beauteous are your looks, to whom I yield,

4. Sa-ekor gajah abang ta' tukar.
ˈsiːkuˑ ˈgɑˑdʒɔh ˈɑːbæ̃ˑ tɑˑʔ ˈtuːkɑˑ.
And not to be exchanged even for an elephant's value.

SHE. Line 1. Burong punai ekor-nya lĕbat,
ˈbuːruˑn ˈpuːnɑˑ ˈɪˑkuˑnjɔˑ ˈlˆbɑˑʔ,
See yonder the broad-tailed pigeon,

2. Tĕrbang tĕrsĕlit di-chabang kayu!
ˈtuːbæ̃ˑ ˈtuːsˆliʔ diˑˈtʃʌˑbæ̃ˑ ˈkɑˑjuˑ!
How it flies to hide itself in the fork of the tree!

3. Chiup[1] sĕrunai gesek-lah rĕbab,
ˈtʃuˑʔ sˆˈruˑnɑː ˈgiːsiʔ lɔh ˈgʌbɑˑʔ,
Blow ye the flute and scrape the fiddle,

4. Adek nak ulit abang bĕradu.
ˈʌˑdiˑʔ nɔ̃ʔ ˈuˑliʔ ˈɑːbæ̃ˑ bˇˈrɑːduˑ.
And I will lull my love to slumber.

There is no record of the music of the above song: the phonographic record is a spoken one, and far from clear.

Patani Song (six verses for woman and man alternately) by To' Sin.

SHE. Line 1. Kain Bali sangkut di-pintu,
ˈkɛˑin ˈbʌˑliˑ ˈsɑːkuˑʔ diˑˈpiːtuˑ,
Your Bali [i.e. *finest*] *garment hangs by the doorway,*

2. Pintu dalam tada pĕnyĕlak.
ˈpiːtu ˈdʌˑlæ̃ ˈtɑːdɔˑʔ pˆnˈjʌˑlɔˑʔ.
And your inner door is unbarred.

[1] Normally *tiup*.—C. O. B.

3. Sĕdang bĕrjanji tidak bagıtu,
ˈsʌ·dæ̃· bʌˈdʒʌ·dʒi· ˈti:dɔ·ʔ bʌˈgi:tu·,
When we plighted our vows, it was not so,

4. Lidah bĕrchabang lidah bewak!
ˈli:dɔ·h bʌˈtʃʌ·bæ̃· ˈli:dɔ·h ˈbi:wɔ·ʔ!
You with the lace-lizard's fork-like tongue!

HE. Line 1. Tujoh butir bintang kĕrtıka,
ˈtu:dʒu·h ˈbu:ti· ˈbi:tæ̃ kʌˈti:kɔ·,
There are seven stars of the Pleiads,

2. Jatoh sa-butir ka-Manjapahit;[1]
ˈdʒɔ:tu·h sʌˈbu:ti· kʌˈmɑ:dʒɔ:ˈphɑiʔ;
And one of them fell to earth in Java;

3. Sa-kati harang hamba ta' sangka,
sʌˈkʌ·ti· ˈhʌ·ræ̃ ˈhɑ:mɔ· tɑʔ ˈsɑ:kɑ·ʔ,
Not a pound of charcoal did I imagine,

4. Manisan madu[2] kĕchapan pahit.
mʌ̆ˈni:sæ̃· ˈmɑ:du· kʌˈtʃʌ·pæ̃ ˈphɑiʔ.
Yet the sweet-flavouring was honey, the seasoning bitter.

SHE. Line 1. Mak-mak mĕnggulai rĕmis,
ˈmɔ̃·ʔ ˈmɔ̃·ʔ mʌˈŋu:lɑ· ˈrʌ̆mih,
O mother of mine, while you cooked the mussels,

2. Panggang bĕlanak bĕrpaling patong!
ˈpʌ·ŋæ̃· bʌ̆ˈlʌ·nɔ·ʔ bʌˈpʌ·lin ˈpɑ:tu·n!
The bĕlanak (fish) got roasted, but the patong (fish) turned round![3]

3. Mak-mak jangan mu-tangis,
ˈmɔ̃ʔ ˈmɔ̃ʔ ˈdʒʌ·ŋæ̃· mu· ˈtʌ·ŋih,
O mother of mine, weep not for me,

4. Mak bĕranak tada untong.
ˈmɔ̃ʔ bʌ̆ˈrʌ·nɔ·ʔ ˈtɑ:dɔ·ʔ ˈu:tu·n.
You bore me to be an unprofitable child.

HE. Line 1. Tĕbok-tĕbang kayu bĕrlobang,
ˈtʌ·bu·ʔ ˈtʌ·bæ̃ ˈkɑ·ju· bʌ̆ˈlu:bæ̃·,
If one hacks away at a tree full of cavities,

2. Mata bĕliong bagai dĕlĕrak.[4]
ˈmɑ:tɔ· bʌ̆ˈli·un ˈbʌ·gɑ: dʌˈlʌ·rɔ·ʔ.
It is the way to blunt the edge of one's axe.

[1] Or (preferably) *Majapahit*, an ancient capital of Java.—C. O. B.

[2] A play of words, *madu* in Malay "love-language" signifying a rival.

[3] i.e. wriggled (remained alive).

[4] I do not recognize this word in Standard Malay. Perhaps we should read *di-lĕrah*, "thrown down (and injured)"?—C. O. B.

3. Dudok mĕnumpang di-bayu orang,
'du:du·ʔ m◡'nu:pæ̃· di·'bɑ·ju 'u:ræ̃·,
Here I sit in attendance on other people's humours,

4. Bagai jong bĕrmuat sĕsak.
'bɑ:gɑ: 'dzun bʌ'muɑ·ʔ 'sʌ·sɔ·ʔ.
Like a junk that has been loaded too full to stir.

SHE. Line 1. Sarat-sarat pĕrahu China;
'sʌ·rɑ·ʔ 'sʌ·rɑ·ʔ p◡'rɑ:hu· 'tʃi:nɔ·:
Overloaded forsooth is your Chinese barque;

2. Karam di-bĕting mĕmĭti buch!
'kʌ·ræ̃· di·'bʌ·tin m◡'ni:ti· 'buih!
And it founders on the bank that bridges the foam!

3. Molek sunggoh bunga kĕnanga,
'mu:liʔ 'su·ŋu·h 'bu·ŋɔ· k◡'nʌ·ŋɔ·,
Lovely forsooth is the kĕnanga blossom,

4. Abang nak sunting tidak boleh.
'ɑ:bæ̃ nɔ̃·ʔ 'su:tin 'ti:dɔ·ʔ 'bu·lih.
But you, my friend, are not the man to wear it in your ear.

HE. Line 1. Siapa nak tengok padi hamba,
'sɑ:pɔ: nɔ̃ʔ 'tiŋu· 'pʌ·di· 'hɑ:mɔ·,
If any will inspect my rice-plot,

2. Padi sa-tangkai chondong ka-lobok:
'pʌ·di· s◡'tɑ:kɑ: 'tʃu·du·n k◡'lu:bu·:
A clump of it is overleaning the river-pool:

3. Siapa nak tengok hati hamba,
'sɑ:pɔ· nɔ̃·ʔ 'tiŋu· 'hɑ:ti· 'hɑ:mɔ,
If any would inspect this heart of mine,

4. Tengok-lah lantai di-korek bubok!
'tiŋu lɔ·h 'lɑ:tɑ: di·'ku:ri·ʔ 'bu·buʔ!
Behold its foundations[1] *weevil-eaten!*

The chief musical theme of this song, which recurs both in the man's and woman's part at various pitches, runs as follows: it approaches more nearly than any other portion of the records to the regularity of European music:—



[1] Lit. "flooring".

Chara Patani, by To' Sin (a love song in two four-lined stanzas).

Line 1. Chinchang bĕmban di-dalam bokor,
ˈtʃiːtʃæ̃· ˈbʌ·mæ̃· diːˈdʌ·læ̃· ˈbu·kuˑ,
We slice the bĕmban fruit in the bowl,

2. Tabur bunga di-dalam dusun,
ˈtɑːbuˑ ˈbu·ŋɔ· diːˈdʌ·læ̃· ˈduːsuŋ,
And scatter blossoms in the orchard,

3. Bukan kumbang bukan sa-ekor,
ˈbu·kæ̃· ˈkuˑmæ̃· ˈbu·kæ̃· ˈsiːkuˑ,
But not a bee is here, not a single bee,

4. Bukan bunga bukan sa-kutum.[1]
ˈbu·kæ̃ ˈbu·ŋɔ· ˈbu·kæ̃ sˇˈkuˑtuŋ.
Not a flower, not even a single bud.

Line 1. Apa nak guna mĕniti panggul,
ˈɑːpɔ· nɔ̃·ʔ ˈguːnɔ· mʌˈniːti ˈpʌ·ŋuˑ,
What use is there in trying to walk along a sluice-dam,

2. Panggul sĕmat kerek manisan ?
ˈpʌ·ŋuˑ sʌˈmɑ·ʔ ˈkiːriˑʔ mʌˇˈniːsæ̃ ?
Pinned together [at the sides] like a sugar-mould ?

3. Apa nak guna mĕmĕtek sanggul,
ˈɑːpɔ· nɔ̃·ʔ ˈguːnɔ· mʌˈmʌ·tiˑʔ ˈsʌ·ŋuˑ,
What should I profit by plucking at a hair-roll,

4. Sanggul pĕnyumbat tahi musang ?
ˈsʌ·ŋu· pˇnˈjuːmɑ·ʔ ˈthɑ·i ˈmuˑsæ̃· ?
That is simply choked with musk of the civet ?

The music is of a weird and wildly impassioned character, still more unsteady in pitch, changeful in key, uncertain in melody, and wanting in accentuation than the last. In the phonographic record there is a peculiar trilling effect in the most passionately uttered vowels of the bass voice, like the trill which is heard in a growl, but more rapid. I attributed it to some glottal vibration, either a trilling motion of the false chords or a secondary (slow) vibration of the true chords, superposing its effects on the quick musical vibrations. Mr. Skeat did not remember, after a lapse of nearly two years, to have observed anything unusual in the character of the singing. The phenomenon is, however, too regular to be due to any deterioration of the record.

Woman's Song, by To' Sin (consisting of three lines).

Line 1. Rahat belok, mata bĕrpusing :
rʌˈhɑʔ ˈbiːluˑʔ ˈmɑːtɔ· bˇˈpuːsɪn :
The spinning-wheel jams, as its spindle whirls ;

[1] In Standard Malay usually *kantum*.—C. O. B.

2. Apa sĕbab hati-ku rusing?
ˈɑːpɔ· ˈsˈbɑ·ʔ ˈhɑːtiːku· ˈruːsin ?
Wherefore is my heart so unquiet?

3. Sĕbab anak rimau kĕtangkap ning[1]!
ˈsʌ·bɑ·ʔ nɔ̃·ʔ ˈriːmɑ· kʌˈtɑːkɑ·ʔ ˈniŋ!
Because it is a young tiger I have caught!

Duet, for man and woman, by To' Sim.

SHE. Line 1. Pĕtang-pĕtang ribut bĕrdĕngong;
ˈpʌ·tæ̃· ˈpʌ·tæ̃ ˈriːbuˈʔ bʌˈdiŋun;
At twilight hour the tempest howls;

2. Ayam tĕlaseh,[2] mĕrak mĕlayang;
ˈɑːjæ̃ tˆˈlʌsih mʌˈrɔ·ʔ mʌˈlɑ·jæ̃·;
At a black fowl's sight, the peacock soars;

3. Pĕtang-pĕtang dudok mĕlĕngong,
ˈpʌ·tæ̃ ˈpʌ·tæ̃· ˈduːduˈʔ mʌˈliŋun,
At twilight, too, I brooding sit,

4. Sudah kĕkaseh-ku tinggal buang.
ˈsuːdɔ· kuˈkɑːsih ku ˈtiŋɑː ˈbuæ̃·.
Since my love has abandoned and cast me aside.

HE. Line 1. Bukit Bĕruas bujur ka-laut,
ˈbuːkiʔ bˇˈruːɑ·h ˈbuːdʒu· kˇˈlɑuʔ,
Where the hills of Bĕruas trend toward the sea,

2. Nampak layar angin tĕnggiri[3];
ˈnɑːpɔ·ʔ ˈlɑːjɑ· ˈʌ·ŋiŋ tˆˈŋiːri·;
You may see a sail in the south-east season;

3. Hati ta' puas kita 'dak turut,
ˈhɑːti· tɑʔ ˈpuˑɑ·h ˈkiːtɔ· duˈʔ ˈtuːruʔ,
Unsatisfied my heart would follow after you,[4]

4. Sahaja kita ta' pikir kĕndiri.
sˆˈhʌ·dʒɔ· ˈkiːtɔː tɑ·ʔ ˈpiːki· kʌˈdiːri·.
Without caring what may become of myself.

The music of this piece is of a quieter character than that of the last duet. The principal theme is much shorter, and is repeated by both voices with slight variations at very various pitches. Here are two versions of
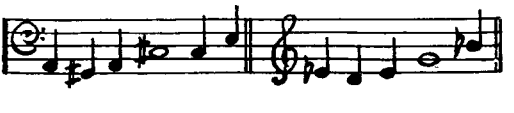
[1] The meaning is not clear, perhaps it is that she has "caught a Tartar", as it were. Possibly we should read *ku-tangkap nin* (as *kĕtangkap ning* is not Standard Malay).—C. O. B.

[2] A dialectic variant = *sĕlaseh* in Standard Malay.

[3] The usual Standard Malay for S.E. is *tĕnggara*.—C. O. B.

[4] Or, "I would follow (the promptings of) my unsatisfied heart."—C. O. B.

the theme, others are still higher; but the want of regular accentuation is so complete that it is impossible to divide the music into bars. These are the only passages in which these records show the least approach to the regularity of European music; only quite exceptionally do they seem to run in a regular key and to possess the eight ordinary notes of the octave.
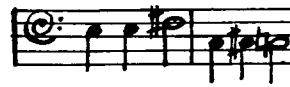


Even here, however, there is generally a curious tendency to fall away in pitch, even in short notes; whilst the long notes are systematically sung in a quavering manner, rising and falling a semitone at every beat, during their whole duration. Something of this kind occurs even in recited poetry, e.g. in the first example given above. The reciter intones it rather than reads it, line by line, and he dwells upon the rhyming syllable for a considerable time in the quavering manner above described. The singers seem incapable of sustaining any note at its true pitch, at any rate they never do so.

But in every record some part is sung in no key whatever, but in a loose sort of recitative, something intermediate between speech and song. In some records the whole song, in others by far the greater part, is thus recited or intoned. No exact time is observed, nor any exact pitch. The pitch glides up and down, as in ordinary speech, but with greater range and volume of tone: it does not leap from one definite note to another, as in European singing. It is a sort of colloquial sing-song, rising at times, however, to a much more than colloquial force. In many, if not most, of the records there is a marked tendency to passionate climax, some pieces finishing off with furious energy.

The songs given above are all seen, in the phonetic transcription, to be written in rhymed verse, and most of them in four-lined stanzas, with alternating rhymes. The lines are measured, not by syllables, but by accents, four accents to the line. We have plenty of English verse which to this extent agrees with these in structure, but there is a difference in the rhyming syllable. English single-syllabled rhymes are nearly always accented; in these songs they are nearly always unaccented, because the Malay accent rarely falls on the last syllable of a word. It usually falls on the last but one. Nevertheless, accent is fairly strong; otherwise it could not be made the basis of their verse-structure.

The phonographic records include, however, some Malay songs of a more primitive kind, not unlike the Negrito songs to be mentioned later. These do not attain to the complexity of rhyme nor to the regularity of numbered accents. One record, for example, is a kind of chant, to the very simple music:—



The first bar is sung to a quite irregular number of syllables, and is of quite an irregular length, the supernumerary syllables being all sung to the last note of the bar. The second bar is invariable, both in words and music, constituting a sort of fixed refrain at the end of every line. The words seem to be *sayang-ayang* sʌ′jæ̃ ʌ′jæ̃.

The general impression produced by the music is that it is not produced with much view to pure musical enjoyment, but rather as a vehicle of emotion, either plaintive or passionate. The utterance of the music is subordinated, whenever necessary, to the utterance of the words. Sometimes these are given with rasping energy. The vowels are always articulated with great precision, and the consonants often with great explosive force. The precise articulation of the vowels has a curious effect upon the music, because the vowel-system of this dialect is peculiar, as will be seen more fully below. It consists of six vowels, three very open, one moderately so, and the other two abnormally close. A European singer would instinctively modify these last two vowels, so as to give the tone some chance of egress. Not so the Malay singer; his object is not music but expression. The result is that the music is alternately launched forth in great volume by the open vowels, and bottled up, at times almost strangled, by the very close vowels. To a European ear these pent-up notes often yield the impression of painfully compressed feeling; the words seem to issue from between clenched teeth, sometimes almost in a savage half-choked howl. But the Malay words do not quite support this impression: it seems rather to be a struggle between articulation and music, in which these close articulations maintain a stern grip upon the egress of tone. Musically the effect is most peculiar: it is like the rapid and erratic opening and shutting of the swell-box of an organ.

Alliteration is evidently considered to be an adornment by the Malay poet. The instances of "apt alliteration's artful aid" are quite too numerous to be altogether accidental. But its employment is quite unsystematic.

Vowels vary from long to short without undergoing, as in English, any distinguishable change in quality. They are not sharply divided into long and short; in many syllables they are of an intermediate length. Accent seems to have some influence on length; accented vowels are rarely, if ever, quite short.

The singular and scanty vowel-system is made up as follows. I give the phonetic symbol of each, so that readers may be able to read off the phonetic rendering for themselves. (In the above transcriptions the double dot (:) after a sound has the effect of making the sound long. The

single dot has the same effect as in music, it makes the sound half as long again. Accent is marked with the usual sign, but it is placed in its logical position, *before* the syllable to be accented.)

ɑ = *a* in *father*.

æ̃ = *ann* in French *main*.

ɔ = *aw* in *law*; seems to occur usually in final syllables; it becomes nasalized and takes the sound of French *on*, after any nasal consonant, *m*, *n*, or ŋ, and is then written phonetically ɔ̃.

ʌ = *u* in *but*.

i = *ee* in *fee*, but much closer; closer than in French *fine*; the teeth seem to be quite set.

u = *oo* in *boot*, but much closer; closer than in French *ou*; teeth set, lips well rounded.

This vowel system contrasts strongly with that of Standard Malay. It is clear at a glance that the latter is the older of the two. The dialectic *u* represents two vowels in Standard Malay, the *u* proper and the *o*. So also the dialectic *i* represents two "standard" vowels, the *i* proper and the *e*. It is much easier to suppose in both cases that the two vowels became levelled in a later dialect into one, than that one originally identical vowel should branch off quite capriciously into two.[1] So also the change from *ang* to æ̃ is feasible, and well supported by example; the contrary change is unusual, and so far as I know, unexampled. Phoneticians will detect other similar signs that the Standard Malay is an older, not a newer, type of the language, and that this dialect must have begun to diverge from the common stock when it was already pronounced very much as the Standard Malay is at present. The latter would therefore appear to have been upheld by strong conserving influences, during the time which this dialect has required to develop itself.

We now see how this dialect has acquired its curious alternation of voluminous and attenuated tone. The half-open vowels, *e* and *o*, have been eliminated, or, rather, merged in the very close *i* and *u*. Two new vowels æ̃ and ɔ have been developed, both of a very open type. Hence we have a language whose vowels are all either very close or very open, with the results already noted.

I base these and some further remarks as to sound-change on the Standard orthography, coupled with the oral explanations of Mr. Skeat. The phonographic records contain nothing of Standard Malay.

The consonant-system of this dialect is equally interesting, both in itself and in the changes which it exhibits from Standard Malay. I again couple

[1] This may be true as regards certain cases, but the comparison of the languages of this family tends to show that in many cases (particularly closed final syllables) *i* and *u* are the earlier sounds, and that in this respect the Standard Malay (which in the main represents the pronunciation of the South of the Peninsula) is less archaic than that of the Northern dialects.—C. O. B.

with the description of each sound the symbol used for it in the above transcriptions.

p, *t*, *k*, the toneless stops, all exist, and though sharply exploded, are free from any audible aspiration.

b, *d*, *g*, the toned stops (*g*, as in *gun*), are also promptly and strongly exploded, giving, in forcibly sung passages, an audible glide between the consonant and following vowel. In *d* this glide seemed to proceed from a so-called "dorsal" articulation,[1] i.e. from an application of the blade of the tongue to the upper teeth, as in French, rather than from that of the tip of the tongue to the upper gums, as in English. If the *d* is "dorsal", the *t* will certainly be dorsal, too. The phonographic *t* was quite consistent with this supposition, though it was not clear enough to confirm it with certainty. There were strong passages in the songs, where the *b*, *d*, *g*, became almost affricate, through the strength of the glide, i.e. they acquired a tail of fricative sound, *b* becoming very like *bv*; and so with the others. But this may only occur in impassioned utterance.

m, *n*, ŋ, the nasals, seem to correspond exactly to the stops; they are exactly the sounds which would be produced by releasing the *b*, *d*, *g* of the dialect through the nose. The *n*, therefore, is "dorsal", the others are as in English. The ŋ is used freely as an initial and medial consonant. In English we never use it as an initial, and only sparingly in medial positions. It is our *ng* in *sing*.

j, *s*, ʃ, ʒ, are the only fricative consonants, and the two latter do not enjoy an independent existence. They appear only as the second element in the consonantal diphthongs, tʃ and dʒ. There is no *f* or *v*, nor even *z*. The sound indicated by *j* is that of the English *y* consonant. The sounds of tʃ and dʒ are each heard twice in the English words, *church* and *judge*.[2]

l, as heard in the phonograph, was distinctly "dorsal" in character. This strengthens the evidence that the *t* and *n* are dorsal. It is hardly possible for the *d* and *l* in any language to be "dorsal", and the *t* and *n* not so. There are certain affinities of articulation which are practically invincible, because based on some organic habit which affects more sounds than one. In this case it is the habit of applying the tip of the tongue flatly, not pointedly, to the opposing surfaces.

[1] In Standard Malay this is apparently not the case.—C. O. B.

[2] In Standard Malay these sounds are not precisely the same as in English, though very nearly so.—C. O. B.

r is well trilled, but the phonographic record was not crisp enough to show whether it was a tongue-trill, like the Scotch, or a uvular trill, as in Parisian French. Mr. Skeat thinks it is commonly uvular.

h occurs just as freely in final as in initial positions. This is always so in Standard Malay, but in this dialect some speakers substitute it for a final *s*. The articulation of *h* is always of a somewhat fugitive character: a sort of *h* may be produced by slightly constricting the voice-passage at any point whatever, and then forcing the breath. The interchangeability with *s* suggests that the normal *h* is formed by a constriction not far from the front of the mouth. That would mean an articulation such as would be obtained by sufficiently relaxing the articulation of *ch* in German *ich*.

ʔ, the glottal catch, which in Romanized Standard Malay is represented by final *k*, is here substituted for all the stops (*p*, *t*, *k*, *b*, *d*, *g*), when final, without exception. It is itself a toneless stop, to frame which the two vocal chords are shut and opened, exactly as the lips are shut and opened in framing a *p*. It is frequent in German as an initial sound before vowels, though it is never printed or written.

w; there seems to be no *w* sound, distinct from the very close *u* already described, but such a sound lends itself sometimes, as did the Latin *u*, to consonantal uses.

A comparison with Standard Malay shows here, as in the vowels, some remarkable transformations. These transformations occur chiefly at the end of words, or, at times, of syllables. Not only are all final stops transformed as noted above, but final *l* and *r* seem also to disappear, leaving a longer vowel behind them. All nasals disappear after the open *a* vowel, frequently leaving a nasal æ̃ vowel in its place. After the close vowels the nasal consonants do not disappear, but ŋ becomes *n*, and *n* and *m* become ŋ. Final *s* becomes *h*. Hardly a single final consonant escapes destruction or alteration.

It has long seemed to me that the "dorsal" articulation of *t*, *d*, *n*, and *l* was favoured by brachycephalic races, and the "coronal" (pointed) articulation by dolichocephalic races. The dolichocephalic man has not only a longer head, but a longer palate and a longer tongue than the brachycephalic. Consequently it is easier for him to hollow and upcurl his tongue, as demanded by the "coronal" type of articulation, whilst the shorter, rounder tongue of the brachycephalic man is more fitted for the flat "dorsal" kind of contact. I therefore asked Mr. Skeat whether these people were not brachycephalic, and was pleased to find that they were.

A minority of the transcribed songs and phonographic records are not in the Malay language, but in the speech of certain Negrito tribes (Sĕmang and Pangan) who are found further inland. Their wandering habits and shyness of strangers made the task of obtaining the transcriptions and records an extremely difficult one.[1] The vowel system shown in the Negrito songs is a much richer one than that of the Patani–Kĕlantan dialect of Malay, but the consonant system is so very nearly the same as to warrant the supposition of some causal connexion in the phonology of the two languages. The Negrito vowels are *i*, *e*, ɛ, *a*, ɔ, *o*, *u*, ʌ, *ø*, and ɛ̃. Approximate English key-words for the first eight are *feet*, *fate*, *fairy*, *far*, *for*, *foal*, *fool*, *fun*; but the sounds are purer, as in Italian or French. The *ø* vowel is the French vowel in *feu*, and the ɛ̃ vowel is very like the French vowel in *fin*, but somewhat less open in articulation. The *i* and *u* do not display that abnormal constriction which was heard in the Malay dialect. Hence there is room for a clear distinction between the *i* vowel and the *j* (Eng. *y*) consonant, as well as between the *u* vowel and the *w* consonant. Besides this good list of vowels, there are also three diphthongs, ɔi, *au*, and *ai*. In all the Malay records examined there was but one instance of a diphthong (*ai*), and that seemed to have arisen in an accidental way, by the collapse of an intervening consonant.

But the coincidence of the two consonant systems is remarkable. They have the same stops, *p*, *t*, *k*, *b*, *d*, *g*, the same nasals, *m*, *n*, ŋ, the last very frequent and often initial; apparently the same *l* and *r*, and the same ʃ and ʒ, found only in the same combination tʃ and dʒ. They have the same *h*, often final, and the same *s*, without a *z*. They neither of them have any *f* or *v*. Both possess a *j* consonant (Eng. *y*), though in the Malay it hardly differs from the close *i* vowel. The only palpable distinction is that the Negrito records possess a distinct *w* consonant, of which there is no clear instance in the Malay; the Malay *u*, though very like *w* in sound, seems always to constitute a syllable, and is therefore still a vowel.

[1] Here, in the original, followed the portion which has been excised; see note 1, *supra*.—C. O. B.

KADU AND ITS RELATIVES

By Sir GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E.

IN Vol. 1, Part III, of the *Bulletin* (pp. 1 ff.) Mr. Grant Brown has given a valuable account of the Kadus of Burma, and, after comparing their speech with several other cognate Tibeto-Burman languages, has been unable to fix its exact classification. Perhaps the following notes may help to decide the question.

The Katha District of Burma, in which the Kadus are found, lies close to the State of Manipur. This latter is one of the most polyglot tracts in India. With an area of about 8,000 square miles and a population of some 285,000, it is the proud possessor of sixteen or seventeen languages — Kuki-Chin, Nāgā, Nāgā-Bodo, Shàn, Burmese, and Aryan. The language of the ruling classes is Meit'ei, a tongue belonging to the Kuki-Chin group, and forming a link between it and Kachin. Amongst other elements of the population there are certain servile tribes named Lūi or Lōi, who have languages of their own, which are quite distinct from Meit'ei, and, indeed, from any other form of speech found in the State. The principal Lūi languages are three— Andro, Sengmai, and Chairel. Of these, Andro and Sengmai are closely connected, while Chairel seems to belong to some different, as yet unidentified, group. The correct affiliation of Andro and Sengmai is also an unsolved puzzle, although they certainly belong to the Tibeto-Burman family. The comparative vocabulary given below will, I think, show that they are closely connected with Kadu.

I have spoken of these Lūi languages as if they were current at the present day ; but this is a matter of some doubt. During the last half-century the influence of Meit'ei has become widely spread over the whole State, and has apparently superseded them. At least no Lūi languages were reported to me for the Linguistic Survey of India, nor are they referred to in either of Mr. T. C. Hodson's valuable works on Manipur.[1] For our present purposes we must therefore treat them as extinct. There are, however, excellent vocabularies of all the Lūi languages in Major W. McCulloch's *Account of the Valley Munnipore*, published in Calcutta in 1859, in the *Selections from the Records of the Government of India* (*Foreign Department*),[2] and from these I have

[1] *The Meitheis*, David Nutt, 1908 ; *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, Macmillan, 1911. The former book gives much information regarding the Lūi tribes.

[2] On p. 13 will be found an account of the Lūi tribe.

excerpted, so far as they could be found, the Andro and Sengmai words corresponding to the Kadu words given by Mr. Grant Brown. I have quoted Major McCulloch's words exactly as they appear in his Vocabulary, with his old-fashioned spelling. He states that :-

"*a* is pronounced as in Italian.
e ,, ,, ,, do.
i ,, ,, short.
o ,, ,, as in 'tone'.
u ,, ,, as in 'fun'."

To this may be added that his *oo* is pronounced as in "moon", and his *ee* as in "feel". The word "Andro" he spells "Undro". Mr. Grant Brown's Kadu words are given, as in his list, in phonetic spelling.

Andro and Sengmai are so much alike that I have put them both into one column. When two equivalents, separated by a comma, are given for an English word, the first is Andro and the second Sengmai. Otherwise the word is the same in both languages. After making the necessary allowances for the differences of spelling, the close relationship between them and Kadu will strike the most casual observer.

So far, I have shown that Andro, Sengmai, and Kadu belong to one Tibeto-Burman group, which, omitting Chairel from consideration, we may call the "Lūi Group". This group is distinct from the neighbouring Kuki-Chin, Kachin, and Nāgā groups, and must be given an independent standing. Its origin and its relationship to other Tibeto-Burman groups are, at present, mysteries that, perhaps, will never be solved. I can only suggest that the fact that the Lūis are servile tribes shows that they are probably descended from early Tibeto-Burman inhabitants of Manipur, before that country was occupied by the Meit'eis. This would lead us to look upon their condition as parallel to that of the Szi, Lashi, Maru, and P'un tribes of Burma, who appear to have been either remnants left in Northern Burma by the ancestors of the present Burmese in their migration from the North into Southern Burma, or else were tribes of the same origin as the Burmese, who left Tibet soon after them. Similarly, it looks as if the Lūis were survivors of an early Tibeto-Burman immigration from the North—left stranded in Manipur and in the neighbouring parts of Burma, and in later years overwhelmed by subsequent invasions. If this is the case, I fear that there is little chance of tracing the connexion of their language with any particular group; for these non-literary

Tibeto-Burman languages change so radically in the course of a few centuries, that the tongue of an isolated group of tribes rapidly loses all resemblance to those with which it is historically connected, but from contact with which it has been barred by distance or other circumstances.[1]

English	Andro and Sengmai	Kadu
One	hata	nu˗
Two	keengha	kəleŋ˗
Three	shomha	s'ʊm`
I	nga	ŋɑ˗
Thou	nung	naŋ˗
He	teek, héro	hiŋ˗
Hand	takhoo, tahoo	təhu`
Foot	taka, tumpha	tɑ˗
Nose	sanaootee, sanoong	s'ənɑ˗
Eye	meet	me^{k}
Mouth	shoon	s'ədʊn`
Tooth	sho, shoa	s'əwɑ`
Ear	ka na	kanɑ`
Hair (of head)	hoomee	həlaŋ` hu`
Head	hoorung	həlaŋ`
Belly	pook	poʊ^{k}
Back	loma, loobal	kəs'aŋ˗
Iron	sên, sél	s'eŋ˗
Gold	kundoonong	nʊn`
Silver	on, ngõn (*Shan*)	p'u`
Father	a pa, a po	əwɑ˗
Mother	a mé	əmɛ˗
Brother (elder)	pahoo nasee	əmu`
,, (younger)	apee násee	nəs'ɪ˗
Sister (elder)	ana loochul	əte`
,, (younger)	apée chúl	san˗
Man	teeksahora, teekhora	həlɔ`wɑ, hələwɑ˗
Woman	teeksa yahoo	i˗s'i˗
Son	saija hora, sa hora	s'ɑ˗
Daughter	saija yahoo, sa yahoo	s'əe^{k}˗
Sun	'chameet	səme^{t}

[1] There are cases on record in which a Nāgā colony which migrated to an isolated hill, in two generations spoke a language that was unintelligible to members of the parent tribe. Even in the case of Meit'ei, a literary language, the ancient speech, preserved in manuscripts, is unintelligible to speakers of the Meit'ei of the present day. A good specimen of the same story told both in ancient and in modern Meit'ei will be found in Mr. Hodson's *Meitheis* (pp. 188 ff.). No resemblance can be seen between the two dialects.

ENGLISH	ANDRO AND SENGMAI	KADU
Moon	sa tha	sʻədɑˋ
Star	sangun see	u-nʊ-ʃɪ-
Fire	wal	wan-
Water	mè	wɛˋ
House	kem	ʈemˋ
Horse	shoorook	sʻəhu-
Cow	sok, ngo	moʊtʰ- pɑˋ
Dog	kee	ʈɪ-
Cat	hung gen, huljeek	hanˋʃɪ-
Fowl (or cock)	oo (*hen*)	u-
Bird	oojeek sa	u-ʤeʦʻɑ-
Go	sa	naŋ-
Eat	shai, sare	joʊt
Sit	tʻoʊŋˋ	
Come	lee	lɪ-
Beat	tan	taŋˋ
Die	see, shee	ʃɪˋ
Give	ee	ɪ-
Good	kumo, kurmo	mɛˋ

TURKANA GRAMMATICAL NOTES AND VOCABULARY

By Juxon Barton

Introductory

The Turkana language has been studied by Mr. A. C. Hollis (see Sir Charles Eliot, Introduction to Hollis' *The Nandi*), though his results are apparently unpublished; and by the late Hon. A. Bruce, whose notes appear to have been lost; a short comparative vocabulary is to be found in *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii, by Sir Harry Johnston.

The following outline has been compiled through the medium of Ki-Swahili and Suk. A few Turkana speak Swahili badly and Suk moderately well, while a number of Suk speak Swahili moderately and Turkana well. The shortcomings of the ensuing notes and vocabulary are due partly to the disadvantages of this method, partly to inexperience and want of philological and phonetic training. It may be added that no two Europeans who have come in contact with this tribe agree in their rendering of Turkana sounds by the symbols of an alphabet.

General

The Turkana are perhaps best described as a Niloto-Hamitic race; they are closely allied to the Jie, Dodoso, and Karamojo, and in a less degree to the Suk; they are related to the Latuka–Acholi–Aluru–Wamia–Kavirondo (Ja-Luo) group: and their language has some similarity to Teso, as shown in the lately published grammar. They are extremely nomadic pastoralists grazing a large area west, south, and south-east of Lake Rudolf, and are also somewhat warlike, occasionally raiding other tribes.

Guttural sounds predominate in the speech of the Turkana and their mouths are never free from saliva even when they are not chewing tobacco, which imparts an unusually moist lisp to their speech. An endeavour has been made to write the consonants as in English and the vowels as in Italian.

b and *p* are seemingly interchangeable.

c generally indicates the sound of *ch* in "church".

g is always hard.

k and *g* sounds are apt to vary with the age and timbre of voice of the person speaking. Sometimes it seems doubtful

whether the initial sound is *k* or the velar nasal *ng'* (as in "sing")—written *n'* by Archdeacon Kitching.

ny often occurs as an initial before *e* and *i*, but is nearly always slurred in ordinary speech.

s is practically always *th*: this lisp has a "wet" sound and is a Turkana characteristic.

u is not always substituted for the English *w*.

w is in many words quite distinct from *u*.

The Turkana "clip" these words, pronouncing them with a distinct "glottal stop". There are two, if not three, dialects, which may be conveniently but not altogether accurately defined as belonging to the Pastoral, the Agricultural, and Fishing sections.

The language shows a number of onomatopœic words, or "sound pictures" (see "birds", "bark" of dog, etc.); and to a layman is coarse in its form and poor in its vocabulary. Vowels do not always elide.

Gender

Sex is denoted by the addition of a word meaning "male" or "female", e.g.:—

e'koloba-e'manik	buck impala.
e'koloba-a'bero	doe ,,
ng'olobai-ng'emaniko	buck impalas.
ng'olobai-ng'abero	doe ,,

e'manik is not used for male human beings, but *e'kili*, pl. *ng'iliok*, *a'bero* is used for all females.

Number

The pl. suffixes are *a, ya, o, yo, e, ae, ai, k, t, tha, in, syo, is*; these are the more common, there seems to be no system.

Article

The article always seems to be used and to form part of the word; in rapid speech it is very much slurred. The article is *e'*, *i'*, or *a'* in the singular and *ng'*, rarely *ny'*, in the plural. Possibly masculine and feminine forms are found (see Sir Charles Eliot, op. cit.); they are difficult to recognize and to explain in inquiry from Turkana, who always deny their existence.

Case

There is, properly speaking, no such thing as case, though the vocative is indicated by the affixes *-ne* for the singular and *-no* for the plural, e.g.:—

e'kili-ne	O man.
ng'ilioko-no	O men.
a'bero-ne	O woman.
ng'abero-no	O women.

A man is addressed as *lodialo-ayon*, several as *lodialo-eth*, with the meaning " I say you ", as in the Suk *werno*, pl. *wer-chara*.

The *genitive* is expressed—

(1) By the use of *ngolo* or *ngulu*, which is possibly a pronoun, e.g. *e'tunganan ngolo Lorogumo*, a man of Lorogumo; *ng'itunga ngulu Lorogumo*, the people of Lorogumo.

(2) By the preposition *ken*, e.g. *baba ken Loburiomoi*, the father of Loburiomoi.

(3) By the preposition *a*, e.g. *e'sikiriya a toto ken Loburiomoi*, the donkey of the mother of Loburiomoi.

(4) By position, the possessor following the thing possessed, e.g. *ng'atuk Loburiomoi*, the cattle of Loburiomoi.

The last is the most usual.

Substantives

These do not seem to be divisible into classes.

Adjectives

The same remark applies. The relative pronoun seems to be omitted in most cases. The adjective follows the substantive.

Pronouns

1. *Personal*

I	*ayon.*	we	*thowa.*
thou	*ion.*	ye	*eth.*
he, etc.	*ngeth.*	they	*keth.*

2. *Possessive*

my	*akan*	*ngulu-kan.*
they	*ekon*	*ngulu-kon.*
his, etc.	*ekin*	*ngulu-kin.*
ours	*ekothi*	*ngulu-kothi.*
yours	*ekuth*	*ngulu-kuth.*
theirs	*ekech*	*ngulu-kech.*

e.g. *a'kwara-kan*, my spear; *ng'akwarath ngulu-kothi*, my spears.

3. *Demonstrative*

this	*-en, -lo,* or *ngol*	*-elu* or *-ngul.*
that (near)	*-eya*	*-ekwa.*
that (remote)	*-yaga*	*-kwagwa.*

e.g. *a'kileng-en,* this knife; *ng'akilengya-kwa,* those knives; but *lowai-ye,* that (near) place.

4. *Reflexive*

I myself	*ayon-elopi.*
thou thyself	*ion-elopi.*
he, etc., himself	*ngeth-elopi.*
we ourselves	*thowa-ngilipek.*
ye yourselves	*eth-ngilipek.*
they themselves	*keth-ngilipek.*
I by myself	*ayon-bon.*
thou by thyself	*ion-bon.*
he by himself	*ngeth-bon.*

etc.

5. *Relative.*—Sing. *una,* pl. *ulu. e'tungunan una ejok,* the man who is good: *ng'etunga ulu ejok,* the men who are good. The negative is *nye e'tungunan una nye ejok,* the man who is not good.

6. *Indefinite.—chi.* Sing. *echi e'tungunan,* a different man; *ngulu-chi ng'etunga,* in the plural.

The one . . . the other	*ichi . . . ichi.*
Each man	*e'tungunan dan.*
Every man	*ng'etunga dan.*
All men	*ng'etunga da dan.*
Both	*da dan mwari.*

6. *Interrogative Pronouns*

who? *ngai?* whose? *a-ngai?*

ngai-ayon? who is this? *ngai-eth?* who are these?

a-ngai-lo? whose is this? *a-ngai-lu?* whose are these?

When *ngai* is used objectively it follows the verb, e.g. *nagen ngai?* to whom will you give (it)?

what? *nyo?*

what is this? *nyo-lo?*

what do you want? *esagin-nyo?*

which? *ali?* and *alu?*

of what sort? *eko-nyai?*

of what sort is this? *eko-nyai-lo?*

how much? how many? *ngayai?*

Regular Verbs

Sir Charles Eliot (op. cit., p. xxxi) states that verbs in Turkana are divided into two classes, those beginning with *i*, and those beginning with any other sound, and exemplifies the conjugation of the present tense of the verb *cham*, "to love." This, save in its root, was not recognized by Turkana. Allowances are necessary in endeavouring to record tenses, as it is nearly impossible to explain their value to natives, especially through the medium of a language foreign to both.

Active Voice, Indicative

Person is marked by the suffixed pronoun, it is often omitted, especially where there is no doubt as to the person meant. The negative is formed by prefixing *nye*, the vowel being elided.

1. *Present Tense.* I hear.

sing.	*erar-ayon.*	pl.	*kerari-thowa.*
	erar-ion.		*erar-eth.*
	erari-ngeth.		*erariti-keth.*

Negative, *ny-erar-ayon*, etc.

2. *Future Tense.* I will hear.

Apparently this tense is only indicated by the use of a word denoting the future with the present tense, e.g. *alothi mui.* I will go to-morrow. In this tense the pronoun seems to be dropped, possibly the context is usually a sufficient guide to the speaker's meaning.

3. *Present Perfect Tense.* I have heard.

sing.	*ayra-ayon.*	pl.	*kera-thowa.*
	era-ion.		*era-eth.*
	era-ngeth.		*era-keth.*

4. *Imperfect Tense.* I was hearing.

sing.	*erarit-ayon.*	pl.	*kerarit-thowa.*
	erarit-ion.		*erarit-eth.*
	erarit-ngeth.		*erarit-keth.*

Active Voice, Conditional

The pronoun is retained as in the indicative. The negative *-nye-* is inserted, its vowel being elided.

1. *Present Tense.* If, etc., I hear.

sing.	*ani-erar-ayon.*	pl.	*ani-kerari-thowa.*
	ani-erar-ion.		*ani-erar-eth.*
	ani-erari-ngeth.		*ani-erari-keth.*

Negative *ani-ny-erar-ayon*, etc.

2. *Past Tense.* If, etc., I had heard.

sing.	*ani-kaira-ayon.*	pl.	*ani-kera-thowa.*
	ani-kera-ion.		*ani-kera-eth.*
	ani-kera-ngeth.		*ani-kera-keth.*

Actice Voice, Subjunctive

This was not traced: inquiries showed that *kotiri*, because, was used with the infinitive.

Active Voice, Infinitive

This is apparently formed by prefixing *aki-* to the root, and affixing *-i*, e.g. *aki-tar-i*, to dig: *aki-gum-i*, to shoot: *aki-latar-i*, to wash; *aki-lar-i*, to walk.

Active Voice, Imperative

Apparently the root of the verb is used where the meaning is imperative in every sense; where more than one person is addressed *-to* is affixed, e.g. *tolot*, go! *kibirr*, run! *ngolik*, look out! *tolot-to*, *kibirr-to*, *ngolik-to*, etc.

The pronoun is sometimes added for emphasis.

Passive Voice

This is indicated by the infixes *-itai-* (present), *-itita-* (past), the pronoun being retained. In the negative *nye-* is prefixed, eliding its vowel.

1. *Present.* I am struck.

sing.	*karam-itai-ayon.*	pl.	*karam-itai-thowa.*
	karam-itai-ion.		*karam-itai-eth.*
	karam-itai-ngeth.		*karam-itai-keth.*

Negative *nye-karam-itai-ayon.*

2. *Past.* I have been struck.

sing.	*karam-itita-ayon.*	pl.	*karam-itita-thowa.*
	karam-itita-ion.		*karam-itita-eth.*
	karam-itita-ngeth.		*karam-itita-keth.*

3. *Present Conditional.* If I am struck.

sing. *ani-karam-itai-ayon*, etc.

Negative *ani-nye-karam-itai-ayon.*

4. *Past Conditional.* If I had been struck.

The sound is similar, but possibly should be written: sing. *ani-ke-karam-itai-ayon*, etc.

5. *Subjunctive.* That I may be struck.

This was not traced.

Quasi-passive Verbs

These are formed from adjectives by suffixing *-i*, which elides before other vowels; the pronoun is retained, e.g. I become big from *elangir*, broad.

sing.	*elangir-ayon.*	pl.	*elangir-i-thowa.*
	elangir-ion.		*elangir-eth.*
	elangir-i-ngeth.		*elangir-i-keth.*

IRREGULAR VERBS

These appear to be very irregular.

TO BE

1. *Present.* I am.

sing.	*e'tunganan-ayon.*	pl.	*ng'itunga-thowa.*
	e'tunganan-ion.		*ng'itunga-eth.*
	e'tunganan-ngeth.		*ngitungh-keth.*

Literally "a man I". Negative *ny-etunganan-ayon.*

2. *Past.* I was.

sing.	*kerai-ayon.*	pl.	*kerai-thowa.*
	kerai-ion.		*kerai-eth.*
	kerai-ngeth.		*kerai-keth.*

TO BE PRESENT

1. *Present.* I am present.

sing.	*eyey-ayon.*	pl.	*keya-thowa.*
	eyey-ion.		*eyey-eth.*
	eyeyi-ngeth.		*eyeyi-keth.*

Negative *ny-eyey-ayon.*

2. *Present Perfect.* I have been present.

sing.	*kaiyey-ayon.*	pl.	*kaiyeyi-thowa.*
	kaiyey-ion.		*kaiyey-eth.*
	kaiyeyi-ngeth.		*kaiyeyi-keth.*

Negative *p-aiyey-ayon*, etc.[1]

TO SEE

1. *Present.* I see.

sing.	*ainua-ayon.*	pl.	*ainua-thowa.*
	ainua-ion.		*ainua-eth.*
	ainua-ngeth.		*ainua-keth.*

Or *ain-ayon*, etc.

Negative *ny-ainua-ayon.*

[1] There seems reason to believe that, in some cases (though very rarely), *p-* appears as a negative prefix, instead of *nye*.

2. *Past.* I have seen.

sing.	*ainun-it-ayon.*	pl.	*ainun-iti-thowa.*
	ainun-it-ion.		*ainun-it-eth.*
	ainun-iti-ngeth.		*ainuniti-keth.*

3. *Imperative.* See! see ye!

sing.	*t-ainu.*	pl.	*t-ainu-to.*

TO GO

1. *Present.* I go.

sing.	*alothi-ayon.*	pl.	*ki-lothi-thowa.*
	alothi-ion.		*alothi-eth.*
	alothi-ngeth.		*alothi-keth.*

Negative *ny-alothi-ayon.*

2. *Past Perfect.* I went.

sing.	*kelot-ayon.*	pl.	*keloti-thowa.*
	kelot-ion.		*kelot-eth.*
	keloti-ngeth.		*keloti-keth.*

3. *Imperative.* Go! Go ye!

sing.	*tolot.*	pl.	*tolot-to.*

TO COME

1. *Present.* I come.

sing.	*abuni-ayon.*	pl.	*ki-poti-thowa.*
	abuni-ion.		*ki-poti-eth.*
	abuni-ngeth.		*ki-poti-keth.*

Negative *ny-abuni-ayon.*

2. *Past Perfect.* I came.

sing.	*k-abunit-ayon.*	pl.	*ki-ki-bunit-thowa.*
	k-abunit-ion.		*ki-bunit-eth.*
	k-abunit-ngeth.		*ki-bunit-keth.*

3. *Imperative.* Come! Come ye!

sing.	*bwa.*	pl.	*pot-to.*

Reduplicative Verbs.

There are a number of instances, e.g. *adungi,* "I cut"; *adungi-dungi,* "I cut in small pieces"; *abuki,* "I shake"; *abuki-buki,* "I churn"; *emudud-mududgiana,* "I blink."

Auxiliary Verbs

There are two words which have the meaning "to be able"; the first (*anangi*) differs from the second (*atiri*), which is used where

physical strength is implied, e.g. *anangi akilari*, "I am able to walk"; *anangi akimugi*, "I am able to eat": *atiri akiari ngeth*, "I can spear him"; *atiri akidakari ngeth*, "I can throw (wrestle) him."

"Must" is expressed by *mati*, e.g. *mati alothi mui*. I must go to-morrow.

Adverbs

Adverbs follow their verbs.

above, *akuich* (God).
below, *kwopa*.
before, *ngarin*.
behind, *kouū*.
early, *ataparach* (dawn), *ebai*.
late, *ebon* (evening).
near, *api*.
far, *elwana*.
quickly, *atipe*.
slowly, *kiyapak*.
very, *noie*, follows another adverb.
for nothing, *kongen*.

kere is like the Swahili *sana* or Suk *nyaman*, and can be used as many adverbs in English, e.g. indeed, very, very much, thoroughly, e.g.:—

	Turkana	*ededen kere*	very fierce.
	Suk	*korom nyaman*	,, ,,
	Swahili	*kali sana*	,, ,,
or,	Turkana	*kera kere*	understand (hear) thoroughly.
	Suk	*lima nyaman*	,, ,, ,,
	Swahili	*sikia sana*	,, ,, ,,

Adverbs of Time

now, *tokona*.
instantly, *tokona-tokona*.
lately, *ngon ngarin*.
presently, *eringa adojigi* (before a little).
before, *eringa*.
after, affix *-ta*, and *anita*.
ago (long), *ngorot* and *kojolo*.
ago (recent), *ngon* (yesterday).
to-day, *tete* and *akolon itina*.
to-morrow, *mui*.

yesterday, *ngon*.
the day before yesterday, *ngon echi akolon*.
the day after to-morrow, *mui echi akolon*.
those days, *ng'akwaritia nu*.
always, *ng'akwarithia dan*.
time upon time, *jui-jui*.

Adverbs of Place

where, *neni*.

Adverbs of Manner

like, *ikoni* and *erian*.
only, *bon*.
together, *dādān*.
no, *mam*, which reduplicates greatly for emphasis, or else *mam ejik*.
yes, *ii*, in following speech approved by hearer *kongena* or *erobo*.

Adverbs Interrogative

how ? *eko nyai* or *e balai ?*
where ? *ali ?*
why ? *ikwani ?*
how many ? *ngeyai* or *nyeyai ?*
when ? *wurre ?*
since when ? *tarre wurre ?*

CONJUNCTIONS

and, with, *ka*.
either . . . or, *kere* . . . *kere*.
for, *ya* or *tati*.
but, *anine*.
if, *ani*.

PREPOSITIONS

of, *aka*.
with, *te*.
by, *ta*.

INTERJECTIONS

of surprise : *oitokoi totoken*, O my mother.
of contempt : *je-je*, followed by expulsion of breath.
of acknowledgment : *wō*, by man ; *yēāi*, by woman.
of farewell : *tolot-ion*, go thou ; answer, *ejok alothi*, good, I go.

who knows : *aiye*.

perhaps : *kure* or *ayeh* (?).

of greeting : man to man, woman to woman, man to woman : Q. *na* ? A. *baiya*, repeated three times. Man to man, and sometimes to very old woman : Q. *mata*, health ; A. *ii mata*. Q. *mata ng'atuk*, health to (your) cattle ; A. *mata ouwi*. health to (your) village. Q. *mata ng'idwi*, health to (your) offspring ; A. *mata ariama*, health to (our) constant meetings. Q. *mata ng'ebarin*, health to (your) property ; A. *mata ng'abero*, health to (your) women. Both : *mata ejik*, complete health.

Numbers

1. *Epei*.	40. *Tomon omwon*, etc.
2. *Ari*.	50. *Tomon akhan*, etc.
3. *Uni*.	60. *Tomon akhan ka pei*, etc.
4. *Omwon*.	70. *Tomon akhan ka ari*, etc.
5. *Akhan* or *ng'an*.	80. *Tomon akhan ka uni*, etc.
6. *Akhan ka pei*.	90. *Tomon akhan ka omwan*, etc.
7. *Akhan ka ari*.	100. *Tomon tomon*.
8. *Akhan ka uni*.	101. *Tomon tomon ka pei*, etc.
9. *Akhan ka omwon*.	150. *Tomon tomon ka tomon akhan*, etc.
10. *Tomon* or *ng'tomon*.	200. *Tomon tomon ithia* (*emphasis*) *ari*.
11. *Tomon ka pei*.	201. *Tomon tomon ithia* (*emphasis*) *ari ka pei*, etc.
20. *Tomon ari*.	
21. *Tomon ari ka pei*, etc.	250–300. *Abungi*.
30. *Tomon uni*, etc.	500–1000. *Ouriman*.

Most Turkana cannot count past 200, after which number they seem to think in small and large *herds* of cattle ; money has scarcely reached their country.

Months

The rainy season	*Ageboro*.
January	*Lodungi*.
February	*Lomoruk*.
March	*Loichoto*.
April	*Titima*.
May	*Yeliyel*.
June	*Lopo*.
The dry season	*Akamu*.
July	*Lotiak*.

August	*Lolingachuun.*
September	*Lothaban.*
October	*Lolongu.*
November	*Lorarrar.*
December	*Lugwan.*

The division of the months into a "rainy" and a "dry" season does not correspond to the actual state of things in the Turkana country; possibly it has been retained from early times when the tribe occupied a region where the seasons were more regular and propitious. The Turkana month would appear to begin about the twenty-second day of the English.

TURKANA VOCABULARY

The article is written as part of the word as it is spoken. The 1st person singular present tense is written in verbs.

A

Abdomen, *akok*, pl. *akokis.*
Able, *anangi, atiri.*
About, *api.*
Above, *akuich.*
Abundantly, *lalak.*
Abuse, to, *akamori.*
Accept, to, *achami*, ? to like, to love.
Accompany, to, *arogosi.*
Accustomed, to be, *anāik.*
Add, to, *amorigini.*
Adulterer, *akolomon*, pl. *ngalomok.*
Advance, to, *angarini.*
Afraid, to be, *akeri.*
  Coward, *ekuriana*, pl. *nguriaka.*
  Afraid, to be very, *aiyami.*
After, *anita*, or affix, *ta.*
Afternoon, *ebon*, see "time".
Again and again, *akibunyak*, and *jui-jui.*
Ago, long, *kojolo*, and *ngorot.*
Air, *iguuōm.*
Alike, *erian*, and *ekuni.*
All, *dādān.*
Alone, *ayon bon* (I by myself).
Amidst, *kidin.*
Ancestor (m.), *apa*, pl. *ngapapai.*
  (f.), *tata*, pl. *ngatubai.*
And, *ka.*
Angry, to be, *angoiti.*
Animal, *etian*, pl. *ngitian.*
Annoy, to, *etabur* (?).
Another, *eje.*
Answer, *tolim*, pl. *tolimo.*
Answer, to, *elimoqini.*
Antelopes—
  Bush buck, *adarit*, pl. *ngadarita.*
  Dik-dik, *ethuro*, pl. *ngetheroi.*
  Eland, *uwabet*, pl. *nguwabeto.*
  Grant's Gazelle, *ekuete*, pl. *ngakuete*
  Hartebeest, no name, is found near Saunderson Gulf. L. Rudolf.
  Impala, *akoloba*, pl. *ngalobai.*
  Kudu, Greater, *emakak*, pl. *ngemakaka.*
  Kudu, Lesser, *asarich*, pl. *ngasarich*
  Oryx, *eder*, pl. *ngederin.*
  Reed buck, no name, apparently not known.
  Water buck, *akokorait*, pl *ngokorai.*
Anus, *othin*, pl. *ngowus.*
Anybody, *etunganan dan.*
Anything, *ebori dan.*
Anywhere, *neni neni.*
Approach, to, *abuni*, imp., *bwa.*
Arise, *anuyoni.*

Arm. *akan*, pl. *ngakanin*.
Arrange, to, *asubageni*.
Arrive, to, *adoli*.
Arrow, *akoiyet*, pl. *ngoi*.
As, *ikoni*.
Ascend, to, *adoki*.
Ask, to, *angethi*.
Assemble, to, *akōdi*.
Assent, to, *achami*, ? to like, to love.
Assist, to, *angarakini*.
Attack, to, *ajieti*.
Aunt (mat. and pat.), *eya*, pl. *ngaiyayai*
Await, to, *adaruni*.
Awaken, to, *akeni*.
Away, to go, *alothi*.
Axe, *eyap*, pl. *ngaiyapai*.

B

Baboon, *echom*, pl. *ngechomin*.
Baby, *ikoko*, pl. *ngedwi*.
Back, *egur*, pl. *ngurai*
Back, to go, *ebongori*.
Bad, *arono*, pl. *ngaroko*.
  Bad tempered, *ededen*, pl. *ngadadenga*.
Bag, *echui*, pl. *ngechuin*.
Bare, *eloithi kongen*, pl. *eloithi kongena* (? two words).
Bark, *ngarbuk*.
Barrel, *emolich*, pl. *ngemolicha*.
Barren, *ekolup*, pl. *ngelupoka*.
Bathe, to, *elotari*.
Battle, *ajori*, pl. *ngajorethio*.
Bear (children), to, *edōni*.
  Pregnant woman, *ipoti*, pl. *ngekaputiok*.
  Pregnant animal, *akabi*, *pl. ngaboka*.
Beard, *ebenek*, pl. *ngebeneka*.
Beat, to, *arami*, see "hit".
Beautiful, *ejok*, pl. *ngejokoka*.
Because, *kotiri*, *kwani*, *kwīnyīn*.
Bed, *ipem*, pl. *nyepemin*.
Bees, *oūū*.
Before (time), *eringa*.
  ,, (place), *ngarin*.
Beggar, *akaiyeran*, pl. *ngaiyerak*.
Begin, to, *esioni*.
Behind, *kouū*.
Believe, to, *aiyagini*.
Belly, *akok*, pl. *akokis*.
Below, *kwopa*.
Belt, *aroba*, pl. *ngarobai*.
Bend, to, *akodogini*.
  ,, down, to, *tokokumi* (?).
Beseech, to, *alipi*.
Better, *ejok nyokoni*.
Between, *kidin*.
Beware, to, *angolikini*.
Big, *epol*, pl. *ngepolok*.
Bind, to, *ayeni*.
  ,, round, to, *alogi-ogi*.
Bird, *ikenit*, pl. *ngken*.
  Crow, *akorup*, pl. *ngoroka*.
  Dove, *ekuri*, pl. *ngokori*.
  Duck, *abangan*, pl. *ngabanga*.
  Guineafowl, *atapen*, pl. *ngatapeno*.
  Hawk, *ejili*, pl. *ngaijilili*.
  Honey-bird, *ajeje*, pl. *ngaijeje*.
  Marabout, *atoli*, pl. *ngatolin*.
  Quail, *aluro*, pl. *ngalurio*.
  Spurfowl, *abiligaret*, pl. *ngabiligareta*.
  Vulture, *atorokot*, pl. *ngatorok*.
Bite, to, *akoniji*.
Black, *eriono*, pl. *ngerioko*.
Bleed, to, *apoti nakot* (?).
Blind, *emudukona*.
Blood, *nakot*.
Blow, to, *atilegini*.
Blunt, *engini*, pl. *nganginio*.
Body, *akwan*, pl. *ngouwat*.
Boil, to, *akuloueti*.
Bone, *akoit*, pl. *ngakoiyo*.
Borrow, *atagagini*.
Bottom of, *toma*.
Bough (tree), *ateni*, pl. *ngateni*.
Boundary (area), *atiake*, pl. *ngatiaketa*.

Boundary (field), *ekur*, pl. *ngekurin*.
Bow, *akou*, pl. *ngakonō*.
Boy (baby), *ekili*, pl. *ngiliok*.
,, (young), *edit*, pl. *ngedithok*.
Bracelet (iron), *asowat*, pl. *ngathua*.
,, (brass), *maritoit*, pl. *maritoi*.
,, (copper), *maritoit naragan*, pl. *maritoi narangak*.
Brain, *adam*, pl. *ngidem*.
Break, to, *abili*.
Breast, *ethigina*, pl. *ngethigin*.
Breath, *yarakin*.
Bridge, *ikinabet*, pl. *ikinabeta*.
Bring, to. *ayoui*.
Broad, *adapal*.
Brother, *lokadokan*, pl. *ngalokadokon*.
,, (wife's), *akamuran*, pl. *ngamurak*.
,, (husband's), *namwikan*, pl. *ngamwiok*.
Buffalo, *ekothuan*, pl. *ngekothua*.
Build, to, *aduki*.
Bull, *emanik*, pl. *ngemaniko*, see "oxen".
Bullock, *emon*, pl. *ngemongin*, see "oxen".
Burn, to, *enokogini*.
Burst, to, *abela*.
But, *mam ejok* (? lit. not good).
Butter, *akimet*, pl. *ngakajonon* (? plural form).
Butterfly, *aberi*, pl. *ngaberi*.
Buttock, *abor*, pl. *ngaboria*.
Buy, to, *ageli*.

C

Calabash, *etu*, pl. *ngetuel*.
Calf (small), *manangit*, pl. *ngemanan*.
,, (large), *etak*, pl. *ngetak*.
Call, to, *anyari*.
Call out, to, *ejali*.
Camel, *akāl*, pl. *ngāl*.
Can, see "to be able".
Cap (head-dress), *elim*, pl. *ngitemon*.
Cape, *akonōlat*, pl. *ngakouōlai*.
Carcase, *akwan*, pl. *ngouwat*, see "body".
Care, to, *agiteri*. It does not matter, *ikotinini*.
Cat, wild, *lorutoit*, pl. *lokutucha*.
Catch, to, *arumi*.
Cattle, *ngatuk*.
,, fold, *anuk*, pl. *nganukim*.
Cease, to, *arumur*.
Chain, *erikot*, pl. *ngiriko*.
Change, to, *akilokoini*.
,, for, to, *akizecha*.
Chase away, to, *akota*.
Chatterer, *erwerono*, pl. *ngerworothi*.
Cheat, to. *akingala*.
Cheek, *ematanget*, pl. *ngematangeti*.
Cheetah, *arrara*, pl. *ngarrarai*.
Chest, *etorob*, pl. *ngatorobio*.
Chief, *eirkatungan*, pl. *ngatukok*.
Chin, *abokon*, pl. *ngabokonga*.
Choose, to, *atheri*.
Chop, to, *adungi*.
,, small, to, *adungi-dungi*.
,, sharpen, to, *akuli*.
Churn, to, *abūki*, *būki*.
Circumcise, to, *akitubi*, not a Turkana custom.
Clan, *atageri*, pl. *ngatagerin*.
Clap (hands), to, *akibopi*.
Clasp, to, *atingi*.
Claw, see "nail".
Clay (for hair), *emunyan*.
Clean, to, *alotari*.
Clear (water), *elewok*, pl. *ngelewakan*.
,, (space), *agitela*, pl. *ngiteli*.
Cleave, to, *atopoki*.
Clever, *ewuth*, pl. *ngewuthok*.
Climb, to, *adoki*.
Clitoris, *emoniri*, pl. *ngemonir*.
Close, to, *agoli*.
,, (adv.), *āpi*.

Cloth (clothes), *erwaro*, pl. *ngerwaroi*.
Cloud, *edu*, pl. *ngeduon*.
Club, *ebiro*, pl. *ngiberoi*.
Coition, to have, *amanyi*.
Cold, *elilim*, pl. *ngelimo*.
Collect, to, *amorigini*.
Colour, *emunyan* (? see clay).
Black, *eriono*, pl. *ngerioko*.
Black and white, *longerok*, pl. *nglongerokoka*.
Brown, *inyan*, pl. *nyangaka*.
Blue, *yepus*, pl. *ngeputhiaka*.
Green, *alebal*, pl. *ngalibak*.
Mud-colour, *engor*, pl. *ngorioka*.
Purple, *angolipus*, pl. *ngoliputhia* (? probably means "flower").
Red, *eren*, pl. *ngerenak*.
White, *ekwan*, pl. *ngakwanak*.
Come, to, *abuni*.
Arrive, to, *adoli*.
Come apart, to, *angedi*.
Come behind, to, *ezidi*.
Come in, to, *alomari*.
Come near, to, *eyetuni*.
Command, to, *atugi*.
Comprehend, to, *atomuni*.
Conceal, to, *eueti*.
Conquer, to, *akuruori*.
Consent, to, *acemuni*.
Consider, to, *atami*.
Construct, to, *aduki*.
Consult with, to, *ingisi*.
Consume, to, *emagi*.
Continue, to, *euabi*.
Converse, to, *ekieni*.
Cook, to, *edoroki*.
Cooking-pot, *amut*, pl. *ngamuti*.
Cool, to, *atunaguna*.
Cool, *akatorot*.
Corn (cereals), *mumwa* (millet, scarcely any other kind grown).
Beans, *ngamari*.
Eleusine grain, *ngakima*.
Flour, *ngakiriyek*.
Maize, *nyipepe*.
Millet, *mumwa*.
Corpse, *atona*, pl. *ngatoka*.
Costly, *egogo*, pl. *ngogo*.
Cough, to, *awola*.
Cousin (pat.), *lokaiya*, pl. *ngaiyeye*.
,, (mat.), *amaiyargon*, pl. *tamaiyargon*.
Cover, to, *emugo*.
Cow, *atāka*, pl. *ngatak*, see "oxen".
Coward, *ekuriana*, pl. *ngekuriaka*.
Crocodile, *akinyan*, pl. *ngakinganga* or *nginyang*.
Cross, to, *adogi*.
Cry, to, *agori*.
Cultivate, to, *etai*.
Cunning, *ewus*, pl. *ngewuthoko*
Cure, to, *angoleki*.
Cut, to, *adongai*.

D

Daily, *jui-jui*.
Damage, to, *athegni*.
Dance, to, *edonga*.
A dance, *edonga*, pl. *ngdongothe*.
War dance, *akiwar*, pl. *ngewarok*.
Dandy, *egsubana*, pl. *ngesthubok*.
Dark, *eriono*, pl. *ngerioko* (black).
,, night, *akou mutot*.
Daughter, *apethe*, pl. *ngapethui*.
Dawn, *ataparach*, see "time".
Day, *erwait*, pl. *ngurwa*, see "morning", "time", etc.
,, light, *abiet* or *akwabaret*.
Dead body, *atona*, pl. *ngatoka*.
Deaf person, *akingimana*, pl. *ngakingimangan*.
Dear (price), *egogo*, pl. *ngogo*.
Death, *agetū*.
Debt, *amecha*, pl. *ngamechai*.
Decay, to, *abothi*.
Decrease, to, *erogo*.

Deep, *itilono*, pl. *ngitilogo*.
Defend, to, *eti*.
Deflower, to, *apedi*.
Delay, to, *akidongi*.
Depart, to, *anyoni*.
Deride, to, *ameniti*.
Descend, to, *atiari*.
Desert, to, *alokōgini*.
Desire, to, *achemi* (see "like", "love", etc.).
Despise, to, *emaniti* or *emani*.
Destroy, to, *aiyatari*.
Diarrhœa, to have, *erwuruthe*.
Die, to, *atona*.
Different, *ichi*, pl. *ngichi*.
Difficult, *egugo*, pl. *ngegugon*.
Dig, to, *etai*.
Dirt, *eloth*, pl. *ngelothia*.
Disagree, to, *awōni*.
Disappear, to, *amordigi*.
Be lost, to, *angopi*.
Disease (cattle), for human, see "illness".
Pleuropneumonia, *lugoi*
Rinderpest, *loped*.
Scab, *akoikoi*.
Dislike, to, *angeri*.
Distribute, to, *atiagi*.
Ditch, *agipain*, pl. *ngapainya*.
Divide, to, *atoitiokani*.
Divorce, to, *alaki*.
Do, to, *atigi*.
Doctor, *emuron agetai*, pl. *ngemurok ngagetoi*.
Dog, *ingok*, pl. *ngoko*.
,, wild, *epiot*, pl. *ngepioto*.
Donkey, *esikirya*, pl. *ngisikirya*.
Door, *akidor*, pl. *ngidorin*.
Drag, to, *akiria*.
Dread, to, *aiyamiti* or *aiyami*.
Dream, to, *eroji*.
Dress, to, *anapi*.
Drink, to, *emathi*, possibly only of milk.
Drive, to, *ameta*.
,, away, to, *erithi*.
Drop, to, *ajakari*.
Drown, to, *anyani*.
Drunk, to be, *imera*.
Drunken person, *emera*, pl. *ngemerathi*.
Dry, *ewuno*, pl. *ngewunok*.
Dumb person, *akingimana*, pl. *ngakingimaka*.
Dung (human), *achino*, pl. *nyachin*.
,, (animal), *awaret*, pl. *ngawar*.
Dust, *ebua*, pl. *ngebua*.
Dwell, to, *aboiqini*.
Dwelling-place, *ekwarbokan*, pl. *ngekwarbek*.

E

Ear, *agit*, pl. *nyagi*.
Early, *ebai*.
Earth, *elup* or *ngalup*.
Sand, *athinuin*.
Easy, *arumuri*.
Eat, to, *emugi*.
Educate, to, *etatami*.
Egg, *abeyet*, pl. *ngabeye*.
Either . . . or, *kere* . . . *kere*.
Elbow, *esidongaror*, pl. *ngesidongaroria*.
Elephant, *etom*, pl. *ngetom*.
Elsewhere, *watchi* (?).
Employment, *itichi*.
Empty, *elosikongen* (? two words).
Enemy, *emoit*, pl. *ngemoi*.
End, *abor*.
Enjoy, to, *achemi* (see "like", "love", "desire").
Enlarge, to, *etaki*.
Enough, to be, *etamogi*.
Enquire, to, *engesi*.
Enter, to, *alomari*.
Entrails, *amultin*, pl. *ngamultenya*, see "stomach".
Entreat, to, *elipiti*.

Err, to, *athethchi*.
Escape from, to, *ape*.
,, ,, aim, to, *ediaki*.
Escort, to, *erimi*.
European, *emuzugut*, pl. *mzungu*, loan word from Swahili, *sorai*, pl. *tasorai*, lit. "wraith" or "ghost", *emoron*, pl. *ngemorok*, lit. "wizard".
Even, *mum*.
Evening, *ebon*.
Ever, for, *erono io*.
Every man, *ngetunga dan*.
All men, *ngetunga dadan*.
Every time, *ebunichi* (? two words).
Everywhere, *akwop dan*.
Evil, *arono*, pl. *ngaroko*.
Except, *eringa*.
Exchange, to, *ejechi*.
Excreta, see "dung".
Explain, to, *etatomogini*.
Extinguish, to, *etodungi*.
Eye, *akon*, pl. *ngakonyan*.

F

Face, *eret*, pl. *ngeretin*.
Fall, to, *ebosogini*.
,, from above, to, *emasuni*.
,, into, to, *ebosogini* (?).
,, sick, to, *adiakagini*.
Falsehood, *alioko*, pl. *nyaliokoka*.
Family, *ngitunga akan* (lit. "people my").
Famine, *akoro*.
Far, *elwana*.
Fast, *kuwīn*.
Fasten, to, *iyeni*.
Fat, *akimet*, pl. *ngameta*.
Fat man, *elangir*, pl. *ngalangiroko*.
Father, *baba*, pl. *tababa*.
Father-in-law, *akamuranika*.
Fatigued, to be, *kaboro* (?).
Fault, *athichi*, pl. *ngakithech*.
Fear, to, *ayemiti*.
Feather, *akobirot*, pl. *ngakobir*, see "ostrich".
Feeble person, *akalanyana*, pl. *ngalanyaka*.
Feed (graze), to, *eyogi*.
Feel, to, *era*.
Female (human), *abero*, pl. *ngabero*.
,, (animal), *etian abero*, pl. *ngitian ngabero*.
,, (pregnant), *eputi*, pl. *ngekaputiok*.
,, (not yet pregnant), *egunyakoit*, pl. *ngunuko*.
,, (mother), *edo*, pl. *ngedugat*.
,, (barren), *esorokona*, pl. *ngiserok* or *ekolobana*, pl. *ngekolobaka*.
,, (menstruous), *eboi*, pl. *ngeboiyeti*
,, (widow), *ebusorot*, pl. *ngebusorito*.
Fetch, to, *ayoni* (? see "bring").
Few, *ikidiyogo*.
Fierce, *adedi*, pl. *ngadedengak*.
Fight with, to, *igi*.
Fill, to, *elelibu*.
Filth, *elosi*.
Find, to, *arabuni*.
Finger, *ekimoin*, pl. *ngemoyo*.
Thumb, *ekimoin labuloi*, pl. *ngemoyo nglabuloi*.
Finish, to, *erika*.
Fire, *akim*, pl. *ngakimia*, see "stick".
Firewood, *akitoi* pl. *ngakito*.
First, *ngaithioni*.
Fish, *ekolia* pl. *ngolia*.
Flee, to, *ape*.
Flesh, *akirin*, pl. *ngakir*.
Flog, to, *edeti* or *arami*.
Flour, *ngakiria*.
Flow, to, *eleli*
Flower, *angolipus*, pl. *ngoliputhia*, see "colour, purple" (?).
Fly, to, *awusi*.
Fold, to, *akodugoni*.

Follow, to. *ewari.*
Follow, to, *ewapi.*
Food, *akimoich*, pl. *ngimocha.*
Foot, *adapal akeju*, pl. *nyadapal ngakeju*, see "palm", "sole", "shoe".
For, *tati*, or *ya.*
Forbid, to, *Ouwao.*
Force, *egugon.*
Ford, *adoget*, pl. *ngadogeta.*
Foreigner, *ebayunun*, pl. *ngebayok.*
Forest, *amoni*, pl. *nyamoniek.*
Forget, to, *amuriagini.*
Formerly, *kojolon.*
Frequently, *ebon ini jui* (? two or three words).
Fresh, *ejon*, pl. *ngejonok.*
Friend, *epay*, pl. *ngepaylon.*
Frighten, to, *ekiti buli.*
From, *tanan.*
Front, *kingarin.*
Fruit, *ngito.*
Fugitive, *ape*, pl. *ngapeyok* or *engob*, pl. *ngobito*, see "hide".
Fun, *ebulia*, pl. *ngebuliathi.*
Further, *eloka.*

G

Garments, *ouoro*, pl. *ngouario* (cloth), *elo*, pl. *ngeloue* (skin).
Apron, back (man), *edengo*, pl. *ngedengoi.*
Apron, cape (man), *aulat*, pl. *ngaulai.*
Apron, front (women), *adwal*, pl. *nyadwalin.*
Apron, back (women), *abue*, pl. *nyabuith.*
Apron, front (girl), *arach*, pl. *nyaracha.*
Apron, back (girl), *eto*, pl. *ngeloue.*
Gate, *akidor*, pl. *ngedorin.*
Generation, *athapan*, pl. *ngathapan.*
Gently, *ngiapak.*
Get, to. *aroka* or *ainu.*
,, drunk, to. *ameri.*
,, into. to. *alomari.*
,, out of way, to. *igeto.*
,, up. to. *angouni.*
,, upon. to. *adoki.*
,, well. to. *adjokeri akuran.*
Ghost. *eparai*. pl. *ngipare.*
Giraffe. *yekori*. pl. *ngikorio.*
Girl. *apethi*, pl. *ngapethur*, see "female".
Give, to, *ainagini.*
,, back. to, *enyakaquni.*
,, trouble. to. *ejioni.*
Glutton, *edakana*, pl. *ngedakaka.*
Go, to, *aloti.*
,, away (imp.), *tenyu! tenyu.*
,, away from. to, *arotoki.*
,, back, to, *abongori.*
,, bad, to, *ebothi.*
,, behind, to, *ezidi.*
,, down. to, *ationi.*
,, first, to, *angariniqini.*
,, for a walk, to, *elari.*
,, into. to, *alomari.*
,, near. to, *api.*
,, on tip-toe, to, *ayabagini.*
,, past, to, *etori.*
,, round, to, *irimi.*
Goat, *akini*, pl. *ngakini.*
Kid, *ekali*, pl. *ngali.*
He goat, *akorai*, pl. *ngora.*
She goat, *akini*, pl. *ngakini.*
God, *akuich* (? if there is any idea of Supreme Being, see "above").
Good, *ejok*, pl. *ngejokok.*
Good-bye, *abe*, Ans. *ii.*
Good-morning, see interjections of greeting.
Gourd, *itu*, pl. *ngetui.*
,, half, *edera*, pl. *ngaderai.*
Grass, *amel.*
,, young, *amelu.*

Gratis, *akiden*.
Grazing ground, *achokor*, pl. *ngachokoritho*.
Great, *epol*, pl. *ngepolok*.
Greet, to, *emala*.
Grieve, to, *angoiti*.
Grind, to, *eriyi*.
Grow, to, *aroboti*.
Ground, *ngalup* or *elup*.
Grow fat, to, *etomiti*.
,, thin, to, *ekariti*.
Guide, *akarikoin*, pl. *ngariko*.
Gun, *atom*, pl. *ngetom*, see "elephant", a section of the tribe who possess rifles and are poachers are known by this name.

H

Hair, *atimat*, pl. *ngatim*.
Head-dress, *amedok*, pl. *ngemedoi*, the distinctive Turkana coiffure.
Half, *pairiwi*, pl. *ngepaywei*.
Hang, to, *anenegini*, *amedi* (of human beings).
Hand, *akan*, pl. *ngakanin*, see "palm".
Hard, *egugo*.
Haste, *ebunya*, pl. *ngebunyaka*.
Hasten, to, *akomo* or *amutumi*.
Hasty, *engona*, pl. *nganowak*.
Hate, to, *angeri*.
Have, to, *atingeti*.
He, *ngeth*.
Head, *ako*, pl. *nyakis*.
Hear, to *ēra*.
Heart, *etou*, pl. *ngetai*.
Heaven, *akuich*, see "above".
Heavy, *eputi*, pl. *ngeputiok*.
Heifer, *atou*, pl. *ngatak*.
Help, to, *engaragini*.
His and Her (poss.), *ekin*, pl. *ngulukin*.
Herd, *esipan*, pl. *nyesipuni*.
Herdsman, *egayokon*, pl. *ngeyoko*.
Here, *nege*.
He is here, *eyei*.
Here and there, *nege ka ama*.
Hide, to, *ewayti*.
Persons in hiding, *engob*, pl. *ngobito*.
High, *eway*, pl. *ngewayok*.
Hill, *amukora*, pl. *ngemokor*, see "mountain".
Hippopotamus, *epir*, pl. *ngipirin*.
Hit, to (with stick), *arami*, see "beat".
,, (with spear), *echomi*.
,, (with fist), *anani*.
,, (box ears), *ebapi*.
,, (kick) *apethi*.
Hitherto, *tari-tokona*.
Hoe (wooden digging-stick), *akuta*, pl. *ngakuta*.
,, (iron), *ameleko*, pl. *ngemelakoi*.
Hoof, see "nail".
Hold, to, *atingi*.
Hole, *akipan*, pl. *ngapanya*.
Home, *ngakwabokothi* (? two words).
Honey, *nyesik*.
Horn, *amwarak*, pl. *ngamwar*.
Horse, *angoli*, pl. *nyangolei*.
Hot, *emona*, pl. *ngemoka*.
House (hut), *akie*, pl. *ngakiyis*.
How ? *ebalai* or *eko nyai* ?
,, often ? *ngeyai* or *nyeyai* ?
,, many ? *ngeyai* or *nyeyai* ?
However, *ani tokona*, lit. "if immediately".
Hunger, *akoro*.
Hunt, to, *awaringitia*.
Hunter, *akolokit*, pl. *ngoloki*.
Hurt, to, *ewanani*.
Husband, *lokiliakan*, pl. *ngiliokoka*.
Hyena, *ebu*, pl. *ngebui*.

I

I, *ayon*.
Idle person, *ekalanyanga*, pl. *ngalanyaka*.

If, *ami*.
Ignorant person, *ebangana*, pl. *ngebangaka*.
Ill, to be, *adiaka*.
Illness, *edege*, pl. *ngideye*.
Abcess, *elibonoit*, pl. *ngilibono*.
Catarrh, *arokom*, pl. *ngarokoma*.
Cough, *awali*, pl. *ngawalathi*.
Cystitis, *akuiya* (?).
Diarrhœa, *ōruthe*, and dysentery ?
Gonorrhœa, *eliput*.
Malaria, *ngessoro*.
Measles, *ekurara* (? chicken-pox).
Rash, *ngoikoi* (? measles or chicken-pox).
Rheumatism, *labai*.
Small-pox, *ngakodoi* (? measles, chicken-pox, or rash).
Sore, *ajemi*, pl. *ngijemi*.
Spleen, enlarged, *ariaba etit*.
Syphilis, *ngetch* (? yaws).
Tonsilitis, *ariaba porotor*.
Toothache, *ariaba ngelai*.
Worms, *ngipeli*.
Imitate, to, *arouni*.
Immature, *edit*, pl. *ngedithiak*.
Immediately, *tokona*.
Implore, to, *elipi*.
Imprecate, to, *eyeni*.
In, *toma*.
,, front, *angarinikini*.
,, place of, *alokonyi*.
,, the morning, *ataparach*.
,, the evening, *ebon*.
Increase, to, *eyetagini*.
Information, *ngagiro*.
Inhabit, to, *eboieti*.
Insect, *ngur*.
Investigate, to, *athaki*.
Iron, *athowa*, pl. *ngathua*.
Irritate, to, *akatuboi*.
Its, *ekin*.
Ivory, *egelai*, pl. *ngelai*.

J

Jackal, *ekui*, pl. *ngekui*.
Jaw, *abokoin*, pl. *ngabokonya*.
Jealous person, *emurana*, pl. *ngemuraga*.
Join, to, *arobakini*.
Journey, *ouwethit*, pl. *ngouwethok*.
Joyous, to be, *alakara*.
Jump (dance), to, *edongagini*.

K

Keep, to, *auwaiti*.
,, guard, to, *arimi*.
,, hold, to, *arimikiro*.
Kick, to, *apethi*.
Kill, to, *ari*.
Murder, to, *echumi*.
Kind, *ejok*, pl. *ngejoka*.
Knee, *akun*, pl. *ngakungin*.
Knife, *ekilen*, pl. *ngilenya*.
,, wrist, *abarait*, pl. *ngibara*.
,, finger, *akoli*, pl. *ngakoli*.
Knock, to, *akikongo*.
Strike, to, *anangi*.
Know, to, *aiyeni*," who knows ", *aiye*
Kraal (cattle), *anok*, pl. *ngokin*.

L

Labour, *etich*.
Land (country), *akwop*, pl. *ngakwopa*.
Language, *akiror*, pl. *ngakirosia*.
Lap, *amuro*, pl. *amuroi*.
Large, *epul*, pl. *ngepulok*.
Last, *asalunet*.
Lazy, *akalanyana*, pl. *ngalanyaka*.
Lead, to, *erikoli*.
Leader, *erotoit*, pl. *ngerotoitin*.
Leaf, *akui*, pl. *ngakui*.
Learn, to, *atatami*.
Leave, to (place), *alothi*.
,, (thing) *athikini*. Leave it alone! *Towa thik*.
Throw away, to, *ejakagini*.
Left, *kidien*.

Leg, *akeju*, pl. *ngakeju*, see " foot ".
Legend, *aken*, pl. *nyeneti*.
Leopard, *eris*, pl. *ngerise*.
Lessen, to, *etieki*.
Lick, to, *amaye*.
Lie, *alioko*, pl. *ngaliokoko*.
Liar, *aliokonayo*, pl. *ngiliokoko*.
Lie down, to, *adadiari*.
Lift, to, *adakuni*.
Lightening, *emilia*.
Like, to, *ekuni*.
Line, *akiterian*, pl. *ngiterianathi*.
Linger, to, *ezidi*.
Lion, *angatuin*, pl. *ngatuino*.
Lips, *akitok*, pl. *ngakutoka*.
Listen, to, *era*.
Little, *edit*, pl. *nyedithak*.
,, (few), *ngidioko*.
Live at, to, *alomiti*.
Locust, *emathi*, pl. *ngemathia*.
Loins, *akolukot*, pl. *ngalukoi*.
Loiter, to, *adarioni*, see " stay ".
Long, *ehoi*, pl. *ehoiyok*.
Look, to, *engolikini*.
,, after, to, *ayogi*.
,, for, to, *athaki*.
Loosen, to, *alakari*.
Lose, to, *achemi*.
Lost, to be, *achakari*.
Lover, *akoni*, pl. *ngakoni* (woman), *epay*, pl. *ngepaylon*.
Lower, to, *atiari*.
Luck, *eken*.
Lurk, to, *amunoni*.

M

Mad person, *engarep*, pl. *nyonagarepa*.
Magician, *akabilan*, pl. *ngabilak*.
Maize, *nyepepe*.
Make, to, *etiji*.
Male, *ekili*, pl. *ngiliok*.
Man, warrior, see " male ".
Man, old, *ekasiko*, pl. *ngasikot*.
Mankind, *etonganan*, pl. *ngitonga*.
Many, *elalak*.
Mark, *emachar*, pl. *ngmacharin*.
Scar, *abori*, pl. *ngabori*.
Cicatrisation, *agerathin*, pl. *ngageran*
Marry, to, *ewusi*.
Meal (food), *akimoich*, pl. *ngimocha*, see " food ".
,, (flour), *ngakiriyek*, see " corn ".
Meaning, *kiinyo*.
Measure, to, *etemi*.
Meat, *akirin*, pl. *ngakerin*.
Medicine, *ekitoi*, pl. *ngakito*.
" Medicine man ", *emuron*, pl *ngemurok*.
Meet, to, *ekiriama*.
Melt, to, *achala*.
Mend, to, *aropi*.
Menstrous, *eboi*, pl. *ngeboieti*, see " female ".
Messenger, *ayeki*, pl. *ngayakan*.
Middle, *kidin*.
Milk, *akili*.
Butter, *akimet*, pl. *ngakajonon* (? plural form).
Curdled, *ngakikok*.
Fresh, *alepan*.
Millet, *mumwa*, see " corn ".
Mind to, *angolikini*. I don't mind, *nye kalikini*.
Miscarry, to, *ezetcho*.
Mislead, to, *achakari*.
Miss (aim), to, *adiaki*.
Mist, *ekuno*.
Mistake, to, *asegi*.
Modesty, *akerit*.
Monkey (Sykes ?), *akodokon*, pl. *ngadokoi*.
(baboon), *echom*, pl. *ngechomin*.
(colobus), *elala*, pl. *ngelali* (? found in Turkana).
Month, *elap*, pl. *ngelapio*.
Moon, *elap*, pl. *ngelapio*.

More, *elal*.
Moreover, *nabo*.
Morning (dawn), *ataparach*, see "time".
,, (morning), *ethimakunyuk*.
Mosquito, *etherot*, pl. *ngesorro*, see "illness, malaria".
Mother, *toto*, pl. *tatoto*.
Mother-in-law, *akamuranika*, pl. *ŋqamurak*.
Mountain, *emoro*, pl. *ngemor*.
,, range, *aukot*, pl. *ngoukon*.
Hill, *amukora*, pl. *ngemokor*.
Mouth, *akitok*, pl *ngakituka*, see "tooth".
Teeth, *agelai*, pl. *ngelai*.
Throat, *edokoli*, pl. *ngadokoli*.
Tongue, *aliep*, pl. *ngaliep*.
Tonsils, *ngachelo* (sing. ?).
Uvular, *aligoret* (pl. ?).
Move, to (belongings), *auwethi*.
Much, *elalak*.
Mud, *echoto*.
,, river, *ezinyan*.
,, head-dress, *emunyan*, see "class", "hair".
Murder, to, *akarani* (?).
Murder, *achumi*, pl. *ngachumak*.
Musical instruments:—
War-horn, *atom*, pl. *ngatom*.
Ankle bells, *echorot*, pl. *ngechoror*.
My, *akan*, pl. *ngulukan*.

N

Nail (human), *emargoit*, pl. *ngemagor*.
Hoof, *emargoit*, pl. *ngemagor* (?).
Claw, *emargoit*, pl. *ngemagor* (?).
Naked, *elusi kongen*, pl. *ngelusi kongen*.
Name, *ekero*, pl. *ngiriorwa*.
What is your name? *Ngai akero ekon?*
Narrow, *akapithena*, pl. *ngapithaka*.
Near, *api*.
Neck, *emotherin*, pl. *ngemotheringa*.
Need, to, *adami*.
Needle, *emoto*, pl. *ngemotoin*.
Neighbour, *emorothi*, pl. *ngemoroka*.
Neither . . . nor, *ō . . . ō*
Neutral (land), *akwap kongen*, pl. *ngakwapa kongen*.
Never, *ngaruthia dan*.
New, *ekitet*, pl. *ngitetia*.
News, *akiro*, pl. *ngekiroi*.
Nice (to the taste), *ebob*, pl. *ngebobo*
Night, *akuari*, pl. *ngakuaretha*, see "time".
No, *mam*.
Noise, *achel*, pl. *ngachelaka*.
Nonsense, *alioko*, pl. *ngeliokonitha*.
Nose, *ekumi*, pl. *ngikumith*.
Not, *mam*.
Now, *tokona*, see "time".
to-day, *tete*.
just before, *takai*.
nowadays, *ng'orualo*.
after a little, *aringa*.
Number, to, *emari*.

O

Oath, *akilam*, pl. *ngilomit*.
Obtain, to, *ainu*.
Offspring (human), *ikoko*, pl. *ngedui*.
,, (animal), *itako*, pl. *ngitak*.
Often, *jue-jue-jue*.
Oil, see "butter".
Old (animal), *emojongit*, pl. *ngemojongito*.
,, (man), *akasikot*, pl. *ngasikot*.
,, (woman), *akimat*, pl. *ngakimat*.
On, *neni*.
,, top of, *kidi ama*.
Only (one thing, etc., only), *epei bon*.
,, (more than one thing only), *maki*.
Open, to, *alakathi*.
,, (adj.), *engara*, pl. *nyangarar*.
Order, to, *aiyeki*.
Ostrich, *akalis*, pl. *ngaliso*.

Ostrich feather, *akobirot*, pl. *ngakobir*.
Other, *echi*, pl. *ngechi*.
Our, *akothi*, pl. *ngulu kothi*.
Out, *kinga*.
Over, *kudiama*.
Overcome, to, *ebwanga*.
Oxen, *ate*, pl. *ngatuk*.
bull, *emanik*, pl. *ngemaniko*.
bullock, *emon*, pl. *ngemongin*.
calf (small), *manangit*, pl. *ngemanan*.
,, (large), *etak*, pl. *ngetak*.
cow, *atāka*, pl. *ngatak*.
,, barren, *akolup*, pl. *ngolupaka*.
black ox, *egiriano*, pl. *ngiriianoko*.
black and white ox, *ongerok*, pl. *ngerokoka*.
cream ox, *angiro*, pl. *ngiroiek*.
dance ox, *kamar*, pl. *ngalukamaro*.
hornless ox, *ilimwana*, pl. *ngilimwaka*.
horns forward ox, *kodu*, pl. *ngakodoka*.
slate ox, *epus*, pl. *ngepusier*.
white ox, *ekwakwagan*, pl. *ngekwanoka*.
white-headed ox, *angoli kirionok*, pl. *nyangoli ngirionok*.
(Every possible coloration of oxen has a special name.)

P

Pack, to, *aiyeni*.
,, ,, (fill), *alilepi*.
Pain, to, *epilpili*.
Palm (hand), *etou ya akan*, pl. *ngetou ya ngakanin*.
Palm (sole), *etou ya keju*, pl. *ngetou ya ngakeju*.
Part, *aperwai*.
,, from, to, *atiakari*.
,, (divorce), *alaki*.
Pass, to, *etori*.
Pasture, *amelu*.
Pay, to, *apotosi*, see "receive".
Peace, *ekithil*.
Pebble, *ezinyeh*, pl. *ngazin yono*, see "stone".
Penetrate, to, *alamori*.
split, to, *apedori*.
Penis, *amer*, pl. *ngamirin*.
,, circumcised, *alenger*, pl. *ngalenger*.
People, *ngitonga*.
Perceive, to, *etami*.
Perhaps, *kure* or *ayeh* (?).
Permission, to give, *achamuni*.
Perspiration, *akininer*, pl. *ngakinenira*, see "sweat".
Physic, *ekitoi*, pl. *ngekito*.
Pick up, to, *arapi*.
,, out, to, *alemari*.
Pig, *ebutir*, pl. *ngibutero*.
wart hog, *epigi*, pl. *ngapigi*.
Place, to, *engadaqini*.
Plain, a, *etot*, pl. *ngatotin*.
,, large, *aro*, pl. *ngaroitin*.
Play, to, *abolia*.
Please, to, *alakari*.
Pleasure, *alakar*.
Poison, *asorich*, pl. *ngasoricho*.
Pond, see "spring".
,, (rain), *atapar*, pl. *ngataparin*.
,, (large), *ebur*, pl. *ngiburin*.
well, *akar*, pl. *ngakari*.
Poor person, *ebotonait*, pl. *ngaboto*; berry pickers, *egulukit*, pl. *ngaluk*.
Porcupine, *echoit*, pl. *ngichecha*.
Porridge, *atap*.
Pot, *amut*, pl. *ngamuti*.
Pound, to, *atoru*.
Pour, to, *abukori*.
Pray, to, *elipi*.
Pregnant, to be, *ebuti*.
Present, to, *anagini*.
Press, to, *atinyari*.
Prevent, to, *arabagini*.

Procure, to, *aiua*.
Property, *ngebarin*.
Prostitute, *apethi angabuth*, pl. *ngapethur ngabuthin*.
Pull, to, *erieri*.
Pumpkin, *eridet*, pl. *ngidet*.
Pure, *mum aloth* (lit. "no dirt").
Pursue, to, *ewabi*.
Push, to, *ejukari*.
Put, to, *engadagini*.
Praise, to, *amagi*.

Q

Quarrel, to, *engolabathi*.
Quake, to, *emarani*.
Question, to, *engithi*
Quick, *kiranyir*.
Quiet, to be, *elilinga*.
Quiet (silent), *elilingana*, pl. *ngelingathi*.
,, person, *epatana*, pl. *ngepataka*.
Quietly, *eyabagini*.

R

Raid, to, *ejori*.
Rain, *akirn*.
Rainbow, *ejipa*.
Raise, to, *adakari*.
Rat, *ejalin*, pl. *ngejaluno*.
Rather, *todepai*.
Raw, *ejon*, pl. *ngejonok*.
Ready, *elu*.
Reap, to, *alemi*.
Receive, to, *ejouni*, see "pay"
Reckon, to, *emari*.
Recollect, to, *etami*.
Red, *eren*, pl. *ngerenak*.
Reduce, to, *ekudiakuti*.
Refuse, to, *angeri*, or *ouwoni*.
Rein, *arukoin*, pl. *arukoines*.
Rejoice, to, *alakari*.
Relate, to, *egayeni*.
Remain, to, *adongi*.
Remind, to, *totetomi*.
Remove, to, *egatori*.
Repay, to, *engakuni*.
Reply, to, *atimogini*.
Return, to, *abongani*.
Rhinoceros, *amothi*, pl. *ngamothungok*
Rich man, *gakabaran*, pl. *ngabarak*.
Right, *toten*.
Ripe, to be, *kidien*.
River, *angalal*, pl. *ngangalalio*, see "stream".
,, dry, *agamay*, pl. *ngagamay*.
Rob, to, *akokoie*.
Root, *ataqorot*, pl. *ngataqor*.
Rope, *akolulo*, pl. *ngakolet*.
Round, *ajikali*, pl. *ngajikalin*.
Rub, to, *irugari*.
Rubbish, *ngatungen*.
Run, to, *akeri*.

S

Saliva, *ngakimal*, see "spit"
Salt-lick, *edot*, pl. *ngedotin*
Sand, *athimain*.
Sandal, *amukat*, pl. *ngamuk*.
Satisfied, to be, *emwoko*.
Savage, *ededan*, pl. *ngededamak*
Save, to, *aratagini*.
Say, to, *abala*.
Tell (introductory to an interpreter), *abalionga*.
Scar, *emachar*, pl. *ngmacharin*, see "mark".
Scout, *akarikoin*, pl. *ngariko*.
Scratch, to, *akoi*.
Season (wet), *ageboro*.
,, (dry), *akamu*.
Seat, *ekijolon*, pl. *ngijolona*.
See, to, *ainua*.
Seed, *nyinyom*, pl. *nginyomia*.
Seize (force), to, *toruakini*.
,, (without force), to, *arumi*.
Select, to, *ebaki*.

Sell, to, *ageli*.
Send, to, *aigeye*.
Sense, *ewus*, pl. *ngewusok*.
Sentry, *ekerimon*, pl. *ngerimo*
Separate, *elikari*.
Sew, to, *adomi*.
Shade, *etolim*, pl. *ngitolimon*.
Shadow, *eturubi*, pl. *ngiturubi*.
Shame, *aiyamiti*.
Share, to, *atiagi*.
Sharp, *ekwana*, pl. *ngekwaka*.
Sharpen, to, *ebeni*.
Sheep, *amethek*, pl. *ngamethekin*.
  ram, *egetipan*, pl. *ngetipaka*.
  ewe, as "sheep".
  lamb, *ekali*, pl. *ngali*.
  castrate, *edongi*, pl. *ngadongok*.
Shepherd, *egayokon*, pl. *ngayokok*.
Shield, *oupwal*, pl. *ngoupwala*.
Shiver, to, *emarani*.
Short, *ouriana*, pl. *ngouriaka*.
Shoulder, *ethiket*, pl. *ngethiketa*.
Shout, to, *echoli*.
Show, to, *edoluki*.
Shrewd, *ewath*, pl. *ngewathok*.
Shut, to, *ayoli*.
Sick, *edeki*, pl. *ngedeketh in*.
  ,, person, *eliak*, pl. *ngeliakathi*.
Side, *ebwai*, pl. *ngawaitin*.
  ,, i.e. this bank . . . that bank, *egirolo* . . . *egwagin*.
  ,, side by side, *ebawi*.
Sin, to, *esezi*.
Since, *napekolom*.
Sing, to, *eruko*.
Sister, *lokadokan*, pl. *ngaitotui* (?), see "brother".
Sister-in-law, *akamoran*, pl. *ngamurak*.
Sit, to, *eboigini*.
Skeleton, *akōiyok*, pl. *ngakōiyo*.
Skin (human), *emun-ya etunganan*, pl. *ngemun-ya ngitunga*.
  ,, (new), *ejam*, pl. *ngejam*.
Skin, to, *aigengi*.
Skull, *ako*, pl. *ngakogin*.
Sky, *akuich*, see "above", "God".
Slaughter, to, *achomi*.
Slave, *erigon*, pl. *ngerikok*.
Sleep, *ngaju*.
  ,, to, *aperi* or *achotoie*.
  Bed, *epem*, pl. *ngapemiok*.
Slender, *akobith*, pl. *ngakobithana*.
Slip, to, *eriangagi*.
Slowly, *ayabakini*.
Small, *edit*, pl. *ngeditkok*.
Smell, to, *anguiti*.
Smith, *akatiakam*, pl. *ngatiakak* (?). Probable meaning of this word is not "smith" but "craftsman". The Turkana do little, if any, iron work.
Smoke, *apurru*.
  ,, to, *amathi*
Smooth, *enonok*, pl. *ngenonoka*.
Smoothe, to, *agoli*.
Snail, *apolobon*, pl. *ngapolobona*.
Snake, *emun*, pl. *ngemun*.
  Puff-adder, *akipom*, pl. *ngapomia*.
  Python, *enorotot*, pl. *ngenorotota*.
  Spitting-cobra, *erau*, pl. *ngarewa*.
Snare, *aloit*, pl. *ngaloito*.
Sneeze, to, *ekarathiagini*.
Snore, to, *eruma*.
Snuff, *etaba ekumi*, pl. *ngetabin ekumi*.
  Tobacco, *etom*, pl. *ngetomian* (? tobacco plant).
  Chewing tobacco, *enyakait*, pl. *nganyakaita*.
Soft, *enonok*, pl. *ngenonoka*.
Sole (foot), *etou ya kejo*, pl. *ngetou ya ngakeju*, see "palm".
Some, *echi*, pl. *ngulu chi*.
  ,, one, *echi etunganan*, pl. *nguluchi ngitunga*.
  ,, thing, *echi eburi*, pl. *nguluchi ngeboro*.

Son, *edit*, pl. *ngedithok*.
Son-in-law, *akamuran*, pl. *ngakamurak*.
Song, *adonga*, pl. *ngadongathin*.
Soon, *eringa adojiji*.
Sore, *ejimi*, pl. *ngajimo*.
Boil, *elibunait*, pl. *ngelibuno*.
Soul (heart), *etaw*, pl. *ngetowin*.
Sound, *echaala*, pl. *ngechalatha*.
Soup, *ngapok*.
Sour, *edwar*, pl. *ngedwaraka*.
Space, *elolom*, pl. *ngelomoka*.
Speak, to, *erworo*.
Spear, *akwara*, pl. *ngawarath*.
,, shaft, *emorok*, pl. *ngemorkin*.
,, sheath, *akuraro*, pl. *ngakuraroi*.
Spider, *asimakok*, pl. *ngasimakoka*
Spill, to, *ebukori*.
Spit, to, *emulaki*.
Spittle, *arimu*, pl. *ngakimulak*, see "saliva".
Spleen, *etid*, pl. *ngetidin*.
Split, to, *atopoki*, see "cleave".
Spoil, to, *asegi*.
Spokesman, *ekodukan*, pl. *ngadukok*.
Spoon, *akolopoich*, pl. *ngolopoicha*.
Spoor, *akeju*, pl. *ngakeju*, see "foot".
Spread, to, *ouwatari*.
Spring, *ejwa*, pl. *ngejowi*, see "pond".
Rock pools, *ibur*, pl. *ngiburin*.
Sprinkle, to, *abilimilimi*.
Spy, *orototin*, pl *ngorototio*.
Squabble, to, *acheli*.
Squeeze, to, *atimyari*.
Stab, to, *achomi*.
Stand, to, *owwei*.
,, to make to, *asibogini*.
Star, *kanyerit*, pl. *nganyer*.
Morning Star, *etup*.
Southern Cross, *ngeringatom* (? Great Bear).
Startle, to, *erianakini*.
Starved, to be, *etonganan ayon akoro*.
Stay, to, *aboikini*.
Wait for, to, *adarum*.
Loiter, to, *adariom*.
Steal, to, *akokoie*.
Stick, *ebela*, pl. *ngabellai*.
,, switch, *akwilit*, pl. *ngalita*.
,, curved (a weapon), *ebelebel*, pl. *ngebelebellai*.
,, fire, *akikoi akim*, pl. *ngakikoi akim*.
Stick, to, *adupi*.
Sting, to, *eputa*.
Stingy, *ekamwunan*, pl. *ngekamwukai*.
Stomach, *eboi*, pl. *ngaboyo*.
Entrails, *amultin*, pl. *ngamultenya*.
Third stomach, *abunukait*, pl. *ngabunakai*.
Water stomach, *ethurun*, pl. *ngathurunya*.
Stone, *amoro*, pl. *ngamar*.
White quartz, *amoro ekwan*, pl. "stone-white".
Mica, *amoro paripari*, lit. "stone shining".
Pebbles, *ezinen*, pl. *ngazinyono*.
Stool (pillow), *ekechelom*, pl. *ngekechelomin*.
(sitting), *emaguk*, pl. *ngemogaka*.
Stop, to, *arotagini* (?).
,, a hole, to, *amukori*.
Story, *akien*.
Stout, *elangir*, pl. *ngelangiroko*, see "fat".
Stranger, *ebayunan*, pl. *ngebayok*.
Strangle, *amedi*.
Stream, *angolul*, pl. *ngangolulio*, see "river".
Dry river, *ayonay*, pl. *ngaiyonay*.
Strength, *ededi*.
Stretch, to, *ariari*.
String, *akobito*, pl. *ngakobit*.
Strip off, to, *apochi*.
Stripe, *akikir*, pl. *ngakiran*.

Strive, to, *atatami*.
Strong, *egogon*, pl. *ngagongonok*.
Strop, to, *erukududi*.
Stumble, to, *abusogini*.
Stupid, *ebangana*, pl. *ngebangaka*.
Subdue, to, *apiori*.
Suckle, to, *atanagi*.
Suffice, to, *etemogini*.
Summit, *kudiama*.
Sun, *akolon*, pl. *ngakolon*, see "time".
Suppose, to, *atatami*.
Surpass, to, *apiori*.
Surprise, to, *apiori* (?), see "Startle".
Surround, to, *arikoni*.
  Go round, to, *arimi*.
Swallow, *alikori*.
Swamp, *echotom*, pl. *ngachoto*.
Sweat, *akinenir*, pl. *ngakinenira*, see "perspiration".
Sweep, to, *epiari*.
Sweet, *ebop*, pl. *ngabobop*.
Swell, to, *abo*.
Swine, *ebutir*, pl. *ngibutero*, see "pig".
Switch, *akwilit*, pl. *ngalita*.

T

Tail, *akothim*, pl. *ngakothima*.
  ,, sheep, *athonyok*, pl. *ngathonyoka*.
Tailor (skins), *akidoin*, pl. *ngadonyok*.
Take, to, *alemari*.
  ,, (by force), *alemari*.
  ,, down, to, *amathuni*.
  ,, off, to, *outuni*.
  Take care! *ngolik!*
  Receive, to, *atachi*.
  Hold, to, *atinqi*.
Talk, to, *eruwori*.
  Converse, to, *aiyeni*.
Tall, *ewai*, pl. *ngawaiok*.
Tan, to (hides), *aiyengi*.
Taste, to, *aiyeni*.
Teach, to, *atatami*.
Tear, to, *etiegi*.
Tears, *ngakio*.
Tell, to, *alimogini* or *athiruri*.
Tend, to (herds), *aiyoki*.
Tender, *anonok*, pl. *nganonoka*.
Tendon, *amorit*, pl. *ngamori*.
Testicles, *eto*, pl. *ngeto*.
Tether, *aiyeni*.
Thank, to, *akathi*.
That, *eya, ekwa, yaga, kwagwa*
Thatch, to, *anuki*.
Thee, *ion*.
Their, *ekech, ngulukech*.
Them, *keth*.
There, *lalo* (near), *ama* (distant).
These, *elu* or *ngul*.
They, *keth*.
Thick, *eput*, pl. *ngeputiok*.
Thief, *akokolan*, pl. *ngokolaka*.
Thigh, *alokidin*, pl. *ngalokidingo*.
Thin, *arogo*, pl. *ngurogoi*.
Thine, *ekon*, pl. *ngulukan*.
Thing, *eburi*, pl. *ngeboro*.
  ,, of no value, *mam eburi eyeyi*.
Think, to, *atami*.
  think! *kitam*.
Thirst, to, *akori*.
This, *en, lo*, or *ngol*.
Thorn, *akokai*, pl. *ngoka*.
Those, *ekwa* (near), *kwagwa* (remote).
Thread, *arukan*, pl. *ngarukanis*.
Throat, *edokoli*, pl. *ngadokoli*, see mouth, etc.
Throttle, to, *amedi*.
Throw, to, *aichakari*.
  ,, backwards, to, *auwatari*.
Thumb, *ekimoin nabolon*.
Thunder, *egiru*, pl. *ngakiro*.
Thus, *ekoti-nini*.
Tick, *emadan*, pl. *ngamadan*.
  ,, small, *eyeyit*, pl. *ngagie*.
Tickle, *akerididi*.
Tie, to, *aiyeni*.
  ,, (knot), *alokiloki*.

Tighten, to, *akirichagini*.
Till, *ta*.
until now, *ta erimoi*
Time, *orwa*, pl. *orwathin* (?).
dawn, *ataparach*, early morning generally.
morning, *ethimakangak*.
midday, *paparan*.
afternoon, *ebon*.
night, *akwan*.
to-day, *tete* or *akolon itina*.
this morning, *tete ataparach*
6 a.m., *aloma akolon*.
7 a.m., *achon akolon*.
12 a.m., *cer akolon*.
2 p.m., *athom akolon*.
6 p.m., *aloma akolon*
to-morrow, *mui*.
to-morrow morning, *mui ataparach*
the day after to-morrow, *mui echi akolon*.
yesterday, *beyen*.
yesterday morning, *beyen ataparach*.
the day before yesterday, *ngon echi akolon*.
Tired, to be, *aboroni*.
Tobacco, *etaba*, pl. *ngetabin*, see "snuff".
,, snuff, *etaba ekumi*, pl. *ngetabin ekumi*.
,, chewing, *engakait*, pl. *ngangakata*.
,, box, *eburiangan*, pl. *ngeburianganga*; of oryx-horn, *atom*, pl. *ngetom*, see "gun", "elephant" (?).
To-day, *tete* or *akolon itina*, see "time".
Toe, *akimoin akejo*, pl. *ngakimoio ngakeju*.
Together, *dadan*.
Tomb, *alial*, pl. *ngalialim*.
To-morrow, *mui*, see "time".
Tongue, *aliep*, pl. *ngaliep*.
Tonsils, *ngachelo*, see "mouth".
Tooth, *angelai*, pl. *ngelai*, see "mouth"
,, back, *atatiago*, pl. *natiago*
Hole where teeth of lower have been extracted, *ngigi*
,, extract, to, *ouruturi*
,, stick, for cleaning, *angai* pl. *ngangakanga*.
Tortoise, *ebokok*, pl. *ngebokoka*.
Total, *dadan*.
Totally, *pk*.
Totter, to, *amaranaraqini*.
Touch, to, *araraki*.
Trade, to, *egeliti*.
Trade, *ageli*.
Trample, to, *achaqi*.
Trap, *ewano*, pl. *ngonnui*.
pit-trap, *akipai*, pl. *ngapanga*.
noose-trap, *aloit*, pl. *ngaloito*.
Trap, to, *angeni*.
Travel, to, *dari*.
Traveller, *ebagun*, pl. *ngebagok*.
Tread, to, *achaqi*.
Tree, *akitoi*, pl. *ngakito*.
,, stump, *ebungun*, pl. *ngebungun*
,, branch, *akan akitoi*, pl. *ngakanin ngarito*.
,, bark, *akobuket*, pl. *ngabuk*
Tremble, to, *akab*.
Tribe, *atela*, pl. *ngetelai*.
What is your tribe? *ali tela kon?*
Abyssinian, *ekorothinait*, pl. *ngarothi*. because they cut off tails of living sheep.
Arab, *emarambot*, pl. *ngemaramba* borrowed word from Suk.
Chebleng, *echibellelait*, pl. *ngechebelil*. some reference to sticks.
Dorobo, the Turkana have not met the Andorobo proper, but call their own poor people who hunt and cultivate: *ebotonait*, pl. *ngabotok*, not very poor people;

akolokit, pl. *ngoluki*, trappers; *egirionait*, pl. *ngirionokok*, no property.

European, see "European".

Kamasia, *emathait*, pl. *ngematha*, see "Masai".

Kavirondo, *ekavirondoit*, pl. *ngikavirondo*, borrowed word.

Kikuyu, *akokoit*, pl. *ngoko*, borrowed word (?).

Masai, *emathait*, pl. *ngematha*, see Kamasia, or *edoboubal*, pl. *ngedaboubala*.

Nandi, no name, the tribes have not met.

Njemps, *emathait*, pl. *ngematha*, see "Masai", "Kamasia."

Suk, *eaupe*, pl. *ngeupe*.

Swahili, *echombait*, pl. *ngichomba*, probably borrowed word from Suk. (cf. Giryama, *Adzomba*.)

Turkana, *eturkaneit*, pl. *ngiturkana*.

Triumph over, to, *abieri*.

Trot, to, *akiapakiri*.

Trouble, *erepirep*.

Trough, *eteker*, pl. *ngatekera*.

,, small, *etuba*, pl. *ngatubai*.

milk bowl, *elipit*, pl. *ngilipai*.

gourd used as a glass, *eboli*, pl. *ngiboloi*.

Truly, *kere* or *akaitini-tini*.

Trumpet (wooden), *atom*, pl. *ngatom*.

Trunk (human body), *ekwan*, pl. *ngawat*.

,, (elephant) *ewuno ke-'tom*.

Try, to, *atetemogini*.

,, by ordeal, to, *ethilami*.

Tumble from, to, *achagini*.

Turn, to, *abelukari*.

,, out, to, *arethi*.

,, inside out, to, *alelukari*.

Twig, *akitoi jiji* (lit. tree small).

Twin, *amogo*, pl. *ngamoain*.

Twist, to, *alodi*.

,, many times, to, *alodi lodi*.

U

Udder, *eket*, pl. *ngakitai*.

Umbilical cord, *akopol*, pl. *ngapola*.

Uncle, *baba*, pl. *ngebabai* (?).

Uncleanness, *eloth*, pl. *ngaloth*.

Uncover, to, *anwoli*.

Under, *kwapa*.

Underdone, *ejon*, pl. *ngajonok*, see "unripe".

Understand, to, *atami*.

Understanding, *ewuthuk*.

Undo, to, *alagi*.

Undress, to, *alemari*.

Unfold, to, *awoli*.

Unless, *anita*.

Unripe, *ejon*, pl. *ngajonok*, see "underdone".

Unstable, to be, *iro*.

Unstable man, *akiro*, pl. *ngakiro*.

Untie, to, *alachari*.

Until, *ta*.

Up, *akuich*, see "above", "God".

Uproar, *achalana*, pl. *ngachalak*.

Upset, to, *abokori*.

Urinate, to, *alathi*.

Urine, *ngul*.

Us, *thowa*.

Use, to, *aburagini*.

Utterly, *dadan*.

Uvular, *aligoret*, see "mouth".

V

Vagina, *akibon*, pl. *ngakibono*.

Vainly, *kongon*.

Valley, *apak*, pl. *ngapaka*.

Value, *agelit*.

Vegetables, *akidit*, pl. *ngadi* (marrow tribe).

Vex, to, *amuragini*.

Vexed, to be, *angoicti*.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SOME PASSAGES IN AL-THA'ALIBI'S "AHSAN MA SAMI'TU"

By C. A. Storey

DR. O. RESCHER is one of the most industrious of Arabic scholars, and in the last few years he has done a large amount of valuable work. During a prolonged residence in Constantinople he devoted his attention to the libraries of Stambul, and he has published descriptions of a large number of the most important manuscripts, especially those relating to poetry, philology, and *belles lettres*. His descriptions, which form an important contribution to Arabic bibliography, are to be found in various periodicals, such as the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, the Rivista degli Studi Orientali, Le Monde Oriental, the Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph à Beyrouth, and the Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. It is scarcely necessary to say that these descriptions have made known to European scholars not a few works the existence of which would otherwise have remained unsuspected. Bibliography, however, is by no means the only branch of learning which has benefited by the activity of Dr. Rescher. His publications include :—

I. Translations of the Maqāmāt of Badī' al-Zamān (Leonberg, 1913), the Maqāmāt of al-Zamakhsharī (Greifswald, 1913), the first six Maqāmāt of al-Suyūṭī (Kirchhain, 1918), the Aṭbāq al-dhahab of 'Abd al-Mu'min al-Iṣfahānī (Greifswald, 1914), the Kitāb al-adab al-kabīr (Berlin, 1917) and the Kitāb al-adab al-ṣaghīr (Stuttgart, 1915) of Ibn al-Muqaffa', the poems of Abū'l-Aswad al-Du'alī (Greifswald, 1914), al-Tha'ālibī's Man ghāba 'anhu'l-muṭrib (Uppsala, 1917, in Le Monde Oriental), and of (part of) the Kitāb al-buldān of al-Balādhurī.

II. Indices to the names of poets in (*a*) the Būlāq edition of the Ḥamāsa of Abū Tammām and the Cairo edition of the Mufaḍḍalīyāt (Constantinople, 1914), and (*b*) the Damascus edition of the Yatīmat al-dahr (Constantinople, 1914).

III. Editions of Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī's Kitāb al-mu'jam fī baqīyat al-ashyā' (in Mitteilungen des Seminars fur Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin, 1915), of Ibn Jinnī's Kitāb al-mudhakkar wa'l-mu'annath (in Le Monde Oriental, Uppsala, 1914), of al-Maqāmah al-Ḥuṣaibīyah (in Le Monde Oriental, 1914), and of the Mu'allaqah of Zuhair with the commentary of Ibn al-Anbārī (in Le Monde Oriental, 1916).

IV. Various essays in periodicals, and lastly

V. Eṭ-Ṭa'ālibī, Heft i : "Aḥsan mâ sami'tu." Aus dem Arabischen übersetzt von O. Rescher. Leipzig, 1916.

Aḥsan mā sami'tu is a minor work by al-Tha'ālibī (died 429 1038), the well-known anthologist and author of the *Yatīmat al-dahr*. It is composed of 22 chapters, each being devoted to verses on a particular subject, such as God, the Prophets, kings, friends, wine, food, etc. Nearly all the verses are by poets of the 'Abbāsid period. This work was printed at Cairo in 1324, and it is on this printed text that Dr. Rescher's translation is based. The translator, however, has considerably augmented the value of his translation by seeking light from other sources. He has, in particular, consulted the manuscript in the Köprülü Library ("die freilich erheblich umfangreicher als der Cairoer Druck ist,") and also the other published anthologies of al-Tha'ālibī, which contain a large proportion of the verses which are included in *Aḥsan mā sami'tu*. Among the fruits of this research are the identification of a number of anonymous citations, the noting of some interesting variants, and the correction of not a few corruptions. It will be evident from what has already been said that the translation is the result of conscientious work, but naturally some obscurities remain, and it is, of course, possible to disagree with some of Dr. Rescher's interpretations.

The following remarks relate to a few passages which seem to admit of interpretations preferable to those given by Dr. Rescher.

p. 1, l 22 (text, p. 17, l. 7):

لله احمد شاكرا فبلاؤه حسن جميل

"Gott danke ich mit Lobpreis · gut und schön ist (auch) das Unglück, das von Ihm kommt;"

There is nothing in the context which would suggest that the poet is thinking of misfortunes sent by God. The next line (Dr. Rescher's "bisher" is inserted to accommodate the meaning of the second verse to his interpretation of the first) and the rest of the poem suggest the contrary. The word بلاء can mean not only a *trial* or *affliction* but also a *favour* or *blessing* (see Lane s.v.), and most probably it is the latter that is meant here—"I praise God in gratitude, for good and lovely are His favours." Instances of the use of بلاء in the sense of *favour, service, kindness* will be found in the following passages:—

al-Jumaḥī, Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā, p. 63, l. 17 :

ولئن كان لك عندى يد وبلاء

Ibn Hishām, p. 82, l. 5 a.f. ; ibid. p. 178 penult :

ويذكرهم بلاء الله عندهم ودفعه عنهم الفيل

Abū Hātim al-Sijistānī, Kitāb al-Wasāyā (Cambridge MS.), 83*b* :

هم افضل منكم اذ فضّلوكم وسوّدوكم ووطئوا اعقابكم وبلغوا حاجتكم فيما اردتم فلهم بذلك حق عليكم وبلاء عندكم لا تؤدون شكره ولا تقومون بحقه

Muwashshā (Cairo), p. 144, l. 16 :

واشكر قلبي فيك حسن بلائه اليس به القاك عند التذكر

p. 4, l. 6 (text, 21 ult.) :

فانفسنا خير الغنيمة انها تؤوب وفيها ماؤها وحياؤها

" so haben wir in diesem Fall [var. : ḥîna] doch den Gewinst [eigentl. : die Beute] davongetragen, dass wir uns mit intakter Ehre und Würde aus der Affäre gezogen haben."

حينَ, if adopted, could not mean " in diesem Fall ". The only possible rendering of حين الغنيمة would be " at the time of taking booty ". But there is no reason why خير, which gives an excellent sense, should not be retained. The lines are quoted by Ibn Qutaibah in the Kitāb al-shi'r wa'l-shu'arā, 557.

p. 5, l. 10 (text, p. 24, l. 6). Ibn al-Rūmī.

امن ضيق مثوى المرء فى بطن امه الى ضيق مثواه من القبر يسلم

ولم يلق بين الضيق والضيق فسحة الى ذاك ان الله بالعبد ارحم

" Kann sich der Mensch [auf dem Wege] von der Enge [der Eingeschlossenheit] im Mutterleib bis zur Enge seines Grabes auf eine Erlösung hoffen ? während er doch zwischen der Enge hier und der Enge dort keine Bewegungsfreiheit antreffen kann, bis (zur Stunde) dass sich Gott seines Knechtes erbarmt [und ihn ins Paradies einführt]."

There can be no doubt that in the last hemistich الى ذاك is a corruption of ابى ذاك. The meaning therefore is: "Shall a man emerge from his narrow abode in his mother's womb and be committed to (?) his narrow abode in the tomb without having found room for unfettered movement between the two narrow abodes? God is too merciful to His servant for this to be possible [lit. the fact that God is more merciful to His servant (than that) renders this impossible]."

p. 7, l. 2 (text, p. 27, l. 6) وكتب الى امير المؤمنين

"Es hat mir der Emir der Glaubigen geschrieben" is inappropriate in this context. In the parallel passage Ṭabarī, iii 950, we read وكتابى الى امير المؤمنين وقد قتل الله المخلوع, and therefore it is probable that we should here emend وكتب into وكِتْبى.

p 7, l. 18 (text, p. 27, l. 13) قال مؤلف الكتاب وقد قال الاول

كانت مودة سلمان لنا نسبا ولم يكن بين نوح وابنه نسب

"**Der Autor** [Basît]: Die Liebe zu Salmân ward uns zu einer (Art von Bluts-) Verwandtschaft, während hingegen zwischen Noah und seinem Sohn [trotz der Bande des Bluts] keine(r) Verwandschaft (Recht und Pflicht) bestand [Kor. 11 48]."

The author of this line, according to the printed text, is not "Der Autor", but الاول: that is to say it is "Anonym".

The reference is apparently to Salmān al-Fārisī, and the verse is doubtless reminiscent of the tradition سلمان منا اهل البيت.

p. 7, l. 22 (text, p. 28, l. 5). 'Alī ibn Hārūn al-Munajjim.

كيف نال العثار من لم يزل منـــه مقيل فى كل خطب جسيم

"[Ich wundere mich,] wie kann nur jemand zu Falle . . . kommen, dessen Denken stets bedeutenden Dingen galt;"

If I understand this verse correctly, منه is used للتجريد and مقيل is the اسم الفاعل from أقال (cf. Lane أَقَالَ اللّٰهُ عَثْرَتَكَ, and عِثَارَكَ. [May God cancel thy slip, lapse, fault, wrong action . . . أَقَالَهُ عَثْرَتَهُ He forgave him his slip, lapse, or fault . . .]). The literal meaning will consequently be "How has slipping overtaken him in whom there was ever (who ever showed himself) a canceller [of lapses] in every serious calamity?"

p. 10, l. 18: For "Salam b. 'Amr" read "Salm b. 'Amr". Cf. Aghānī, xxi, 73.

p. 11, l. 2 (text, 34 ult.). Abū Tammām.

ذو الود منى وذو القربى بمنزلة واخوتى أُسوة عندى واخوانى

"Freund und Verwandter stehen bei mir auf einer Linie, und Brudern wie Kameraden suche ich gleichermassen nachzueifern."

The idea of emulation is irrelevant here, and اسوة evidently has the sense of "equal", "alike". I cannot point to an exact parallel, but cf. Ṭabarī Gloss. "إِسْوَة *par* alicujus I, ١٣٥٣, 12 وعيالك مع عيالى اسوتهم", al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-ḥadīth, i, 32, l. 17:

آس بين الناس فى وجهك وعدلك اى اجعل كل واحد منهم أُسْوَة خصمه

p. 11, l. 9 (text, 35 penult.). 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir.

اميل مع الذمام على ابن عمى واقضى للصديق على الشقيق

وان الفيتنى ملكا مطاعا فانك واجدى عبد الصديق

"Mein Schutzbeflissener steht mir näher denn mein leiblicher Vetter . . . und meinem Freunde halte ich gegen meinen eigenen Bruder die Stange [wörtl.: fälle ein Urteil]; und magst du mir selbst (auch) als machtigem König begegnen, stets findest du in mir einen dem Freund treu ergebenen Mann."

A more exact rendering would be "I take the part of (show partiality to) my client against my cousin, and I give judgment in favour of my friend against my brother. If you find me a king whose word is obeyed, you will yet find me the slave of my friend ".

The verses are quoted by Ibn Qutaibah, Kitāb al-shi'r wa'l-shu'arā', 23, and by Yāqūt, Irshād al-arīb, i, 265.

p. 12, l. 23 (text, p. 38, l. 2). Abū'l-Fath al-Bustī.

رهنتك قلبي وحكم القلوب اذا رهنت انها تغلق

"Ich habe dir mein Herz verpfändet; Herzen aber sind, wenn verpfändet, gut unter Verschluss zu halten."

غَلِقَ الرَّهْنُ = "the pledge was forfeited" (see Lane), and consequently the verse means:—

"I gave my heart to thee in pledge, and hearts, when pledged, are wont to be forfeited."

p. 14, l. 18 (text, p. 40 ult.). Ibn al-Rūmī.

عدوك من صديقك مستفاد [فلا تستكثرن من الصحاب]

"Stets wird dein Feind aus deinem Vertrauten Nutzen zu schlagen wissen."

Dr. Rescher's translation would require مستفيد. Ibn al-Rūmī is restating the commonplace that it is one's friends who are apt to become one's enemies, and that it is therefore desirable that one's friends, i.e. one's potential enemies, should be few.

p. 17, l. 2 (text, p. 44, l. 4). Kushājim.

بابى وامى زائر متقنع لم يخف ضوء البدر تحت قناعه

Vater und Mutter würd' ich für den hergeben, so mich im Schleier versteckt besuchte und in dieser Verhüllung selbst dem Mond an Glanz nichts nachgab [wörtl.: nicht fürchtete.].

The translator seems to have read لم يَخَفْ (did not fear) instead of لم يَخْفَ (was not hidden), but the former is unmetrical.

p. 28, l. 1 (text, p. 59 penult.) Ibn al-Mu'tazz.

قد حثنى بالكاس اول فجره ساق علامة دينه فى خصره

Zum Trinken verleitete mich vor Morgengrauen ein Schenke. dessen Religion aus [der Dünne] seiner Taille [Footnote: D.h. dessen "Religion" ebenso windig als die Taille schlank.] ersichtlich.

This interpretation is that of the Egyptian editor's footnote

[قوله "علامة دينه فى خصره" يريد به ان ذلك الساق رقيق الدين كما انه رقيق الخصر والمعنى لا يتعفف ولا يتأثم من المنكرات]

but "the sign of his religion" which he wore on his waist was doubtless the زُنّار.

p 30, l. 3 (text, p. 62, l. 11):

فان الربيع نهار السرو ر والراح شمس لذاك النهار

وانك مشرقها ان اردت وان لم ترد غربت فى استتار

". . . besteht der Frühling aus Tagen der Freude, so ist der Wein die Sonne zu diesen Tagen; du selbst aber magst, so du willst, der Aufgang d(ies)er Sonne sein; so du (aber) nicht willst, so magst du dich unseren Blicken durch Verbergen entziehen."

The point of the last hemistich seems to be obscured to some extent in the translation. "But if thou wishest not, it (the Sun) is set and hidden (from your eyes)."

p. 31, l. 16 (text, p. 64 penult.):

The words وضربك يوجب ضرب العنق ("and your playing makes you deserve decapitation") are left untranslated.

p. 37, l 5 (text, p. 72 penult.):

بنفسج بذكى الروح مخصوص ما فى زمانك ان وافاك تنغيص

"Dem Veilchen eignet sich ein besonders intensiver Duft zu; keiner Widerwärtigkeit brauchst du dich in der Zeit seines Erscheinens [d. h. im Frühling] zu gewärtigen."

A more exact rendering would be: "A pansy endued with sweet fragrance: if it reaches thee, thy happiness is unalloyed."

p 52, l 3 (text, p. 97, l. 7):

فقم بنا ننعم فى منزل نعيمه الذائب محبوب

Footnote: "Aus metrischen Gründen ist wohl „nagtanim" oder dergleichen zu lesen." But "nagtanm" would not scan, and نَنْعَمُ is grammatically possible, if regarded not as جواب الامر but as حال.

p. 57, 3 a.f. (text, p. 107, l. 11). Al-Abbās ibn al-Ahnaf.

احرم منكم بما اقول وقد نال به العاشقون من عشقوا

صرت كانى ذبالة نصبت تضىء للنـاس وهى تحترق

Dr. Rescher has published a revised translation of these verses in Le Monde Oriental (Uppsala), vol. xi, 1917, p. 182.

p. 60, l. 1 (text, p. 111, l. 3):

هى البدر الا ان فيها لحسنها دقائق ليست فى هلال ولا بكر

"Sie ähnelt [in ihrem lichten Glanze] dem Vollmond, nur dass ob ihrer Schönheit sich in ihr Eigenschaften befinden, die dem Monde abgehen und die sich auch sonst bei keiner Maid finden."

The translator faithfully represents the printed text, but بكر is probably a corruption of بدر.

p. 76, l. 14 (text, p. 135, l 6):

انا يا صاح لست عندى بصاح [انت روحى وراحتى انت راحى]

"Ich bin, o Freund, keineswegs 'bei mir' und nüchtern . . ."

This translation of عندى, though ingenious, is indefensible. If the word is to be retained it can hardly mean anything but "in my opinion", but it is doubtless a corruption of عَنْكَ.

p. 80, l. 21 (text, p. 141, l. 11):

رأين الغوانى الشيب لاح بعارضى فاعرضن عنى بالخدود النواضر

وكن اذا ابصرننى او سمعن بى جرين فقرعن الكوى بالمحاجر

"Wenn die Mädchen die grauen Haare in meinem Bart schimmern sehen, wenden sie mit ihren blühenden Wangen sich von mir ab, während sie ehedem, so sie mich sahen oder hörten, Tür und Tor sperrangelweit öffneten (?) [var.: taġâraina lî mithla'l-khujûl 'nnawâssiri d. h. ..sich mir eiligst entgegenstürzten"]."

These verses are quoted in Aghānī. xiii. 24, Muwashshā (Cairo), p. 84, l. 8. Ibn Khallikān (Wüstenfeld), vii. 76.

فقرعن is a corruption of فرَقَّعْنَ. i.e. "and they stopped up", see Lane s.v. رقع where the second verse is quoted and ascribed to 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'ah (cf. Dīwān ed. Schwarz, No. 381).

p. 103, l. 21 (text, p. 178, l 1):

وما اخصك فى برء بتهنئة اذا سامت فكل الناس قد ساموا

"Nicht ich allein spreche dir zu deiner Genesung meinen Glückwunsch aus: (nein!) alle Menschen fühlen, so du (neu) gesundet, wieder frisches Leben in sich [wörtl.: sind (gerettet und) heil].

"Ich allein" does not, I think, give the precise sense of اخصك The meaning is rather: "I do not congratulate thee alone" (since everyone is to be congratulated).

p. 104, l. 21 (text, p 179, l. 10). Ibn al-Rūmī.

[شمس وبدر ولدا كوكبا اقسمت بالله لقد انجبا

ثلاثة تشرق انوارها لا بدلت من مشرق مغربا]

تبارك الله وسبحانه اى شهاب منكم اثقبا

". . . Gott sei gepriesen und gelobt! welcher von den drei glitzernden Sternen ist nun der am hellsten leuchtendste?"

The last hemistich is an exclamation rather than a question. "What a flame He has caused to shine forth from you!"

p. 106, l. 6 (text, p. 181, l. 10):

فقلت ما اهدى الى سيد حالى اذا فكرت من حاله

"da sagte ich (zu mir): 'was soll ich wohl meinem Herrn

schenken ?' indem ich den weiten Abstand zwischen mir und ihm bedachte."

Rather, "and I said (to myself) : what shall I give to a master from whom comes all that is mine, (as I realize) when I reflect."

p. 110. l 14 (text, p. 187, l. 1). Al-'Utbī (an elegy on a child).

[ابعد الشمل والنعمة صيرت الى القبر]

فما يشهدك الاهلو ن الا هيئة السفر

يزورونك فى العيد ين فى الفطر وفى النحر

وقد كنت وكانوا لك فى الالطاف والبر

وما تنزل من نحر ولا توضع من حجر

". . . Und niemand von den Deinen fand sich an deinem Grab ein ausser an dem einen Tage, da es zur letzten Reise ging : nur an den beiden Festtagen, am Tag des Fastenbruchs und am Gedenktag von Abrahams Opfer [1. Schawwâl bzw. 10. Dsû'l-Higga] statten sie dir [d. h. deinem Grab] noch Besuche ab. Und doch bestand einstens zwischen dir und den Deinen das engste Verhältnis [der Liebe], sei es dass du an [der Mutter] Hals dich schmiegtest oder auf ihrem Schosse sasst."

As a substitute for this translation I would suggest the following :—

"And thy kin [now] see thee only in the guise of travellers, visiting thee on the two feast days . . . and yet there was a time when they were kind and affectionate to thee and thou wast never put down from breast or lap."

CORRIGENDUM.

p. 78, l. 25 : *instead of* "tradition" *read* "saying ascribed to 'Alī".

UTENDI WA AYUBU

Translated by Miss Alice Werner

Introductory

THIS poem is mentioned by Steere (in the Preface to his Swahili Tales, p. xii) in the following terms: "I should have been glad to have exhibited the whole of the 'Utenzi on Job', which was the best I met with, but my authority could give me no more than the beginning, my copy breaking off short in the council of the fiends as to how to avail themselves of the permission to vex Job [st. 37–46]. The stanzas I have printed [1–6 in an imperfect form] are followed by a confession of God's greatness and a long commemoration of Mohammed, his family, and chief followers. Then there is an account of Job's prosperity, mentioning, amongst other things, the ducks and fowls which he had; then the colloquy between Satan and the Almighty, and the planning of the temptation. The language of this Utenzi [1] is singularly clear and intelligible."

When at Lamu in 1912, I bought from a native in the employment of the then Provincial Commissioner (the late Mr. C. S. Reddie) a MS. which proved to be an imperfect copy of the Ayubu, containing 197 stanzas, and therefore more complete than Steere's. In 1913, being then at Mambrui, I went through this copy with Ahmad bin Abubakar bin 'Umar-es-Sawiyyi, a Siu man of some education, who not only read the MS. to me, but supplied useful explanations of some old and difficult words. At a later date (unfortunately after I had left Mambrui) I received from Lamu a complete copy of the poem, written out by Muhammad bin Abubakar, better known as Muhamadi Kijuma, a well-known local scribe, poet, and wood-carver, who is responsible (*inter alia*) for the decoration of the little mosque at Witu, erected by the present Sultan.

This text *A* is the one I have followed, indicating by an asterisk the places in which it varies from the imperfect Lamu MS., designated

[1] *Utenzi* is the Mombasa and Zanzibar form of the word current in Lamu Swahili as *utendi*. Steere explains it as meaning a religious poem. But a Lamu informant says that an *Utendi* may deal either with religion or war (*mambo ya vita*). It might therefore be called an epic—but that the religious poems are not always of a narrative character.

as *B*. Not many of these variations are important, though in a few cases I have preferred the reading of *B*, enclosing the words introduced from the latter in square brackets. *B* has two entire stanzas (inserted in the text as 3*a* and 106*a*), which do not occur in *A*; on the other hand, it omits stanza 129. When the transcription and translation were virtually complete, I was enabled, by the kindness of Mr. Mervyn Beech, to examine another MS., recently sent him by the Liwali of Siu. This contains 406 stanzas (including the date, which is ingeniously versified), as against the 392 of *A*. Stanza 3 and stanzas 5–11 (the invocation to Allah) are entirely omitted in this recension: also 26 and 293. On the other hand, it contains not only the two additional stanzas already mentioned, but those marked in the text 106*a*, 189*a*, 231*a*, 233*a*, 262*a*, 286*a*, 289*a*, 305*a*, 307*a*, and 352*a*: while from 356 onwards the text is entirely different. It is thus clear that, unless the copyist of *A* has taken great liberties with his text, *C* must be derived from a different original. It is possible that, in spite of numerous minor variations, *B* and *C* are copied from the same MS.: but the second half, containing most of the additions, as well as the divergent conclusion, is wanting in the former. It is true that, in the part available for comparison, *C* inserts 60*a*, which is not in *B*, and does not omit 129: but in many cases it follows the reading of *B* rather than of *A*, and the orthography agrees much more closely with the latter, e.g. in *B* and *C* the combination *ch* is represented by ﺕ, not (as at Lamu, where *A* was written) by ﻙ, or (as at Mombasa and Zanzibar) by ﺵ: *p* is written ﺏ, not ﭖ, as in *A*. But the scribe is not altogether consistent in this respect, as ﭖ occurs not infrequently, and he occasionally uses ﻑ for *v*: the other two MSS. invariably use ﻑ. On the whole *B* is much more carefully written than *C*, which, though fairly legible, contains a considerable number of mistakes, evidently due to heedlessness or ignorance.

This last MS. contains a welcome indication of date and authorship, as to which I had hitherto inquired in vain. The writer is here said to be one 'Umar bin Amini; "and the stanzas (of it) are four complete hundreds, and ten, (which are) known, and five I added to them." All three of the texts before us would seem to be distinct from Steere's, as there is no mention in any of them of ducks and fowls among Job's possessions. Probably this 'Umar is the same of whom I heard from Ahmad bin Abubakar, as the author of a well-known religious acrostic, a blind Sharif of Siu, who "died about 50 or 60 years ago".

The date given for the composition—or rather the completion (تمت, as here written) is the 15th of *Mfungu wa tano*, or Safar, A.H. 1251, corresponding approximately to June 25, 1835. [N.B.—Since the foregoing was in type, I have been informed by Muhammad bin Abubakar that the Utendi was not written by 'Umar, but must be at least two hundred years old (the language has been modernized by successive copyists). Probably 'Umar merely copied the poem, adding some stanza's on his own account.] This is not very recent, but the wording of the penultimate stanza ("and five I added") leaves it doubtful whether the writer was not simply working over an older poem, after a fashion not uncommon among Orientals. The opening stanzas state that it is translated from the Arabic—but here, again, it is uncertain whether it is a version of an actual poem or a free rendering into metre of prose material.

The subject appears to be taken chiefly from the commentaries on the Koran; the *ayat* referring to Job (quoted in the course of the poem) affording but the merest hints. A full examination of the sources would be necessary to determine whether the Swahili poet has embroidered his material or reproduced it as received. One suspects some degree of original treatment in the stanzas (79–97) relating to the death of Job's sons, who are described as children at school, and in the details of Rehema's attempts to earn a living. The poet, whoever he was, seems to have been quite unacquainted with the Hebrew book of Job.

The introductory stanzas (1–17) begin with the conventional demand for suitable writing materials, going on to explain that the writer is about to set forth in Swahili a narrative he has found in Arabic books. He then invokes (6–11) the help of Allah in his undertaking and proceeds to commemorate the Prophet and his companions. The wealth and prosperity of Job are described (18–24), and his piety (25–26): 27–36 give the dialogue between Satan (Ibilisi) and Allah, when the former obtains permission to afflict Job. He descends and gives orders to his "sons" (37) to destroy Job's property (38–49). Satan conveys the news to Job, and is rebuked by him (50–56). The destruction is completed, but the result remains the same (57–69). Satan returns to heaven to acknowledge his failure, and ask leave to deprive Job of his children. This is granted (77), and he repairs to the school where they are being taught, and brings the house down on them (78–83). He then (84, 85) assumes the form of their teacher, and goes to Job, mourning and lamenting. Job, though overwhelmed with

grief (98), recognizes him and bids him depart (100). Satan's third visit to heaven is narrated in 101–106. On his return he seeks Job, and, finding him at prayers, breathes into his nostrils (108), afflicting him with loathsome disease, which is described in detail (109–114). Not content with this, Satan instigates Job's neighbours to expel him from the town (115–118); no one remaining with him, except his wife, Rehema (120–124). As they have nothing to eat Rehema goes to work for her former neighbours, and so obtains a little bread. On the following day, however, the women having heard the story in the meantime, she finds all doors closed to her (149). Returning in dejection she is met by Satan in human form (153), who asks her name and family, and, on hearing that she is Rehema, the far-famed beauty (so he implies, 157–158), expresses his surprise at her altered looks, and tempts her to leave her husband (163–167). She refuses, and hastens back to Job, telling him what has occurred; he informs her who the stranger is and warns her to avoid him. Next day (184–198) she again procures some food in exchange for a few strands of her hair, which is the envy of all the ladies (193–198). On her way back she again meets Satan and defies him (199–215). Job, on hearing this, is somewhat unreasonably angry (219–222), and threatens to beat her if ever she speaks to the adversary again. The third time Satan appears to her in the likeness of an angel (233–234) coming down from heaven, and engages her in conversation before she becomes aware of his identity; moreover, he professes to be the bearer of a Divine message. His speech extends over twenty-six stanzas (235–260). Rehema is perplexed (261–266), but when she makes her report to Job (267–271) he is so enraged that he vows to beat her if he is restored to health (272–274). Rehema does not protest, but vows, for her part (275–280), that as soon as he has strength to do it he is to give her a hundred lashes. If he fails to do so she will ask someone else—only she entreats him to forgive her and not "destroy himself with hunger" but eat the food she has brought. Job, touched by her devotion, relents a little (281–283); they eat together and lie down to sleep, Job uttering the prayer given in 286–287.

Job is then told by God (in a dream ?) to stamp on the ground and bathe in the water which will gush forth: he does so, and is restored to health. The whole of this episode (288–304) seems to be an amplification of Kor. xxxviii, 42, which is quoted after stanza 291. Rehema, who does not see him till he is giving thanks after his recovery, at first fails to recognize him; but, when convinced that it is indeed he,

she reminds him of his vow—of which he now heartily repents (337–346). Gabriel, however, comes down and suggests that he can evade it by giving her one light stroke with a palm-branch having 100 fronds (357). Eight stanzas (358–365) describe Job's restoration to prosperity, and the remainder of the poem consists of pious reflections and aspirations.

The metre of this poem is similar to that of the *Utenzi wa Shufaka* and *Utenzi wa Kutawafukwe Muhamadi* (see *Bulletin*, 1918, p. 119). The final rhyme is on *a* throughout, varying from *-ia.* to *-ea*, *-ewa*, *-iwa*, and even *-aa*.

The various readings of the MSS. *B* and *C* will be given in the notes at the end of the poem—the places where they occur being marked with asterisks in the text. Not all the minor variations—some of which are manifestly clerical slips, such as ' written for ', or vice versa—have been noticed, but I think everything of importance is included.

The translation has been made as literal as possible, though at the expense of some awkwardness. Unfortunately several obscure points remain doubtful for the present, in the absence of a competent native authority. These have been indicated by (?).

Notes on difficult or doubtful constructions, and other matters necessary for elucidation, are likewise reserved for an appendix.

Utendi wa Ayubu

1. Nduzangu * pani * karatasi
Na wino mwema mweusi
Na kalamu ya unyasi
Ambao yakhitariwa.

2 Nandikie kikutubu
Hadithi ya kiarabu
Kwa habari za Ayubu
Tumwa ya Mola Rasuwa.

3. Napenda kuwakhubiri
Kiarabu kifasiri
Kwa lugha yetu thahiri
Pasiwe yasomwelea.

3*a*. Na maanaye yuani
Kuyafasiri * wendani,
Kuna wangi msani
Kiarabu wasoyua.

4. Kufasiri nimeweza *
Lugha yetu * kiweleza *
Na nyinyi mkisikiza *
Yote wayafahamia *

5. [Kimuthumu kikutubu] *
Yalo katika kitabu
[Kabadili] * kiarabu
Kisawahili kawimbia.*

6 Ataifanya sahali *
Pweke asiyo mithali
U mbali, Mola, u mbali
Jalla wa'ala jalia.

7. Arrahimu * arrahimani
Muwawazi duniyani
Ma'asi na waunimi
Kwa riziki na atia.

8. Arrahimu Bwana wetu *
Mteuzi Mola wetu
Kiyamani kati mwetu
Wema akiwateua *

9 Baadaye tabutadi *
Ina la Mola Wadudi
Napenda kutahamdi *
Na kumshukuru Jaha.*

10 Alhamdulillahi
Jalla wa'ala Ilahi
Pweke asiyo shabihi
Mola asiyo mithaa.

11. Wasalatu wasalamu
Zimwendee * muungamu
Mu Bani Hishamu
Khatimu la Nabia.

'Inna 'Illaha wa Malaikatahu yuçallûna 'ala en-nabiyyi ya ammuhu illadhina ânanû çallû alaihi wa sallimû taslîmin. (xxxiii, 56) *

12. Muhamadi Mustafa
Mwenye fakhari na sifa
Thil jahi msharafa *
Saidi 'l Arabiya.*

13. Wa * thumma Abibakari
Athmani * na Omari
Na Ali Haidari
Na azuwaje rasua.*

14. Naye binti Amini
Fatuma * Kurataini
Na Hasani na Huseini
Na wote walosalia.

15. Ya Rabi kwa watu hao
Wote tuwatayao *
Turuzuku tuwajao *
Kwa riziki * na afia.

16. Turuzuku na * imani
Akhera na dunyani
Sute * tuwe sitarani
Kwakuwazo* mwenye kowa

17. Imekoma * dubaji *
Kwenda mno sihitaji
Sasa twaomba Mpaji
Hadithi kiwatayia.

18. Mtume wetu * Ayubu
Alopowa na Wahabu
Mali mengi* ya ajabu
Yakaenea duma.*

19. Kwanda na tutaye mbuzi
Yali alifu mazizi
Alopowa na Azizi
Mengi * mali * yasosia

20. Na watumwa wa kukifu
Kulla zizi maarufu
Yali * watunga alifu
Walokimtungia.*

21. Na ng'ombe na ngamiaze
Na farasi na pundaze
Hesabuye niweleze
Ni kama nimezotaya

22. Na anuwa'e * za mali
Kulla kitu mbalimbali
Kuzitiya * ni muhali
Siwezi kuwatayia.

23. Na wanawe tuwaseme
Ni sabaa [wanawaume] *
Kama simba wenye tume
[Wote]* marika mamoya.

24. Na watatu waanawake
Wenye nuru taa mbake
Jumla zijana zake
'Ashara wametimia.

25. Umuwekee * Wadudi
Ibada akishitadi
Kwa * mali na auladi
Yasimpe kushangaa.

26. Akenda mno ibada
Kwa Molawe sarimada *
Pakaitoka * husuda
Yakuya kuhusudiwa.*

Ilh nadâ rabbahu annanî masaniya ez-Zuru wa anta khairû er-rahimîna (xxi, 83).*

27. Ibilisi mal'uni *
Kasikol'a mbinguni
Akamwambia Manani
" Nina neno tatongoa.

28. " Ayubu kukuabudi *
Kamwe asitaradadi
Ni mali na auladi
Zote kumkutamkia.*

29. " Naapa, thama naapa *
Lau kwamba * hukumpa
Naye angalikipapa *
Wewe akakuliwaa."

30. Akamjibu Manani,
" Usukutu,* mal'uni,
Ayubu nina yakini
Si mtu wa kupotea

31. " Kumwongoa * makhuluki
Kwake hupati tariki
Ndia hukuwia dhiki *
Hupati kumng'ha."*

32. Ibilisi akanena :
" Ni amru, Subuhana
Ayubu utamwona
Kimtia silisia.

33. " Walakini filihali
Kumpata ni muhali
Ni wauladi * na mali
Na kipande cha afia.

34. " Nipa amri, Jalali,
Kamfisidie mali
Nimtie mashughuli
Apate kuwayawaya."

35. Mola wetu kamjibu :
" Usukutu ya kithabu !
Hutomweza Ayubu
Kumtia mbovu ndia.

36. " Hela * nikuamriye
Kamwondolee maliye
Sura zote mngilie *
Upendayo * kummgia."

37. Ibilisi akatoka *
Kwa upesi na haraka
Nyumbani mwake * kafika *
Waane akawamkua.

38. Akawambia, " Ndooni,
" Upesi nidirikani,
Yeo nina ushindani,
Nataka kusaidiwa.

39. " Natoka kwake Wahabu
Kwa maneno ya Ayubu
Penda kumpa * kilabu
Shaurde tawambia.*

40. " Kula aliyo hodari
Kutanani * mashhuri
Naye mbee * aikiri
Nipate kufahamia."*

41. Ambelepo * Mal'uni
Neno hilo kwa lisani
Zikwi kumi Shaitani
Wameziye kumwelea *

42. Kula mume * kaisifu : *
" Ndimi mtangua safu
Nituma kazi alifu
Zote * takutumikia.

43. " Yambo upendalo eta
Tuwatie nyoyo zita
Watu * wapende kuteta
Ao [kuzini na] kwiwa." *

44. Kawambia Mal'uni
" Hayo * yote yawateni
Nina shauri moyoni
Nataka kusaidiwa.*

45 " Soyo mtume Ayubu
Kwa Mola ni mahabubu
Mumtie kulabu *
Na shauri * tawambia.

46. " Twendeni mazizi * yake
Ya mbuzi. tuyawandike
Tutie moto uwake
Na watu wawe* pamoya."

47. Wote wakafuatana
Mal'uni na zijana,
Mazizi wakiyaona
Wote wakashangaa.*

48. Wakatoa mivukutu
Kanwani mwao [ya]* moto
Wasikupata upito *
Mbuzi na watunga pia.

49. Mbuzi wakahasirika *
Na watunga wakawaka
Kwa wote wakapishika
Pasiwe alosalia.

50. Ibilisi madhkuri
Kawambia asikari
" Nenda kumpa khabari
Kwa haya yamezokuwa."

51. Hapo * akiimba * wimbo
Shiti kijongo kidhabu,
Kaenenda * kwa Ayubu
Kilia nakuomboa.*

52. Kamwambia, "Bwana wetu.
Watunga na mbuzi zetu
Hapakusaha kitu,
Moto umetungilia,

53. " Wote wameteketeka
Hapana aliyotoka
Illa mipweke, pulika,
Salipo, walipotea.

54. " Sasa, bwana, tutendeni ?
Twangia ufukarani,
Huabudu * hatta lini ?
Hapana chakutumia.

55. " Ima, sikae kitako
Yahitajia * sumbuko,
Hulia zijana zako,
Kwa kuyakosa maziwa."

56. Akatongoa Ayubu.
" Usukutu * ya kidhabu '
Nalipowa na Wahabu ;
Amependa kuondoa."*

57. Ibilisi akarudi,
Asikupata muradi.
Akenda kwa auladi.
Zake kuwaarifia.

58. Akamba, " Siyo * rijali
Mambo hayo * hakujali
Hatta katiti shughuli
Moyoni hakuitia.*

59. " Hela, sasa niweleze
Twendeni tukangamize
Farasi na ngamiaze
Na ng'ombe na mbuzi pia."

60. Wakaondoka zilabu *
Nyoyo zili za * harubu
Nyusoze zina * ghathabu
Yao wa chambuambua.*

61. Wakenda kwa ushupavu
Wafurishiye matavu *
Wakawarusha cha ivu *
Wasisalie asia.*

62. Ibilisi kaya * tena
Kwa Ayubu, akanena,
" Ewe, Bwana, ewe, Bwana,
Nyama wametusika.*

63. " Walipo ukiabudi *
Mola ukimuwahidi
Wewe * na wako waladi,
Walina chakutumia.*

64. " Yeo zote zondoshee
Hapo * kusaa kisaye.
Twende ukaangalie.*
Upate kufahamia.*

65. " La,* kuketi haifai,
Zijana hawana rai,
Hawa kuti, hawa mai,
Hawa nguo za kuvaa."

66. Akatamka Ayubu,
Kwa hasira na ghadhabu,
" Epuka, ewe kilabu !
Mbele zangu nepukia !

67. " Nepukia, Ibilisi,
Sinitie wasiwasi,
Jalilu Mola Mkwasi
Apendalo yote * huwa."

68. Ibilisi karudi,*
Kukosa kwake muradi,
Kandama ndia karudi
Kwa waane, kawarejea.*

69. Kawambia " Nelezani,
Takuya * nenda * mbinguni
Nina shauri moyoni,
Nenda mambia Jalia."

70. Ibilisi akaruka,
Kapaa kwa haraka,
Hatta mbinguni kafika,
Kabisha kafungukiwa.

71. Mlangoni * akipita
Kenda * uyata uyata,
Hatta mbee akipata
Maneno, akatongoa.*

72. " Nikuelee * werabu
Na * maneno ya thawabu ;
Kwake sikupata babu,
Mlango wa kungilia.

73. " Mali nimeyangamiza,
Yote * sikuyasaza ;
Niendepo * kumweleza,
Shughuli hakuitia.*

74. " Kampa habari kali,
Ya kangamiyake mali *
Hakuitia shughuli,
Ibada hakupungua.

75. " Na sababuye,* Manani,
Kwa kuwa una * yakini ;
Yeye kuwa mahabani
Mali yatamrejea.

76. " Nipa amri, Wadudi,
Kangamiza * auladi,
La'ala akaritadi
Moyo ukamshutua."

77. Ilahi akamjibuye ;*
" Amba nikuamriye,*
Zijana kawangalie,
Sura upendao ua."

78. Ibilisi akashuka,
Kwa furaha na kuteka,
Hatta tiati kifika,
Asipate kupumua

79. Kutoka kwake, yuani,
Akafuza * Shaitani,
Hatta akenda chuoni
Zijana husomea.

80. Waana washishie mbao *
Kama ada wasomao,
Papo mu'allimu wao
Akosao huwambia.*

81. Kijana kitia kosa
Mu'allimu humuwasa,
Hatta wote wamekwisa
Jami'i kuwaridhia.

82. Kangia kiwambawamba
Ibilisi kama mwamba
Akaitekua * nyumba
Nyumba ikawangukia.

83. Nyumba ikawawekeza,*
Majiwe yote nakaza,
Pasiwe aloyokoza
Kwa kupata * kukimbia.

84. Asizepo mwenye dhambi
Kuweka wana majumbe,
Kaipakapaka vumbi
Sura akaizungua.

85. Akavaa na mavao
Kama mu'allimu wao
Ule awasomeshao
Akenda * akiomboa.

86. Akiomboa * kinadi;
" Ai, msiba shadidi!
Wako wapi auladi
Wa Ayubu mursaa?

87 " Wako wapi * kawabishe
Mbao zao kawashishe,*
Chuoni mwasomeshe
Kama yao * mazowea?

88. " Nawataka, siwaoni:
Wameguia duniani!
Ayubu kamwambieni,
Ni hpi lakumwambia?

89. " Ni upi wangu usemi
Wa kutongoa ulimi?
Walmipa wana kumi
Wafie kwa saa moya."

90. Akenda hatta kikoma
Kwa Ayubu, chegema *
Akazidi kunguruma
Kwa matozi namamia.

91. Akaha kwa siaha,
Achamba, " Sina furaha,
Wala sitoona raha *
Illa * nami kufia.

92. " Hawa zijana zititi
Yamewakuta mauti.
Laiti mimi, laiti
Akhera katangulia *

93. " Ai,* wana wa mtume,
Watatushie ulimi *
Laiti ningie mimi,
Ikawa yao fidia.* "

94. Kanena * akikariri
Kiwataya asighari
Kwa mambo yamezojiri *
Mumo katika kulia.

95. Akamwambia Ayubu:
" Kuketi we * ni aibu.
Upeo wa masahibu *
Ni haya yamezokuwa.*

96. "Ayubu, haya, koma, basi,*
Tena kuweka julusi,
Ondoka kawada sisi
Watu * wamezofusaa.

97. "N'nini * kukosa kite.
Na wano * wafie wote ?
Umekuwa ute ute
Kama mtu asozaa.*"

98. Ayubu kashawishika,
Ini likamzunguka,
Matozi yakamtoka ;
Yakamuoza kifua.

99. Ayubu katakalamu :
"Moyoni nimezo'umu.
Hoyo ndiye * matuhumu
Ambao ni mlaaniwa.*

100. "Wewe ndiwe Ibilisi ;
Upotezao unasi.
Ondoka, sininajisi * ;
Mbee * zangu nepukia."

101. Awenepo maleuni
Ayubu kumbaini,
Akarudi dahihini *
Yuu * la mbingu kupaa.*

102. Kisikilia mbinguni
Akanena * Shaitani ;
"Ya Rabi, Mola * Manani,
Huna lisilokwelea.*

103. "Ayubu hawezekani
[Una] afia ya ndani,
Zitu za ulimwenguni
Zote hajali kimoja.*

104. "Kutoweza kumkinda
Ni afia kumwenenda.
Moyo nataka kutinda,
Lakini kiamruwa.*

105. "Ayubu kiwasubiri
Ni afia kukithiri.
Taka unipe amri
Mwilini kumngia."

106. Akamjibu Jalili.
Shaitani maqali :
"Hayo * nimeyaqubali ;
Shuka * wende kwa 'ajaa."

106*a*. [Shaitani akauya
Akashuka kaitia *
"Yambo nalokusudia
Amuri nimezopowa."] *

107. Akafuza * filihali.
Hatta kenda kwa rasuli.
Kamdirika kisali
Msalani amengia.*

108. Kaizika Shaitani
Mkabala wa usoni
Hatta kenda sijidani,
Akamvuzia pua.

109. Pumzi alizoeta *
Ayubu zikampata
Kama mvi kuvukuta
Wa Jahannamu, sikia

110. Zikamngia kitwani,
Zikenea muilini.
Ayubu u msalani,*
Ndiye ikamshukia.*

111. Damu ikatawanyika,
Mno ikatiririka.
Zionda zikafunuka,*
Mwilini zikenea.

112. Ayubu kwa mwida huo *
Maradhi yampeteo
Akatoka mayongoo
Ya* kumbikumbi za vua.

113. Na wasaa * utokao *
Mwilini upitao *
Kama mai ya muyao *
Makinga kheri * ya vua.

114. Na 'arufuye hakika
Sura alo akinuka *
Mtu alikimepuka *
Kwa miatemi khatua.

115. Ibilisi asochanga *
Asikome kuitunga *
Hapa na hapa kizinga
Fitina kimtilia.

116. Achamba: "hoyo ghulamu
Maradhiye ni juzamu.
Mtokozeni * kaumu:
Ni khatari kumtia.*

117. "Waungwana kutanani.
Mumtoe na * muini *
Mumpeeke za * mwituni
Ndia zisizoendewa."

118. Wote wakakutanika
Maneno wakayashika
Kwa wote wakampeeka,*
Pasiwe alosalia.

119. Wote wakamsukuma
Pasiwe alomwegema
Wa illa * Mwana Rehema
Mke wake mfathaa.

120. Na yeye * Mwana Rehema
Asili yake * mbeu njema,
Ni * binti Furathima
Wa Yusufu nisikia.*

121. Mke hoyo * niwamlie
Muungu umuumbee
Kama sura za bibiye,
Za Yusufu fahamia.*

122. Mwema mzawa * na * wema
Yakamwelea * tama
Mumewe * kumsukuma
Kwa sababu yakuwaa.

123. Kaketi naye rijali *
Juzamu asiijali *
Wale kalala * wawili
Wakiamka pamoya.

124. Ayubu kasumbuka *
Kwa maradhi kumshika
Rehema kisikitika
Siku zote akilia.

125. Akawata masindizi *
Rehema, kitenda * kaz.
Ili kupata * khubuzi
Kumpa * wake rijaa.

126. Rehema asikasiri
Akingia * kula dari
Kawambia * "Ni tayari
Taka kuwatumikia.

127. "Nitumani kazi zenu.
Zilo majumbani * mwenu
Kwamba nikutwewa * ngano
Mukinipa tawetea.*

128. "Niwakatulie pete,
Niwasinge niwapote,
Munipe nami mkate
Mulapo ukisalia.

129. "Na tena musinikinde
Niyapoona kipande
Cha mkate nikitunde
Tiati kichangukia.

130. "Wala hamuna mashaka
Kitunda kichanguka *
Kwani kitakula paka *
Nyinyi hakitowafaa.

131. " Mimi ndiyo kuti yangu,
Kula na mume wangu,
Tujaaliwe na * Muungu
Haya kutusikilia."

132. Alikihudumu kutwa
Kwa kusi mbili za matwa
Hatta iyoni kukitwa *
Kondoka kandama ndia.

133. Kenda kwa wake rijali,
Tumwa Ayubu rasuli,
Akamshika muwili -
Kamzunguazungua.

134. Ayubu halikiweza
Kilala kiigeuza *
Kwa muwiliwe kuoza
Shati mtu kumwondoa.*

135. Rehema akamshika,
Mayongoo yachanguka,*
Ayubu akatamka,
Mke wake kamwambia.

136. " Mabombwe siyapoteze,
Yatondowe yarejeze *
Chamba riziki waseze
Ni dhambi kuondolea.*"

137. Mngwana Mwana Rehema
Kwambiwake kainama
Kayashika kwa huruma *
Mabombwe kayatundua.

138. Kawatunda [kiwaweka] *
Mifupani kiwandika *
Hatta wakakutanika *
Muilini wakakaa.

139. Baada hayo * wayoli
Yakumtunda muwili
Ndipo kuweta kauli ;
Mumewe kumwambia.*

140. " Bwana, pokea * riziki,
Nalopowa * na Khalaki,
Moyo siitie * thiki,
Mwenye kutesa hafua.*

141. " Pete mkate katiti,
Pokea, miza, ni kuti,
Mtu huwa thabiti
Hawaiwai kiwaa."

142. Akatamka Ayubu,
Mke wake kamjibu
" Huona kutharubu *
Mkate hunisumbua.

143. " Mkate haumiziki,
Kiumiza ni hilaki
Uwa * radhi, siutaki.
Usambe * ni kutukiwa."

144. Mke wake kamweleza *
Na matozi yakituza,
" Hayo * huya kwa kuiza
Upendacho ukapowa.

145. " Yeo pete wa mawele
Mkate siukatale,
Nla,* bwana, nami nile,*
Siiumize kwa ndaa." *

146. Rehema akamwambia,
" Saidana, nipokea.
Riziki hububu moya
Ni nafuu ikingia."

147. Hapo * kamwambia * "ete",
Akamaliza * mkate,
Kisonda, kimiza mate,
Mashapu akiyatoa.*

148. Hatta kukipambauka,*
Mwana Rehema katoka *
Ili kwenda kuzunguka
Watu kuwatumikia.

149. Kula nyumba angiao
Humfukuza * kwa mbio,
" Amba khabari tunayo
Yako * tumeisikia.

150. " Kanama wewe huramu
Umtwaziye ghulamu
Na maradhi ya * juzamu
Muketizie * pamoya.

151. " Situngilie nyumbani,
Sisimame mlangoni,*
Na hatta mwetu muini
Ni marufuku kungia."

152. Akarudi kwa simazi
Moyo ulina kiizi *
Kwakuikosa * kazi
Pato lake kutukua.*

153. Karudi kisikitika
Matozi yakimtoka,*
Katika ndia kifika
Aone * mtu akiya.

154. Kiya mbee kithihiri,*
Na kiemba mshajari,
Akamba, " Nipa khabari,
Ewe huramu rathia.

155. " Nikhubiri ina lako,
Wewe na wazee wako,
Moyoni nina matamko *
Penda kukutamkia."

156. Akatamka hurama,*
Akamba " Hitwa * Rehema.
Binti ya Furathima *
Wa Yusufu nisikia." *

157. Ibilisi katamka,
" Mbona umebadilika ? *
Kipambo kimeondoka,
Aliyokupa Jalia.*

158. " Uwapo wako uzuri ?
Walopowa na Jabari
Uso umetaghayari
Kamwe sikukutambua.

159. " Labuda upete nnini ? *
Nikhubiri sinikhini
Yalio mwako moyoni
Sisite moya nambia."

160. Akatamka mvazi,
Akamba * nina simazi,
Ni * mume * wangu hawezi
Nyaka zimepotea.*

161. " Hunu mbwa sabaa mwaka
Ndwee hiyo kumshika
Jalilu Mola Rabbuka
Hayamjazi afua.

162. " Na wewe sinihabisi *
Taka kwenenda * upesi,
Moyo sione nafasi
Kutoka kulimatia."

163. Shiti * akatakalamu,
Akamwambia huramu,
" Kiumbe mwana Adamu,
Ni kweli hakutimia.*

164. " Mwanadamu ni kweli
Angasifuwa akili
Mbali hakutaka mali
Kulla yambo kumwelea.*

165. " Hela upeo ni wewe
Na * mwekevu ni kamawe
Hoyo kukuoa wewe *
Ni aibu kusikiwa.

166. " Mzuri mke huramu
Mwema mwenye tabasamu
Kutwaa mwenye juzamu
Ni mume akakuoa.*

167. " E ! * huramu taibu
Simuhudumu Ayubu
Wala huoni * aibu ?
Roho si ya kununua."

168. Rehema akapulika
Hayo * aliyotamka,
Asimngoje * kepuka
Kondoka kandama ndia.*

169. " Tangu hapo nisimeme
Hukungoja we * useme
Kanama si mtu kamwe
Siwe mwenye kutongoa." *

170. Rehema mwenye nasabu
Akenenda kwa ghadhabu
Akifika kwa Ayubu,
Salamu akatongoa.

171. Kungia * kwake kambie
Uso ubadilishie
Ayubu kamuzaye,
"Mbona unaghadhibia ?"

172. Mwana Rehema kanena :
" Pulikiza Saidana,
Watu wameafikana
Muini kunitoa.

173. " Nyumba nendazo abadi
Hidima kuwa*saidi
Yeo hunena * rudi
Na matango kunambia.

174. " Wote wameafikana
Kunambia ' siye tena
Ao tuyapokukuona *
Fahamu tutakutoa'.

175. " Kitoka kuya * zangu
Nilina matungu yangu
Niwene asi ya Muungu
Dayani * kanitokea.*

176. " Akanambia * upuuzi
Maneno yasiyo kazi :
' Mume wako hawezi
Senende * kumkurubia '."

177. Kisa kunena huramu
Ayubu kamfahamu
" Hoyo si mwanadamu.
Ni Shaitani, sikia.* "

178. Ayubu katakalama,
Akimwambia Rehema,
" Tena ayapokegema *
Mtokoze * nakwambia.

179. " Ni mui, thama ni mui,
Shaitani * ni adui,
Rehema humtambui ?
Kwambiayo * nisikia."

180. Akameleza khabari,
Mumewe * kamkhubiri,
Akampa ni * amri
Kuti kwenda kuzengea.

181. Akamwambia " Enenda,
Nami nipo takulinda
Simba kitonitunda *
Utaniona ukiya.

182. " Na kwamba Mola Mkwasi
Ameiza * yangu kasi
Atanitukua basi *
Na mashumra na mbwawa."

183. Rehema akatamka,
" Inshallah takudirika,
Na afiya * itashuka,
Mola tashusha afua."

184. Akatana nyee * zake,
Kauka mikili yake,*
Akenda kwa waanawake,
Kuwaonyesha hedaya.

185. Nyele sura zikeo *
Mikili ilingeneo
Yali * ikikoma nyao
Yalipokifumuliwa.*

186. Wawenepo nisiwani
Wale kiitamani *
Kawambia, " Nunuani.
Nipate kuwakatia."

187. Wakauza waanawake,
" Twambie thamani yake
Kwamba * hatuna tutake
Kitu chakununulia."

188. Rehema akawajibu ;
" Kuza nyee ni aibu
Wa amma nina jawabu
Zaidi ya mambo pia.

189. " Ndipo kuza nyee zangu
Ni shidda la * ulimwengu
Ni * mimi na mume wangu
Limezotusikilia."

[189*a*. " Mukitaka muzipate,
Nyee zangu muzikate,
Ishirini kwa mkate
Takuza, sitokataa."]

190. Waanawake wamwambie
" Khamsini tukatie
Kwa mkate tutwazie
Mmoya * kutopungua."

191. Mwanamke * wa rasuli
Rehema akakubali
" Naitaka * mbalimbali
Musinipe siku moya."

192. Akakata nyele singa
Khamsini kaziwanga *
Kawapa wakazifunga *
Nuru ikiwazagaa.*

193. Wakanena nisiwani :
" Amba tuzinunueni
Zote nyele za kitwani
Ni yambo tukimwondoa.*

194. " Tuzikateni zisie
Nyele zimsalie *
Kwani hakuna kamai
Katika sute nisaa."

195. Nyele zake atanapo
Mikili aisukapo
Kwa kulla mke alipo
Shungi lake huvaa.

196. Wanawake wakazidi
Kuzifanyiza juhudi
Na nyoyoni makusudi
Wataka kumumbua.

197. Wakuteneo hurama
Wakwambia Rehema,
" Kesho ndoo na mapema
Singoje kupaza yua."

198. Mwana Rehema kanena
" Kwaherini, waungwana
Hayo nimezoagana
Ndiyo yatakaokuwa."

199. Kangia safarini
Katika kenda ndiani
Umuwene insani
Uyao wendeme ndia.

200. Na upangawe wa kambo
Wa fedhati na thahabu
Msinafu * mkasabu
Uyandishiye mwangia.

201. Umbo lema la rijali
Mzuri aso mithali
Na libasi 'ali 'ali
Uyandishiye mgoya.*

202. Hatta akikurubia
Penye huramu rathia
Katamka kamambia
" Nni usikhofu yua ?

203. " Mtikati yua kali *
Mato hayahimili *
Hutaki * penye kivuli *
Ukapata kupumua ?

204. " Na kwamba una shughuli
Nambia ni mahasuli *
Wewe pumuza muili
Mimi takukutulia."

205. Rehema akatamka :
" Sina ambalo nataka.
Katika ndia epuka,
Napenda kuipitia.

206. " Epukawe taajali,*
Nende kwa wangu rijali,
Kwa mtamu wangu * rasuli :
Mno nimelimatia."

The Poem of Job

1. My brothers, give me paper
And good, black ink,
And a reed pen,
Which have been selected.

2. That I may write, inditing
An Arabic story
With the history of Job,
The messenger sent by the Lord.

3. I wish to narrate (it) to you,
Explaining the Arabic
In our language, clearly,
So that there may not be (any words) which are not plain to him.

4. I am able to explain
Making it clear (in) our language,
And you, when you listen,
You will understand it all.

5. Composing and writing
Those (words) which are in the book,
I translated (them from) Arabic
And sang (them) to you in Swahili.

6. He will make it easy,
The Only One, who has no likeness ;
Thou are apart, O Lord, Thou are apart,
The Mighty and Exalted One.

7. The Merciful, the Compassionate,
The Disposer (of all) in the world,
Both rebellious and believers,
By (means of) subsistence and health.

8. The Merciful, our Master,
The Chooser, our Lord,
At the Day of Judgment, among us
He will choose out the good.

9. After it, I will begin (with)
The Name of the Lord, the Beloved.
I wish to praise
And to thank Him, the Exalted.

10. Praise be to God—
Great and exalted is His greatness,
Alone, who has no comparison,
The Lord, who has no like.

11. Prayers and peace,
May they go to the Confessor
Of the tribe of Hashim,
The last of the Prophets.

"Verily, God and his Angels pray for the Prophet, O ye who believe! Pray for him, and salute him with salutation." [1]

12. Muhammed, the Chosen,
Having glory and praise,
Owner of dignity, the elect,
The Lord of the Arabs.

13. And then, Abu Bakar,
Uthman and Omar,
And Ali, the brave,
And the family of the Messenger.

14. And her, too, daughter of the Faithful,
Fatima, apple of his eye,
And Hasan and Husein,
And all the rest of them.

15. O Lord! for the sake of these people,
All of whom we have called by name,
Sustain us, we (are) their servants,
With subsistence and health.

16. Sustain us also with faith
In this world and the next,
That we may all be in safety,
By the decision of Him who Is.

17. The preamble is finished,
I have no need to go any farther.
Now let us pray to the Giver,
(And) I will tell you the story.

18. Our Apostle Job,
(Is) he who was given by the Bountiful
(So) much property (that it was) wonderful;
It was known throughout the world.

19. First let us mention the goats.
There were a thousand kraals (of them),
Which he was given by the Mighty!
Much wealth—which had no limit.

20. And slaves in sufficiency:
Every one of these famous kraals
Had a thousand herdsmen,
Who used to herd (the goats) for him.

21. And his cattle and camels,
And his horses and asses,
Let me explain to you their number—
It is as I told you.

22. And the (different) kinds of his wealth
Each thing separately,
To mention them is impossible;
I cannot tell you them.

23. And his children, let us mention them.
They were seven sons
Like lions in fierceness,
All of one age.

24. And three daughters,
Shining like lamps, were his.
Altogether, his children
Made up (the number of) ten.

25. He performed towards the Loving One
(Acts of) worship (so that) when he excelled
As to wealth and his children,
(These things) might not bring him to confusion.

[1] Palmer's translation.

26. He went often to worship
Before His Lord, the Eternal.
There arose envy—
It was that he was envied.

" When he cried to his Lord, ' Truly evil hath touched me, but Thou art the most merciful of those who show mercy.' "

27. Iblis, the Accursed
Arrived in heaven
And said to the Benefactor,
" I have a word (which) I wish to say.

28. " If Job worships Thee,
Never once turning back,
It is (because) children and wealth,
(And) all (things) (are) collected together for him.

29. " I swear then, I swear
That, if Thou didst not give him (these things)
And he were destitute,
He would forget Thee ! "

30. The Benefactor answered him,
" Be silent, Accursed One ;
I am certain that Job
Is not a man to be lost.

31. " If I lead him, the creature,
Thou wilt not find the way to him,
The road will be one of trouble for thee,
Thou wilt not gain an entrance into him."

32. And Iblis said :
" Command me—glory be to Thee;
Thou shalt see Job
When I reduce him to compliance.

33. " But at the moment
To get (at) him is difficult ;
It is his children and wealth
And a part of his health (which should be taken from him).

34. " Give me the order, O Mighty One,
And I will waste for him his wealth
And bring him into troubles,
That he may come to be in perplexity."

35. And our Lord answered him :
" Be silent, O thou Liar !
Thou wilt have no power on Job
To put him into the evil way.

36. " Behold, I command thee,
Take away his wealth from him,
Attack him in all ways
(By which) thou dost wish to enter his mind."

37. So Iblis went forth,
With speed and haste,
And he reached his own house
And called his sons.

38. And he said to them : " Come !
Quickly follow me !
To-day I have a contest,
I want to be helped.

39. " I come from the Giver,
On account of the matters of Job,
I want to put a hook into him,
I will tell you that plan.

40. " Everyone (of you) who is strong,
A notable one in the assembly,
Let him approve of it beforehand,
That I may be able to understand."

41. When the Accursed One had spoken,
That word with his tongue,
Ten thousand devils
Have come to support him.

42. And every man of them praised himself;
"It is I who go before the ranks,
Send me on a thousand errands—
I will execute them all for thee.

43. "Bring whatever matter thou wilt,
That we may put war in their hearts,
So that people may love to quarrel
Or to commit adultery and steal."

44. The Accursed said to them:
"Leave all those things alone,
I have a plan in my heart—
I want to be helped.

45. "That Apostle Job
Is beloved by the Lord,
Do you put a hook into him.
And as to the plan, I will tell you.

46. "Let us go to his kraals
Of the goats and prepare them.
Let us put fire that it may burn,
And let the people be (burnt) at the same time."

47. And they all went together,
The Accursed and his sons;
And when they saw the kraals
All were astonished.

48. They sent forth great blasts
From their fiery mouths;
They could not get any passage (out)
(Could) the goats or the herdsmen either.

49. The goats were lost
And the herdsmen were burnt up.
They were made to pass by all (i.e. the fiends were sent to all the herdsmen),
So that there was not one left.

50. Iblis aforesaid
Said to the soldiers,
"Go and give him the news
As to those things which have happened."

51. It was then he sang a song,
(Did) Satan, the arch-liar,
And he went to Job's house,
Weeping and lamenting,

52. And said to him; "Our master!—
Our herdsmen and goats,
There is not left anything (of them),
The fire has attacked us.

53. "They are all burnt up,
Not one has escaped,
Except me only, hear!
There is not (one)—they perished.

54 "Now, master, what shall we do?
We are entering into poverty.
Till when will you worship?
There is nothing to use (no supplies).

55. "Stand up, do not remain seated,
It is necessary to take trouble,
Thy children are crying
Because they have no milk."

56. And Job said:
"Be silent, O liar!
I was given (these things) by the Giver—
It has pleased Him to take them away."

57. Iblis returned
Without having carried out his intention.
He went to his sons,
To inform them how he had fared.

58. He said : " This man
Did not regard those matters,
Not even the simplest disturbance
Has he admitted into his heart.

59. " A stratagem now let me explain to you :
Let us go and destroy
His horses and camels
And cattle, as well as the goats.

60. And they arose, the dogs,
Their hearts were set (on) destruction.
Their faces were (full) of fury,
Their (intention was) to tear in pieces.

61. They went, unyieldingly,
They puffed out their cheeks,
They made them fly away like ashes,
So that there remained not a fragment of them.

62. And Iblis came again
To Job and said,
" O you, Master ! O Master !
The animals are finished for us.

63. " When you were worshipping
Your Lord, and making promises to Him,
You and your children—
They had (enough) to use.

64. "To-day everything is taken away.
There is an end of what still remained,
Let us go and look (at things),
So that you may be able to understand (what has happened).

65. " It will not do to sit (still),
The children have no subsistence ;
They have no food, they have no water,
They have no clothes to wear."

66. And Job spoke
In anger and wrath :
" Depart, thou dog,
Depart from before me.

67. " Depart from me, O Iblis !
Nor do thou put doubts into my mind,
The Mighty One (is) the Lord, the Rich,—
Everything that He wills is wont to be."

68. And Iblis returned.
Having failed (to carry out) his purpose.
He followed the road and returned
To his sons and brought them back.

69. And he said to them : " I (will) explain to you :
I will come (and) go to heaven.
I have a plan in my heart
(Which) I will go and tell to the Majestic One."

70. And Iblis flew away,
And he ascended in haste.
Until he arrived in heaven
And knocked and had (the door) opened for him.

71. When he passed through the door,
He went stealthily, stealthily,
Till he reached the front (rank)
And uttered (these words) :

72. "Let me make clear to Thee
(my) stratagem
With (even) superfluous words!
I have not obtained an entrance
to his (house)
(Nor) a door to enter by.

73. "I have destroyed his wealth,
The whole. I have left nothing
over,
And when I went to explain (this)
to him,
He paid no attention to it.

74. "I gave him the news long ago
Of the destruction of his property
He paid no attention to it.
His worship he did not lessen.

75. "And the reason of it, O
Beneficent,
Why Thou hast the certainty
(That) he remains (steadfast) in
(his) love;
The property will return to him.

76. "Give me orders, O Loving One,
To destroy his sons;
Perhaps he may change his mind
If his heart receives a shock."

77. God answered him:
"If I command thee—
(Go) and look at his children,
(And) kill them in any fashion
thou wilt."

78. And Iblis went down
With joy and laughter.
Till he reached the earth,
Without stopping to draw breath.

79. (In) his going forth, know (that)
Satan went on without stopping,
Till he went to the school
(Where) the boys were wont to
learn.

80. The children were holding their
boards,
As is the custom (of) those who
read,
When their teacher
Speaks to those who make
mistakes.

81. If a boy makes a mistake
The teacher is wont to correct him,
Till all have finished
And he is satisfied with them all.

82. He entered (in) a whirlwind—
Iblis, like a storm,
And he broke down the house,
And the house fell.

83. The house covered them
And all the stones pressed on
them.
There was not one who escaped,
(So as) to be able to run away.

84. When the (arch-)sinner had finished
Putting away the sons of the chiefs,
He smeared himself with dust
And changed his appearance.

85. And he dressed himself in clothes
Like (those of) their teacher—
That (one) who had been hearing
them read—
And he went (along) lamenting.

86. Lamenting (the ungrateful one!)
"Ah! most distressful mourning!
Where are the children
Of Job, the Messenger?

87. "Where are they that I may call
them?
Let them take their writing-
boards,
That I may hear them read in the
school,
As is their custom (to do).

88. " I want them, I do not see them ;
They have removed from the world.
Tell ye it to Job.
Which is (the news) to tell him ?

89. " What is my speech,
Which my tongue must utter ?
' Thou gavest me ten children—
They have died in one hour.' "

90. He went on until he stopped
At Job's house and came near
And groaned still more (than before)
With tears, bending down.

91. He wept noisily,
Saying, " I have no joy,
Nor shall I see any rest
Except by dying myself.

92. " These little children—
Death has come upon them.
Oh ! would—oh ! would that I
Had gone before them into the world to come !

93. " Ah ! the children of the Apostle,
They will silence our tongues :
Oh, would that I might enter, even I :—
That I might be their ransom ! "

94. He spoke, repeating his words,
Calling them, the little ones, by name,
(Relating) the matters, as they had happened,
Right there, in the midst of his weeping.

95. And he said to Job,
" For you to sit still is a disgrace.
The limit of afflictions
Is these things which have happened."

96. Job (said) : " Come ! stop, it is enough ! "
Then he rose from his seat :
" Depart, thou evil one, (from) us !
As the people have buried (them)."

97. " What (sort of thing) is it not to lament
When all your children have died ?
You have become utterly miserable,
Like a man who has never had any children (at all)."

98. Job was (almost) persuaded (to give way) ;
His liver turned round in him,
His tears started flowing.
They rotted his chest.

99. Job spoke and said :
" As I have said in my heart :
This is (indeed) he who overwhelms me
By whom I am cursed.

100. " Thou art Iblis
Who causest the people to perish,—
Depart, do not defile me.
Withdraw from my presence."

101. When the Accursed One saw
That Job was speaking to him,
He returned slowly,
And ascended above the sky.

102. When he arrived in heaven,
Satan said,
" O Lord, O Benefactor,
Thou has nothing which is not clear to Thee.

103. " Job is invincible,
He has health from within,
The things of this world
All (of them) were not even one.

104. " (Since) I am not able to strive against him,
Give me permission to attack him.
I wish to do (something to) his heart (mind),
But (only) if I am ordered.

105. " If Job is patient
Permit me to increase (his sufferings);
I want that Thou shouldest give me an order
To enter into his body."

106. And the Majestic One answered him
(Even) Satan, (in these) words:
" I have granted thee those things (which thou hast asked for)
Go down, go in haste."

[106*a*. And Satan returned
And came down, bringing (the news):
" As to the matter which I purposed,
I have been given the order."]

107. And he went on the spot, without stopping,
Till he came to the house of the Messenger,
And he found him at his prayers—
He had gone into (the mosque for) prayers.

108. And Satan hid himself
Just in front of (Job's) face
Till he went into (= began to make) his prostrations,
Then he (Satan) blew into his nose.

109. The breath which he brought
It hit Job
Like an arrow, blowing as (it did)
From hell—(just) listen!

110. It entered his head,
And it spread through his body—
Job was at his prayers,
It was thus (that) it came down upon him.

111. His blood was scattered—
It trickled very slowly;
And sores were opened;
They spread through his body.

112. Job, at this time,
When sickness had seized him,—
There came out of him worms
Like white ants (at the time) of the rains.

113. And matter came out,
From his body; it passed
Like the water of the tide,
(Or) gutters at the time of the rains.

114. And the smell of him, in truth,
The way that he smelt,
A man would get out of his way,
(To a distance of) two hundred paces.

115. Iblis did not loiter,
He did not cease planning,
Hither and thither going about
And inflicting vexation upon him.

116. And he said, " As to this man.
His sickness is incurable,—
O people, banish him (?)
It is dangerous to put him (in the house).

117. " Freemen, assemble together
And expel him from the town.
Send him (by the roads of) the forest
(By) ways which are not travelled over."

118. All were gathered together,
And they agreed to these words;
They sent him away by (the voices of) all,
(So that) there was not one who remained behind.

119. All of them thrust him out;
There was none who came near him
Except the Lady Rehema,
His troubled wife.

120. Now, as for her, the Lady Rehema,
Her origin was (of an) illustrious race,
She was the daughter of Ephraim
(The son) of Joseph, I tell you.

121. This wife, let me tell you,
God had formed her
In the likeness of her grandfather,
Of Joseph, understand (me)!

122. Good, and born of good people,
Grief had overspread her (mind),
(For) the driving away (of) her husband.
Because of his sickness.

123. She stayed with him, the man,
Steadfastly, without fearing it;
And they lay down, the two of them,
And awoke together.

124. Job suffered
Through the sickness seizing him,
While Rehema grieved,
Weeping every day.

125. And she left her sleep,
(Did) Rehema, doing work
In order to get bread
To give to her man.

126. Rehema did not fall short (in her efforts),
She entered every house
And said to (the inmates), " I am ready—
I want to serve you.

127. " Send me (about) your work
Which is in your houses.
If it is for wheat to be ground—
If you give me some, I will grind it for you.

128. " And I will polish your rings for you
And shampoo you and plait your hair,
(Only) also (= in return) give me the bread
Which remains over when you eat.

129. " And also do not object to me.
Even though I should see a piece
Of bread and pick it up
If it falls on the ground.

130. " And there is no difficulty
About picking up what has fallen,
For (otherwise) the cat will eat it.
It is of no use to you.

131. " For myself, this is my food
Which (I am going) to eat with my husband,
May we be blessed by God
(So that) these things come to us."

132. She was doing servant's work all day,
For two handfuls of dhurra
Until the evening was over.
(When) she went away and followed the road (home).

133. She went to her husband
The Apostle Job, the Messenger
And took hold of his body
And turned him round.

134. Job was not able,
When he was lying down, to turn himself over,
Through his body being (so) corrupt
It was necessary that someone else should lift him.

135. Rehema took hold of him.
And the worms fell down.
Job spoke
And said to his wife :

136. " Do not lose the worms, (but)
Pick them up and put them back;
If any sustenance remains for them,
It is a sin to take it away."

137. The noble Lady Rehema
As was told her, she stooped
She took hold of them with pity,
The worms, and picked them up.

138. She picked them up and placed them
And arranged them on the bones
Until they were all collected
In the body and remained (there).

139. After that, (when) her fellow-ministrants
(Were) caring for his body (?)
That is when she brought a word
To say to her husband.

140. " Master, receive your sustenance
Which was given me by the Creator,
Do not put (distress) (into) (your heart)
He who afflicts is wont to save.

141. " I have obtained a little bread,—
Receive and swallow it; it is food.
A person who is wont to be steadfast,
Does not waver when he is ill." (?)

142. And Job spoke
And answered his wife :
" I feel a great calamity—(?)
Bread (only) annoys me.

143. " Bread cannot be swallowed ;—
If I swallow it, it is destruction.
Do not be offended (if) I do not want it !
Do not say that I am provoked with you."

144. His wife explained to him,
While her tears ran down :
" These things come by refusing (food)—
You will be given what you like.

145. "To-day I have obtained of millet
A loaf, (I pray you) do not refuse it.
Eat, my Master, that I, too, may eat,
Do not hurt yourself with hunger."

146. And Rehema said to him,
" O our lord, receive (from) me
(Your) sustenance, one morsel
It is (to your) advantage if it enters" (i.e. if you can get it down).

147. Then he said to her: " Yes,"
And he finished the bread
Sucking it and swallowing his spittle,
And put out the uneatable part.

148. Until, when it was dawning,
The Lady Rehema went out.
She went, to go from house to house
And to work for people.

149. Every house which she entered—
They drove her away quickly:
" For we have heard the news—
Your (news) we have heard it.

150. "What! you woman,
You who have taken a husband
With an incurable sickness,—
You (two) are living together!

151. " Do not enter our houses!
Do not stand at the door!
Even into our town
You are interdicted from entering."

152. She returned, with grief,
Her heart was oppressed (?)
Through being in want of work
And her earnings no longer existing.

153. She returned sorrowing,
With her tears flowing;
When she had reached the road
She saw a man coming.

154. As he came forward, he was plainly seen,
With an ornamental turban,
And he said, " Give me news,
You, O woman, do not take it ill.

155. " Tell me your name,
Yours and (those of) your parents,
In my heart I have a speech,
(Which) I wish to utter to you."

156. The woman spoke
And said, " I am called Rehema,
The daughter of Ephraim
(Son) of Joseph, hear me!"

157. Iblis said:
" Why are you changed (in aspect)?
Your adornment has departed,
Which the Almighty gave you.

158. " Where is your beauty
Which you were given by the Powerful?
Your face is emaciated
So that I did not recognize you.

159. " What, peradventure, is it that has happened to you,
Tell me, do not deceive me,
(The matters) which are in your heart,
Do not hide (even) one, tell me!"

160. The Beautiful One spoke
And said, " I have grief
It is (that) my husband is ill :
(His) years are lost.

161. " This is the seventh year
Since that disease seized him.
The Majestic, the Mighty, the Lord
Has not yet granted him deliverance.

162. " And you, do not hinder me.
I want to go quickly.
My heart finds no leisure
To delay my setting out."

163. Satan spoke
And said to the woman,
" The creature, the son of Adam
It is true, he has not lived out his time.

164. " Truly, the son of Adam
Would be praised for his wisdom
If he had not desired wealth,
Every matter would be clear to him.

165. " Surely you are of the highest excellence,
And a person of capacity is like you.
For that (man) to have married you
Is a shame (even) to be heard (of).

166. " A beautiful woman,
Good and smiling (*lit.* : owner of smiles)
To take a man hopelessly diseased
As your husband, to marry you !

167. " Oh ! you excellent woman,
Do not be a servant to Job,
Or do you not think it a disgrace?
Life is not (a thing) to be bought."

168. And Rehema heard
Those (words) which he said.
Without waiting for him she avoided him
And went away and followed the road.

169. " All this while I have stood still
Waiting while you spoke :—
Surely you are not a man at all,
You cannot be an utterer (of human words)."

170. Rehema, the well-born,
She went away in wrath.
When she reached Job's house,
She uttered a salutation.

171. At her entering his house, in front
(The fashion of) her countenance had changed,
And Job asked her,
" Why are you angry ? "

172. And the Lady Rehema said,
" Listen, O my lord !
The people have conspired together
To drive me out of the town.

173. " When I went to the house of Abadi
To work for its master,
To-day, they said, ' Return,'
Also saying words of abuse to me.

174. " All have conspired together,
To tell me, ' Do not come again,
Or if we see you,
Understand that we shall turn
you out '

175. " When I set out to come my way
(hither)
I was with my (own) bitterness.
I saw a rebel against God,
And he appeared to me on the
road.

176. " He spoke to me folly,
Words which have no sense :
' Your husband is ill,
Do not go to approach him.' "

177 When the woman had finished
speaking,
Job understood her (and said) :
" That (was) not a son of Adam,
It was Satan, hear (me) ! "

178. Job spoke
Saying to Rehema,
" Even if he comes near you
again,
Defy him, I tell you.

179. " He is bad, and again, he is bad,
Satan is the enemy.
Rehema, you did not recognize
him ;
Let me hear what he said to you."

180. And she told him the whole
story (in detail),
And her husband exhorted her
And also gave her orders
To go (again) and seek for food.

181. And he said to her, " Go !
And I am here. I will await you.
If a lion does not snatch me
You will find me when you come.

182. " And if, the Lord, the Wealthy,
Has refused my entreaty,
Well then, a hyena will carry me
off,
Or the striped hyenas and the
wild dogs."

183. Rehema spoke :
" If God will, I will meet you,
And health will come down.
The Lord will send down
deliverance."

184. So she combed her hair
And plaited her tresses
And went to the women
To show them a rarity.

185. (Now as to her) hair, the appear-
ance which it had—
The plaits were of such a length
That they reached to her feet
When they were let down.

186. When those women saw it
And coveted it.
She said to them, " Buy
That I may be able to cut off for
you."

187. And the women asked,
" Tell us the price of it.
For we have not, (though) we wish,
A thing to buy it with."

188. Rehema answered them,
" To sell one's hair is a disgrace.
But, however, I have a reason
Stronger than all (other) con-
siderations.

189. " (The reason) why (I have) to
sell my hair,
It is the stress of circumstances,
It is myself and my husband—
The way it has come upon us."

189*a*. ["If you want (it), you can get it,
My hair, you may cut it:
Twenty (hairs) for a loaf
I will sell, I will not refuse."]

190. The women said to her:
"Cut off fifty (hairs) for us,
For bread bring them to us,
Let not one be wanting."

191. The wife of the Messenger,
Rehema, she consented.
"I want it one piece at a time(?)
Do not give (it) me (all) on one day."

192. And she cut her long hair
And counted out fifty (single hairs),
And gave to them, and they tied them,
And the light shone forth on them (i.e. they saw the lustre of the golden hair).

193. And the woman spoke,
Saying, "Let us buy them,
All the hairs of her head,
It will be a trouble to her if we take them from her.

194. "Let us cut it so that it may be finished,
The hair which remains to her,
For there is no one like her
Among all of us women."

195. When she combed her hair,
When she plaited her tresses,
Every woman who was present
Put on her veil.

196. The women surpassed (themselves)
In making the greatest efforts,
And in their hearts (their) purpose
(Was that) they wished to depreciate her.

197. The women who were assembled.
They said to Rehema.
"To-morrow come early.
Do not wait for the sun to rise."

198. And the Lady Rehema said,
"Farewell, ye well-born ladies
Those things (we spoke of), as I have agreed (with you)—
It is they which will come to pass."

199. So she started on (her) journey.
And in her going on the road
She saw a man
Who was coming, following the road.

200. With his cutting sword
Of silver and of gold,
(Of the best) quality—inwrought with gold (?)
So that he might prepare to practise enchantments against her.

201. The comely form of the man
Was beautiful beyond compare,
And his garments (were) very glorious
So that he might get ready to bewitch her.

202. And so he approached (the place)
Where the favoured woman was,
And he spoke and said to her,
"How is this that you do not fear the sun?

203. " At noon the sun is fierce,
The eyes cannot endure (it);
Do you not wish for a shady
place
So that you may be able to rest?

204 " And if you have (any) business,
Tell me the upshot of it,
(But) as for you, do you rest
your body,—
I will relieve you of it."

205. And Rehema spoke:
" I have not (anything) which I
want.
From (out of) my path depart.
I wish to pass (along) on it.

206. " Do you get out of my way
quickly,
That I may go to my husband,
To my sweet Messenger;
I have (already) delayed too
long."

LUDOVICO MARRACCI

By E. Denison Ross

IN the course of an examination of George Sale's translation of the *Qur'án*, I was struck by certain remarks made by him in his address to the reader. He says first that, with the exception of a MS. of Baydawi's Commentary, which he borrowed from the Dutch Church in Austin Friars,[1] he relied solely on MSS. and books in his own possession for his Moslem authorities. He also pays tribute to the assistance he derived from the translation of the *Qur'án* published by Ludovico Marracci at Padua in 1598, which he describes as "very exact: but adheres to the Arabic idiom too literally to be readily understood . . . by those who are not versed in Mohammedan learning". He adds, further, "and I should be guilty of ingratitude did I not acknowledge myself much obliged thereto."

Shortly after Sale's death his collection of Oriental MSS. and books was offered for sale by his executor, and a copy of the Catalogue was printed, and may be consulted in the British Museum.[2] The collection ultimately passed into the possession of the Bodleian Library.

On inspecting this Catalogue I was struck by the circumstance that the collection contained hardly any works on the Qur'án. I occurred to me, therefore, that the citations from such Arabic commentators as Zamakhsharí, Jalál ad-Dín Suyútí, and so forth, must have been quoted by Sale at second-hand. It was then that I wanted —I confess for the first time—to examine the translation of Marracci.

The result filled me with surprise, and made me wonder how such a work had remained for so long in comparative obscurity. For, in spite of its ostensible and avowed hostility to Islam, it represents a most remarkable feat of scholarship, greatly in advance of most Orientalism of the period. For Marracci not only prints the whole of the Arabic text of the Qur'án, fully vocalized, but also displays very

[1] This MS., together with the rest of the Library, is now deposited in the Guildhall, London.

[2] The press mark is S.C. 306.

extensive reading, and, what is very important and unusual, reproduces the original text, in addition to the Latin rendering, of all the quotations he makes from Arabic authors.

In view of the fact that Marracci has received such small recognition among Orientalists, I thought that it might be of interest to the readers of this *Bulletin* to learn what is known of this erudite Italian and his life.

Ludovico Marracci was born at Lucca in Tuscany towards the end of the year 1612.

After completing his early studies he entered the Congregation of the Regular Clerks (Clergy) of the Mother of God, in which he became famous both for his piety and his learning, and where, after teaching rhetoric for seven years, he held various posts, such as Master of the Novices, Superior, Assistant, and Procuror-General.

These occupations did not prevent him from applying himself to the study of languages, and he taught himself Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldean, and Arabic. This last language he taught for some time at the Sapienza College in Rome, and also at the College of Propaganda, by order of Pope Clement VII.

He also belonged to many other Congregations, such as the Index, the Indulgences, the Relics, and the Examination of Bishops.

The conclusions he drew from the study of certain very old lead blades bearing Arabic inscriptions are worthy of record. These blades had been found in Spain, and the Spaniards had attributed them to Saint James and his disciples, as they had read into them several Christian expressions. Marracci, being commanded by the Inquisition to examine the blades, formed quite a different opinion. He found them full of Muhammadan errors, and made it clear to the Inquisition that neither Saint James nor any of his disciples could have been the authors, but that they were the work of certain Muhammadan impostors who wished to deceive the Christians.

This learned report of Marracci's caused the Pope, Innocent X, to promulgate a decree in which the "Tables", which had hitherto been preserved with veneration, were proscribed.

Pope Innocent XI chose Marracci as his Confessor, and had full confidence in him. He would, indeed, have raised him to high ecclesiastical dignity had not Marracci's modesty always been opposed to this.

He died in Rome on the 5th of February, 1700, at the age of eighty-seven years and four months.

His Work

He spent forty years in compiling his translation of the *Qur'án*, and played an important part in the preparation of the Biblia Sacra Arabica, which was begun at the instance of the Orthodox Bishop of Aleppo in 1624, and was finally published, in three folio volumes, at Rome in 1671.

There is contemporary evidence, including that of his pupil, Johannes Podesta, that he was the author of fifteen printed and nine unprinted compositions.

The following thirteen are known :—

(1) Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani. Rome, 1691. 4 vols., 8vo. Subsequently republished with the "Alcoran". Padua, 1698, fol.

(2) Alcorani textus universus ex correctioribus Arabum exemplaribus descriptus, ac ex Arabico idiomate in Latinum translatus [with notes and refutation]. Padua, 1698, fol., 2 vols.

(3) L'Ebreo preso per le buone : o vero discorsi familiari and amichevoli fatti con Rabbini di Roma intorna al Messia. Rome, 1701, 4to.

(4) Biblia Sacra Arabica, sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda-fide jussu edita ad usum Ecclesiarum Orientalum. Rome, 1671, fol., 3 vols.

(5) Lo Stendardo Ottomannico spiegato, o vero dichiarazione delle parole Arabiche poste nello Stendardo Reale preso dal Ser. Rè di Polonia Giovanni III al Grad Visire de Turchi [etc.]. Rome, 1683, fol.

(6) Vita del P. Gio. Leonardo Lucchese. Rome, 1683, 4to.

(7) Vita della venerabile Madre Passitea Crogi. Venice, 1682, 4to.

(8) Grammatica volgare di Methodo facile and chiaro. Printed several times.

(9) Breve compendio della vita del Pontefice Innocentio XI.

(The dates of the last work and those following are not known.)

(10) L'Historia della miracolosa imagine di S. Maria in Portico, Campitelli.

(11) Trattato contro la vanita delle donne.

(12) Correction of the Syriac Brèviary.

(13) Latin translation [from the original Greek] of the hymns of Saint Joseph of Sicily. Published by Hippolyte Marracci, his brother. 1661, 8vo.

Seeing that his version of the Qur'án is hard to come by, I take this opportunity of reproducing a short specimen of his work, namely, the last chapter of the Qur'án, the "Súrat an-Nás".[1]

The arrangement adopted by him in his exposition of the Qur'án is as follows :—

(1) The text of a Chapter or section of a Chapter
(2) The literal Latin translation.
(3) Notes containing Moslem interpretations.
(4) Refutation of Islamic doctrines.

Thus :—

"[TEXT]

"In Nomine Dei Miseratoris, Misericordis.

"1. Dic : Confugio ad Dominum hominum. 2. Regem hominum. 3. Deum hominum, *ut liberet me.* 4. A malo Insusurratoris sese subtrahentis. 5. Qui insusurrat in pectora hominum. 6. A Geniis, & hominibus.

"NOTAE.

"Circa locum in quo tradita fuit haec Sura : & premium legentis illam, idem sentiunt Expositores, quod de praecedenti : cencetur enim connexe esse, & unicam constituere cum illa, atque undecim versibus constare, ad quorum singulorum prolationem Mahumetus singulis nodis, quibus à filiabus Lobeidi alligatus fuerat, exsolvebatur.

"IV. *A malo Insusurratoris sese subtrahentis.*] Arabicè الوسواس *Insusurrator* exponitur communiter الشيطان Satanas. Jahias · الوسواس هو الشيطان جاثم على قلب ابن ادم فاذا ذكر الله خنس *Insusurrator est Satanas, qui insidet cordi hominis : et, ubi mentio facta fuerit Dei, subtrahit sese, & fugit.* Zamchascerius putat الوسواس, esse pro الوسوسة, *Insusurratio* · كانه وسوسة فى نفسه لانها ضيقته و شغله الذى هو عاكف عليه *Quasi ipse sit insusurratio in anima ejus* (hominis) *quia ipsa opprimit, & occupat eum, in quo ille refidet.* & mox subdit : واذا ذكر الانسان ربه خنس الشيطان واذا غفل وسوس

[1] pp. 834–5.

عليه *Cùmque meminerit homo Domini sui, subtrahit se Satan, & recedit. Cùm autem negligens fuerit in hoc, insusurrat in illum.* Eodem ferè modo Gelal.

" VI. *A Geniis, & Hominibus.*] Putat Gelal, esse hìc : بيان الشيطان الموسوس جنى و الانسان *declarationem Satanæ insusurrantis : Quia ipse est genius, & homo.* Nimirùm, tàm homines, quàm Genii sunt Satanae hominibus, cum urrique provocent eos ad malum. Itaque clarius hic ostenditur, quinam intelligantur nomine Satanae, qui insusurrat in pectora hominum : nempe Genii, & homines, quibus, ut ait Zamchascerius, utitur Satanas ad insusurrandum in pectore hominum.

" Addo hìc parergi loco, appellari has duas Suras المعوذتين quasi dicas, duas Confugiarias : eo, quôd utraque incipiat per اعوذ, Confugio, & de his ita scribit Zamchascerius : عن رسول الله ص لقد انزلت علىّ سورتان ما انزل مثلهما و انك لن تقرأ سورتين احب ولا ارضى عند الله منهما وتقال للمعوذتين المقشقشتان. *Dixit Legatus Dei Mahumetus : Jam quidem missae sunt ad me duae suræ, quibus nulla alia similis missa est : neque tu leges unquam alias duas Suras, quae Deo magis gratae sint, & acceptae. Hę autem, quę dicuntur Confugiarię : appellantur etiam Sanantes :* quia scilicet sanaverunt Mahumetum à veneficio. Concludam has ineptias verbis Jahiae : وقد رويت عن عايشة ان النبى ص كان اذا اوى الى فراشه جمع كفيه ثم نفث يعنى بصق فيهما وقراء قل هو الله احدٌ والمعوذتين ثم مسح بهما ما استطاع من جسده يتداخل راسه متحوّل الى ما نال من بدنه يفعل ذلك ثلاثا *Ex relatione Aisę habetur, quòd, cùm Propheta Muhametus recipiebat se somni causa ad stratum suum : conjungebat ambas palmas manuum suarum : deindè expiebat in eas, & legebat Suram : Dic : Est Deus*

unus : & duas Suras Confugiarias : deindè confricabat utraque palma id, quod poterat de corpore suo, inclinans caput, & convertens illud ad eam partem, quam attractabat de corpore suo, & hoc ter faciebat.

" REFUTATIONES.

" Benè est, quòd, cùm Alcoranus à bestiis, nempè à *Vacca* incoeperit, desinat in *Homines* : & post tot insanias, aliquem tandem sani habere videatur. Verùm, ne in extremis quidem verbis insania caret, dum Genios à Satanis, seu Diabolis, & hominibus distinguit, cùm ut, alibi ostendimus, & ex Sacris litteris manifestè probavimus, Genii, ac Satanę iidem sint, nec ullo modo inter se distinguantur."

A German translation of the Qur'án was made from Marracci's version by David Nerreter, and was published, together with a short account of Muhammadan history and manners, by the same author, in Nuremberg, in 1703 (8vo), in a volume entitled " Neu eroffnete Mahometanische Moschea ".

The title-page introducing the German Qur'an runs as follows : —

DER ALKORAN SELBST
nach der accuratesten Edition
Ludov. Marraccii, gezeigt
wird
verteutscht
mit kurzen Anmerkungen
von
DAVID NERRETER.

The book ends with a reprint of Marracci's Latin text, but in this edition the original Arabic is not given, and the notes are greatly reduced. Its title-page gives Leipzig as the place of issue and 1721 as the date, so that it is possibly an independent publication.

This title-page runs thus :—

MOHAMMEDIS FILII ABDALLAE
Pseudo-Prophetae Fides Islamitica, i.e.
AL-CORANUS.
ex idiomate Arabico, quo primum a Mohammede conscriptus est, Latine versus per Ludovicum Marraccium e Congregatione Cleric. Reg. Matris Dei et Innocentii XI. Papae Confessionarium,
et ex
ejusdem animadversionibus aliorumque observationibus illustratus et expositus,

praemissa brevi introductione et totius Religionis Mohammedicae synopsi, ex ipso Alcorano, ubique Suris et Surarum versiculis adnotatis, congesta.

Cura et Opera
M. Christiani Reine CCII
ss. Theol. Bacc.
Lipsiae, Sumtibus Lanckisianis, MDCCXXI.

We learn from the Prodromus,[1] which furnishes another very good example of his scholarly methods, that the following libraries were used by Marracci:—

Vatican.
Coll. de Propaganda Fide.
Coll. Maronitarum.
Conventus S. Petri Minorum Reformatirum in Janiculo.
Coll. S. Pancratii Carmelitarum Discalceatorum.
Conventus S. Laurentii in Lucina Clericorum Minorum.
Bibliotheca Cardinalis Camilli de Maximis.
,, D. Abrahami Ecchellensis Maronitae.
,, D. Petri a Valle Patricii Romani.

In giving this notice of Marracci, I am glad to have an opportunity of paying a tribute to Italian Orientalism, a school which is so brilliantly represented to-day by such men as Guidi, Nallino, and Caetani.

Bibliography

Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres dans la République des Lettres. Niceron. Paris, 1739, pp. 255–69.

De Scriptoribus Congregationis Clericorum Regularium Matris Dei. Frederic Sarteschi. Rome, 1754.

Biographie Universelle. Paris. [Michaud]. 1820.

[1] See (1) in the list of his works above.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

India at the Death of Akbar. By W. H. Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E. Demy 8vo.

The value and importance of economic history for everyone who, either as an administrator or as an ordinary citizen, seeks to take a part, however humble, in the conduct of public affairs, is to-day recognized—theoretically at least—to an extent which would have astonished our grandfathers. Mr. Moreland's book is a sign of the times. If the ideas of the British public with regard to the economic history of England are not quite so imaginatively vague as they were even half a century ago, we are still, most of us, blankly ignorant of the economic conditions, present and past, of the outlying portions of the British Empire, for which we all have some degree of responsibility; and no one hitherto has succeeded in writing on the subject attractively enough to illuminate our ignorance. But we have begun to wish for enlightenment. Mr. Moreland has taken the field as a pioneer: he deserves success, and has at least won the gratitude of the present reviewer.

The volume is intended as a sort of starting-point. The materials for economic history before Akbar's reign, practically synchronizing with Queen Elizabeth's, are very much to seek, because Indian chroniclers were not interested in portraying the life of the people. They took that for granted: it was something too familiar, if not too uninteresting, to need explanation; but the Westerners, whether they came to India as missionaries or with a view to commerce, took a lively interest in matters to which court chroniclers only made incidental allusion. While Akbar was reigning Jesuit missionaries and mercantile explorers spying out the land began to make notes, and from the beginning of the seventeenth century the numbers at least of the latter increased and multiplied. Their ideas were doubtless coloured by Western preconceptions: the intelligent foreigner with the best intentions misunderstands much that he sees, and is easily misled by the intelligent native: the modern student, moreover, is apt to read modern meanings into words and phrases which were used with a different import three hundred years ago. Still, the European travellers

of those early days give us something to go upon which is lacking in the earlier centuries. And also the native chroniclers under the Great Moguls supply more information which is to the point than their predecessors, because Akbar was himself interested in economic reforms. Thus, when the seventeenth century opens we are emerging from the field of pure conjecture. We are able at last to get a provisional picture of economic conditions.

Mr. Moreland is careful to emphasize the fact that the picture is provisional. Further investigation may on the one hand enable us to affirm positively much that is at present only surmise, to modify much, and to reject much. But what we have renders easier the task of tracing the developments of the next three centuries, to which Mr. Moreland's book may be regarded as the prolegomena.

From the point of view, however, of the ordinary reader, the question to which he wants an answer is—How do the social and economic conditions at the end of Akbar's great reign compare with the social and economic conditions at the present day? Has India progressed or has it fallen back, or remained stationary? How does the wealth (economically speaking) of India compare with its wealth three hundred years ago? We have here a truer and much more complete picture than any hitherto presented because it is based on an exceptionally thorough examination of the documents. Much has still to be done, because while the documents are numerous they are in many diverse languages, Oriental and European, and many are untranslated; and even where translations exist which are good and adequate from the point of view of the general student, they may be misleading on technical points either because the translator has misunderstood technical terms or because the technical terms he uses have for him different shades of meaning from those placed on them by the reader. Mr. Moreland makes his own confession. He is sufficiently master of only five languages to have worked on the originals instead of translations. To do the thing really adequately he wants three more!

However inadequate this may be from the author's point of view, it seems about as much as can reasonably be demanded from one man. The experts in Russian, Spanish, and Italian may some day throw more light upon particular details. But the Persian of the native historians, with the Latin, Portuguese, English, and French of the European investigators, provide for the present sufficient material for sifting and comparison; and the results, skilfully arranged and co-ordinated

by Mr. Moreland, are invaluable and instructive, and—what is no less to the point—most interesting.

The fabled "wealth of the Indies", as far as the population is concerned, is clearly a fiction. The India of the Great Moguls did not produce in easy abundance the necessaries of life or the things which go to make its comforts. It contained a vast amount of accumulated and hoarded treasure, but produced no abundant supply of the goods needed by the population. It gained little by the development of European trade, because in exchange for the goods which it exported it received not consumable goods but more treasure, which was not turned to account but hoarded or applied to unproductive display. The localized magnificence caught the eye of the observer, and later he found the hoards very much in evidence, much to his own advantage. Consequently the reports of untold wealth were accepted in the West as records of undoubted facts. Of the wealth which means well-being, there was actually less in the seventeenth than in the twentieth century. But the convictions of the Western world were strengthened by the fact that the trade with India proved immensely lucrative to the traders. The goods which came from India were mostly in the nature of luxuries (they had not yet become necessities as tea did later), implying luxury in the producing country. If treasure went from England to India in exchange for goods—a disastrous barter, according to the old mercantile theory—England proceeded to exchange the same goods for the treasure of foreign countries at enormously enhanced prices. If India enriched the India merchants she must be rich herself. The argument was as convincing as it was fallacious.

India was not rich. The riches that were in evidence were the riches of princes, nobles, and—not so patently—of financial agents. The vast bulk of the population then, as now, lived in effect on the margin of subsistence by agriculture, and in recurring times of pestilence and famine went under in far greater numbers. The burden of taxation left no margin for saving, and there was no inducement to save when the chances were that if you did so your savings would be annexed by some one else—noble, bandit, or extortioner. There were large and populous towns, but their inhabitants lived on the same or even a lower level of well-being. The Imperial armies and the armies of the still huge states outside the empire were enormous—on paper—but of not more than a third of their represented strength in fact, apart from the inadequacy of the armament of most of the troops.

As for the several fields of production, Mr. Moreland examines them in detail. His three chapters on agricultural and non-agricultural production, with the final chapter on the wealth of India, are probably those which will have most interest for the economist as such. Others dealing with the social and political system will doubtless prove more attractive to readers who have not specialized on a subject which demands close attention to be intelligible. But the economic is so closely interwoven with the social and the political that these chapters are as necessary to the economist as to the general reader. The whole book will repay close study, and should also be of interest to anyone who, without being prepared to give it close study, still desires to have in his mind an effective and vigorous picture of India three hundred years ago, before the European had become an influence there.

A. D. INNES.

AN OUTLINE OF THE RELIGIOUS LITERATURE OF INDIA. By J. N. FARQUHAR, M.A., D.Litt. Oxon. 8vo: pp. xxviii, 451. Oxford University Press, 1920.

One of the most surprising experiences of the Great War was that many things which we had previously thought to be makeable only in Germany could be manufactured as well, if not better, in Great Britain. It is so likewise with the present volume. The immense mass of research and compilation on which it is based and the orderly method in which these materials are digested recall the best type of German *Handbücher*, while the clearness of style with which the author conveys his knowledge is a home-bred virtue. The task would have been heavy enough if it had been limited to literature of a strictly religious tenour; but Dr. Farquhar has generously (and justly) extended it so as to include in his purview a large number of writings which are only secondarily associated with religion, and thus has produced a work which embraces in its survey a very great part—perhaps even the greater part—of the whole literature of India, and is a most useful and reliable storehouse of ordered knowledge.

The method followed by Dr. Farquhar is best described in his own words: "I have attempted," he says (pp. xi–xii), "to divide the milleniums [*sic*] covered by the growth of the literature into periods corresponding as nearly as possible to the great waves of change in belief and practice, and within each period to group the books as far as possible, according to the religion, the sect, and the sub-sect to which they

severally belong." Though this plan has some disadvantages it is on the whole the best that could be devised. As M. Barth remarks, even in India the centuries have their own physiognomies. Moreover, the narrative is supplemented by an excellent bibliography, in which the writings recorded are arranged by their schools and also, as far as possible, in accordance with their date.

Considering the immense amount of polyglot reading which has gone to make up the book, mistakes are singularly few. Misprints are comparatively rare.[1] Even in matters of opinion there are few cases where the author lays himself open to criticism. Perhaps in his account of the Upanishads (p. 52) he hardly makes enough allowance for the evolution of the idea of the *ātman* through the preliminary stages of *pratīkas*, and rather suggests that it arose suddenly, *per saltum*. Possibly, too, it is rather too much to say that "we can be sure" that the Sānkhya is derived from the Upanishads (p. 61). On p. 159 the author mentions some writings of the Prajñā-pāramitā class as products of the Madhyamaka [2] school, whereas on p. 115 he notes some other works of the same order without reference to the Madhyamakas. On p. 207 he asserts that Buddhism came into Tibet about A.D. 640, which contradicts his announcement on p. 213 that "Buddhism was introduced into Tibet in 747". The statement that the Upamiti-bhava-prapañcha is in Prakrit (p. 215) is erroneous: the book is in Sanskrit.

The opening sentences of chapter vi (p. 220) are, perhaps, more likely to open ground for controversy than any others in the book. Dr. Farquhar here declares that "the sects which ruled the development

[1] A considerable proportion of *lapsus calami* occurs in Tamil names, of which the transcription is inconsistent and not seldom inexact: *inter alia* we may mention the incorrect spellings "Tevārām" and "Devārām" instead of "Tēvāram" or "Dēvāram" (p. 256), and "Kāñchī-Appar" for "Kachchiy-Appar" (ib.). Of other minor slips, apart from the irregularities in the transliteration of Tamil words, we may note the following specimens: "Vāsudeva" for "Vasudeva" (p. 100); "dyaṇuka" for "dvyaṇuka" (p. 133); "Vasubandha" for "Vasubandhu" (p. 156); "Aparamitāyus" for "Aparimitāyus" (p. 158); "Khumbh" for "Kumbh" (p. 174); "Udyotakara" for "Uddyotakara" (p. 180); "Vāckakar" for "-vāchakar" (p. 220); "samuchchhaya" for "samuchchaya" (pp. 243, 250, 437); "Akshobya" for "Akshobhya" (p. 273); "Kuṇḍakunda" for "Kundakoṇḍa" or "Kundakunda" (p. 281); "Raṇṇa" for "Ranna" (p. 283); "Purandar Dās" and "Srī Vyāsa Rāja" for "Purañdara Dāsa" (the genuine Kanarese vocalization) and "Vyāsa-rāya" (p. 303); "Veṅkāya Ārya" for "Veṅkayārya" (p. 304); "Satsandarbha" for "Shat-sandarbha" (p. 309); "Padmāvalī" for "Padyāvalī" (p. 376). On p. 310 the symbols of equality are oddly misapplied twice instead of hyphens, so that we have "Mathurā = māhātmya" and "Rās = hilā".

[2] We take the opportunity to point out to Dr. Farquhar that the correct form of this word is either *Madhyamaka* or *Mādhyamika*.

of Hinduism during these centuries [A.D. 900-1350] received their inspiration in large measure from the enthusiastic bhakti of the wandering singers of the Tamil country. . . . Much of the peculiar fervour and attractive power of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* comes from the devotion of the Āḻvārs". This may be true; but to us it seems rather a case of *atiprasaṅga*. How much influence the Tamil votaries exerted on the rest of India cannot be definitely estimated; but it does not seem to have been much. They were chiefly interested in the worship of Vishṇu according to the cult of Srirangam or Tirupati or other typical establishments, and they were little concerned with the myths of Gopāla-Kṛishṇa; and it was precisely the latter which formed the staple spiritual food of the *bhakti* that was such a notable feature in the religious life of this period. This Kṛishṇa-cult—very different from the Vishnu-cult of the South—found its classic expression in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and Dr. Farquhar accordingly suggests, apparently with some confidence, that the Bhāgavata was composed in the Tamil land. For this there is really no evidence at all, except a vague statement in the Bhāgavata-māhātmya that Bhakti was "born" in the Dravidian country, which means merely that in the latter regions there existed a warm emotional cult of some deity, perhaps Vishṇu, in ancient times. The Purāṇa might have been written in Dravidian lands, as Dr. Farquhar says, "if in the Tamil-country there was a group of Bhāgavata ascetics who felt the same devotion [to Kṛishṇa] as the Āḻvārs [to Vishṇu] and expressed it in similar fashion" (p. 233). There is much virtue in an "if"; for there is no evidence whatever that such a group existed in this period, and if they had existed they would probably have expressed their bhakti in Tamil verse, like the Āḻvārs.

In our opinion Dr. Farquhar is right, as against Professor Keith (JRAS. 1920, p. 628), in denying the authorship of the Bhāskara-bhāshya to Nimbārka (p. 239). He is, however, misleading when he states that the Vedantic standpoint of the Tamil Śaivas is Viśishṭādvaita (p. 255), for the latter term is more conveniently restricted to Śrī-vaishṇava theology; and he is incorrect in translating *rasāyana* as "sweets" (p. 303). But all these are but small blemishes in a work of abounding excellences, and we take leave of Dr. Farquhar with deep gratitude and admiration.

L. D. BARNETT.

ETHIOPIC GRAMMAR, WITH CHRESTOMATHY AND GLOSSARY. By SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1920.

There is a real need for a book such as this professes to be, for there is no other elementary grammar of Ethiopic in English. The translation of Dillmann's monumental work is bewildering to a beginner, and the only other grammars available hitherto are that of Praetorius in Latin and German, and that of Chaine in French. Of the two last mentioned, the former is much the more reliable, being almost entirely free from the misprints which here and there mar the latter. Chaine's book is, however, clear and better arranged, and gives the beginner more assistance. It is safe to say that the work here reviewed will not supersede these.

The essentials in an elementary grammar would seem to us to be, first, clearness, and secondly exactness. The beginner does not require much, but in what is provided for him there ought to be nothing left unexplained. Besides this, what he is given ought to be so far as possible free from error. He ought not to be hindered in his work by chance misprints which a more advanced student can readily correct. Neither of these requirements is fulfilled in the present work. For example, on p. 18 the enclitic ሲ is mentioned, but nowhere in the book is this peculiarly Ethiopic usage explained. Again, on p. 27, in giving the skeleton of the strong verb, the author introduces the words causative, reflexive-passive, and causative-reflexive, without giving the slightest indication of what these words connote. So in the case of all the verbs the forms of the perfect, imperfect, subjunctive, imperative, infinitive, gerundive are given, but the student will seek in vain for any explanation of the meaning and usage of these forms.

But even these faults, irritating as they are, are not so bad as the want of accuracy displayed throughout. It is no doubt difficult to print Ethiopic accurately, but if it can be printed with accuracy in Germany, why not at Oxford? On p. 18 there are no fewer than six misprints in Ethiopic characters, on p. 20 there are at least five, and on p. 27 there are again six. In the Glossary it is still worse. In its thirteen pages the number of misprints in Ethiopic letters amounts to nearly eighty, an average of over six per page. This is inexcusable. The mistakes are often made in those very letters which the student has been already (p. 13) warned not to confuse.

Such misprints are, however, not the worst faults of the Glossary.

Some of the others are quite grotesque. On p. 109 (as well as on p. 64 of the Grammar) ትእምርት, which means "sign" or "miracle", is rendered "prodigal". The mistake is due to the fact that Chaine in his *Grammaire Éthiopienne* translates the word by "prodige". Nor is this an isolated instance. On p. 106 መንኰሪት is translated "ax". The word means "wheel" or "axle". Here again Chaine's French provides the clue in his translation "axe". On the same page the ordinary numeral ምእት — 100. is said to mean "five". On p. 111 a mistake of a different sort occurs. The word ቦላቴ is given as meaning "bdellium": there is no such noun in Ethiopic, the word is a verb. The Ethiopic translators of Genesis have rendered the Greek *ἄνθραξ* by "the stone which glitters". In the same verse in Genesis, ዕንቍ፡ሐመልሚል is a translation of the Greek *ὁ λίθος ὁ πράσινος*. In spite of this, on p. 104 the Glossary renders the second Ethiopic word by "onyx". The phrase means "green stone". On the same page of the Glossary we are vouchsafed the extraordinary information that ሐመልሚል is the *fem.* of the cognate noun meaning "grass" or "plant".

Further, on p. 112, አፈጥን an imperative meaning "hasten" is rendered by "wherefore"; and on p. 108 ቂም "spite" or "vengeance" is taken as a verb ("to spite"), though the word is correctly given as a noun on p. 66.

We have noticed two instances in the Glossary in which words are not given under their proper letters. On p. 108 occurs the *vox nihili* ቦሰወ ("to walk"): the word is ሶሰወ. Again, on p. 110, ሖጸ, "sand," is given under ኀ፡ instead of under ሓ፡.

In the body of the work large sections are taken from Chaine's *Grammaire* without any word of acknowledgment. This is specially true of chapter iii. §§ 16–25. Chaine's examples are given and sometimes in a mangled form, e.g. in § 21, "አጽደቂ for አጽደቅኪ" appears in the meaningless form "አድደቂ for አድደቅኪ", and in § 22, "ሃይ for ሃይይ" is a misprint for Chaine's correct "ሃዲ for ሃድዲ". The Model Analysis and Translation in Chapter xxxvi are also purloined from Chaine. In this section there are at least four misprints in Ethiopic words.

Turning to the Chrestomathy, we find that of the thirteen pages more than eight consist of matter already available in Praetorius and Chaine. Thus we have Psalms i and cxxxvii, 2 Esdras (Apocalypse of Ezra) iii, and Genesis i iii. It is really pathetic that Chrestomathies

so often include these early chapters of Genesis, as if the Old Testament were graded in difficulty and the earlier chapters the easiest. The new matter in the Chrestomathy consists of Exodus (Dr. Mercer by a slip says Genesis) vi, 1–9, a portion of the *Statutes of the Apostles* from Horner's edition of the same, and three short extracts, strangely styled Anaphoras. They are in reality passages containing the Words of Institution from three of the Ethiopic Anaphoras. In the passage from Exodus there are four words which are unexplained in the Glossary, another (አፋዋን above-mentioned) is explained incorrectly, and there are some misprints in the Ethiopic text. The second passage is rather an unfortunate choice for an elementary book, for in several places the MSS. which Horner follows contain forms of the verbs, which though commonly found in MSS., are not strictly regular. These are likely to confuse a beginner, as is also the interchange of letters, ዐ for አ, and ሐ for ኀ, which is also found. In an elementary Chrestomathy these should be, in both cases, altered in accordance with the standard forms

The extracts from the Liturgies are unfortunately taken from a nineteenth century MS. The forms of the words are, therefore, in many cases not such as are found in the grammars and lexicon. The second of these extracts consists of nine lines from the Anaphora of St. John. In this there are no fewer than eight misprints, though in some cases the same word has occurred in the previous selection, and has there been given correctly. Much the same is true of the third passage, though in it the misprints are fewer (four in under eight lines).

Returning to the Glossary once more, a general remark may be made. The words are not given under the roots as they are found in Dillmann's Lexicon. As this is the only Lexicon available, it is essential that the student should be taught from the beginning how to use it, and discover the root under which he is to seek each word.

It is also confusing that both ሃሠሠአ and ሃሰአ should be entered in the Glossary as if they were separate words. The latter form is merely the misspelling of the former. There are at least three other instances of a similar confusion.

We have mentioned only some of the mistakes of this somewhat remarkable book. Whether these are due to ignorance, or merely to carelessness, quite enough has been said to show the uselessness of the book as a manual for beginners in Ethiopic.

J. M. Harden.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA. Vol. VIII, Part I: SPECIMENS OF LAHNDA AND SINDHI. By Sir GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., D.Litt. pp. x, 584.

The Linguistic Survey of India is not nearly so well known as it ought to be. It is over seventeen years since the first volume appeared, and now out of the eighteen volumes of which the series is to consist fifteen have been printed and two are ready for the press. The last volume, which is numbered Vol. I, cannot be finally prepared till all the others are completed, for it is of the nature of an introduction to the series. Some idea of the magnitude of the work may be obtained from the fact that the volumes already printed contain over 7,800 pages. Of these over 6,000 have been prepared by Sir George Grierson himself, the remainder being from the pen of Dr. Sten Konow, a distinguished Norwegian philologist and Sanskritist, well known in London and also in India, where he was connected with the Archæological Department. The volumes of the series are said to be merely "compiled and edited" by Sir George Grierson, but it is worth while pausing for a moment to realize the labour involved in the process. The materials before him consisted partly of books, especially in the case of the better-known languages, but chiefly of MSS. numbering thousands, dealing with every language and dialect of which the Survey treats. These MSS. were of widely different value: some were the work of accomplished scholars - unfortunately very few, all told; some were of ordinarily good quality, many were only mediocre, and a considerable number were full of every kind of mistake. This was the material that had to be read, studied, sorted, and digested; inconsistencies and contradictions had to be considered, mistakes allowed for, the wheat separated from the chaff; finally, grammars had to be evolved which should present the salient features of each dialect and show its relationship to neighbouring dialects, to the greater groups of languages and to the primary families themselves. As has been said, three volumes remain to be issued. They are the so-called Gipsy languages by Dr. Konow, the Iranian languages, and the Introduction by the Editor-in-Chief. It will be seen that Sir George has done far more than compile and edit. Much has been written by himself, and what he has written is more valuable than the edited and compiled specimens, extremely valuable though these are.

The volume before us deals with Lahndi and Sindhi. I use the form Lahndi in preference to Lahnda, partly because I prefer it, but

also because I regard it as important that when two or more forms of a word recommend themselves to authors they should all be used in print. In this way scholars will be in a position to come to an ultimate decision as to which is the best. One will gradually oust the others, and finally, we may hope, the fittest will survive. I regard Laihndi as the better form, inasmuch as it is feminine. The word *laihndā* is a masc. participle, and Indians would naturally make it feminine when referring to a language. Thus the Panjab Census Commissioner for 1911, himself an Indian, has changed Lahnda to Lahndi, and uses Lahndi throughout the Census report. The author of the recently issued *History of Hindi Literature* has done the same. My reason for inserting " i " and writing Laihndi instead of Lahndi is that it represents the pronunciation better. The word as pronounced with moderate correctness by a European rhymes with the English words " sandy, brandy, handy ".

Laihndi and Sindhi form, we are here told, the North-Western Group of the Outer Circle of Indo-Aryan languages, and possess many characteristics connecting them with the Dardic languages. Some of these relate to points of pronunciation. But at this point I feel it is necessary to enter a caveat. We are not in a position to say much about the pronunciation of Dardic languages. When we speak about cerebrals and dentals in these forms of speech we can go no further than the specimens take us, specimens prepared by foreigners, men who learnt what they knew of these sounds after they were grown up, perhaps had reached middle life. The mixing up of speech sounds which to Europeans (and in this case it may be to Indians also) appear alike has been carried into the Piśācā specimens, including Siṇā. Now in Siṇā we know that there is the clearest distinction made between cerebrals and dentals, and one cannot help thinking that further knowledge may show the same distinction in other languages of the group. However, the connexion of Sindhi and Laihndi with the Piśācā group does not depend on matters of pronunciation. The facts adduced by the author are of the deepest interest. We picture the Dard colonists pushing their way down into India, and when ultimately driven back or overwhelmed, leaving everywhere the traces of their occupation. For fuller details about them and about the Gujars and other similar invaders we look to the forthcoming Introductory volume. The author's extremely valuable article in the last two numbers of the BULLETIN should also be consulted.

About eighty pages are given to a sketch of Sindhi grammar, and in

the Laihndi section the various dialects are described with the clearness to which we are accustomed in this series. Very well does the author put before us the relationship of Laihndi and Panjabi. Both are mixtures. Originally there were two languages in the Panjab—on the west a Dard language and on the east Western Hindi. Both overflowed their banks and their waters intermingled. Where there was much of the Dard element and little of the Western Hindi the result was Laihndi; where Western Hindi predominated we find to-day Panjabi. Another consequence is that Laihndi and Panjabi have no real dividing line. There are languages in India separated from each other by a sharply defined line; it is hardly an exaggeration to say that one can draw a line with a walking-stick and say "up to this line this language comes, and from it that other begins". But it is not possible to say where Laihndi ends and Panjabi begins. There are several dialects which might equally well be ascribed to either.

The volume is well supplied with specimens of the different dialects; some of the specimens are of special interest and value. The most striking is that printed on pp. 286-92, where a sequel is given to the story of Hīr and Rānjhā. The story, an Indian version of Hero and Leander, is well known, but not so the sequel, which resuscitates the lovers and represents them as living an ideally happy life with no company but their own. One useful feature is facsimile printing of certain specimens to show the styles of alphabets, either printed or handwritten.

Enough has been said to indicate the nature of the book, but a cursory description cannot do justice to the author's gift for grasping the facts or for presenting them to others. One is reminded of the passage near the end of the third book of Sordello about the three classes of poets:—

> The office of ourselves has been,
> For the worst of us, to say they so have seen;
> For the better, what it was they saw; the best,
> Impart the gift of seeing to the rest.

High among the third and best class assuredly stands Sir George Grierson. If among those who read his works some are stirred up to follow his example, if having received the faculty of vision they use it to descry fresh woods and pastures new, he will have his reward.

T. Grahame Bailey.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA. Vol. VIII, Part II: SPECIMENS OF THE DARDIC OR PIŚACHA LANGUAGES. By Sir GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., D.Litt. pp. vii, 567.

The study of this volume carries us back in thought to that prehistoric time when the ancestors of the Indo-European family lived together in the Steppes, we may suppose, of Eastern Russia, for the very name of these languages raises in our minds the question of the early Aryans and their distribution. The author in a few pages of delightful introduction sketches for us the history of their migrations so far as India and the neighbouring countries are concerned. Through thousands of years we travel back, history is lost in legend, and legend in the mists of conjecture, but we see as in a dream the earliest separation, when some went west to become the forefathers of those who speak the European languages of that sturdy stock: others journeyed east till they halted in the oasis of Khiva. The latter may be called Aryans, but not Indo-Aryans. These Aryans travelled on to the highlands of Khokhand and Badakhshan, and there occurred the second great separation. The parents of the Indo-Aryans went first and their descendants now speak eighteen languages spread over the larger part of India and part of Ceylon. To keep before us the connexions of the three Aryan branches we may retain the word Aryan and call the other two branches Irano-Aryans and Piśāco-Aryans. To the former belong the Ghalca languages and Persian, Pashto and Biloci; to the latter the Dard languages Ṣiṇa. Kaśmīrī, and Kohistānī. There are nearly forty languages in the Aryan subfamily, and it is interesting to note that the following are taught in the School of Oriental Studies: Irano-Aryan—Persian; Piśaco-Aryan—Ṣiṇā and Kaśmīrī; Indo-Aryan—Panjabi, Urdu, Hindi, Nepali, Gujrati, Marathi, Bengali, Assamese, Singhalese.

The present volume deals with the Piśācā languages and with Burushaski, which, like Basque in Europe, cannot be assigned to any known family (cf., however, the article by Edmonston Scott in the fourth number of the BULLETIN, in which a connexion is traced between Muṇḍā and Basque). Burushaski is here treated of for two reasons; firstly, because it is geographically convenient to introduce it in this part of the Survey: and secondly, because a substratum of Burushaski works is found in all Piśācā languages, suggesting that it was the original tongue of the country and has been gradually ousted.

Sir George Grierson's work has a double interest for all connected with the Oriental School. There is the interest shared by other students

of language, which arises out of his great erudition, but there is a further interest due to his having always been a good friend to the School and aided it by personal counsel and effort.

Nearly half of the volume before us is devoted to Kaśmīrī. Here the author is at his best. The language possesses a literature, the only one of the Piśaco-Aryan group which does; it has competent native scholars who take a pride in it and understand it; and finally, Sir George has studied it for many years and is the chief European authority upon it. He has published several works dealing with it. If, therefore, there were no specimens to illustrate it, no texts or translations, it would make no difference to the accuracy or fulness of the treatment which it would receive at his hands. There is an admirable discussion of the linguistic relationship of Kaśmīrī, in which it is shown that the language, however much it may now be overlaid with Sanskritic words, really belongs to the Piśācā group. This is followed by an illuminating treatise on Kaśmīrī grammar.

The author is led into one mistake through having derived his knowledge from Pandits. More than once he states that Kaśmīrī contains no cerebral *ṛ*. It is true that many city dwellers, especially Pandits, do not pronounce the letter, but the great majority of the people use it regularly. Of the many Kaśmīrīs with whom I have conversed over 90 per cent employed cerebral *ṛ*. Moreover, the use is not occasional or haphazard: it is regular and constant. Thus the common words *śuṛ*^{u} = boy, *kūṛ*^{u} = girl, *guṛ*^{u} = horse, and many others contain cerebral *ṛ*: similarly the usual ending *ṛ* found in words meaning "whither, hither, thither", etc., is cerebral. Of course, perfect consistency is not human, but the use of cerebral letters is as regular as in Indo-Aryan languages. The whole question of apparent inconsistencies or irregularities in pronunciation, whether of cerebral or other letters, requires investigation, but it can be undertaken only among the people themselves and by those whose ears can unhesitatingly catch the necessary distinctions. The subject is one of much interest.

Over 80 pages are devoted to that fascinating language Ṣiṇā. Here, and in the remaining languages of the volume, the available materials are inadequate, and it is not possible to speak with such certainty. It is wonderful how full is the grammatical information which the author has been able to deduce. In the circumstances pronunciation must be largely a matter of guesswork, for none of the specimens have been prepared by native speakers of the language or by anyone born

in the country in which these speakers live. One specimen of Ṣiṇā was prepared by an Indian, and it is noteworthy that the cerebrals which occur in his own language are given with absolute accuracy, while those which were foreign to him are ignored. Sir George Grierson comes to the natural conclusion that as the specimens vary much in the use of cerebrals there may be no cerebrals such as we are accustomed to in India. This is, however, not borne out by facts. As the matter is one of importance I give a brief statement, the result of minute observations among speakers of five dialects of Ṣiṇā, viz. those spoken in Kohistān, Cilās, Gilgit, Gurēs, and Drās.

Ṣiṇā has no less than nine cerebral letters; in addition to *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*, *ḷ*, *ṛ*, found in North India, there are *ṣ*, *ẓ*, *ċ*, and cerebral *j*. Of these *ṭ* and *ċ* may be aspirated. The *tr* and *jr* which appear in one of the specimens are attempts to render *ċ* and cerebral *j*. The cerebrals and aspirates in Ṣiṇā are used with great consistency throughout the whole area over which the language is spoken. How remarkable this is we realize when we remember that Drās is about twenty marches away from Kohistān. The cerebrals *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ḷ*, *ṇ*, *ṛ* are pronounced practically as in India, and it is an important fact that the majority of the words containing them are non-Sanskritic, which goes to prove that the original Aryan language had cerebrals. *ḷ* is found only in Drāsī, or accidentally in Gurēsī.

The beginning of the book is given to the Kāfir languages and Citrālī, and the end to Kohistānī and Burushaski. These languages are treated with much lucidity, and once again we wonder at the author's extraordinary grasp of facts and the ability to marshal them in logical sequence. When we abuse our benign Government we must in fairness to them recall the happy inspiration which induced them to entrust the linguistic survey to a scholar of the calibre of Sir George Grierson.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

TOD'S RAJASTHAN

ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES OF RAJASTHAN, OR THE CENTRAL AND WESTERN RAJPUT STATES OF INDIA. By Lieut.-Col. JAMES TOD, late Political Agent to the Western Rajput States. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by WILLIAM CROOKE, C.I.E., Hon. D.Sc. Oxon. (late of the Indian Civil Service). 3 vols. Oxford University Press. 52*s*. 6*d*. net.

Tod's classical work was first published in two volumes between the years 1829 and 1832, and was reprinted at Madras in 1873, at

Calcutta in 1884 and again in 1898, and in London in 1914. The present edition, in three handy but squat volumes, forms part of the admirable Oxford series, which has already enabled the student to stock his shelves with the standard works of Sleeman, Bernier, Dubois, and J. D. Cunningham. It lacks the glorious engravings which adorned the original volumes, and the reproductions which are provided afford painful evidence of the difficulties imposed by the War upon the printer's craft. But there are compensations in an excellent and up-to-date map and in three portraits of Tod himself. One of these supplies a frontispiece to the second volume. It is photographed from a miniature in the possession of Tod's grandson, Capt. C. D. Blunt, and represents him as a young officer in uniform. Another, which is prefixed to the third volume, shows the author at work with his guru, the Jain Yati Gyanchandra. The original of this curious picture is supposed to have been painted by Ghasi, the artist employed by Tod, and was recently discovered in Rajputana. Lastly, Lieut.-Col. E. W. Blunt-Mackenzie, another grandson, has provided a photograph of a bust in his possession, which was executed by Livi in 1837, two years after the death of Tod. In addition to these interesting personal memorials (which many an admirer of Tod will be glad to possess), the present edition is enriched by a biography and notes from the careful and erudite pen of Mr. Crooke. Various corrections have, naturally, been rendered necessary by the advance made during the last ninety years in our knowledge of Indian history, antiquities, philology, and sociology: but the original text and notes have wisely been left untouched, and Mr. Crooke's elucidations are everywhere helpful.

The plan of Tod's work is well known. After a description of the geography of Rajasthan and a history of the Rajput tribes, a sketch is given of the feudal system as it obtained in Rajputana at the time. The remaining sections are devoted to a historical narrative of events in the principal states.

The Rajputana of to-day is divided into twenty principalities which cluster around the British province of Ajmere-Merwara. Seventeen of these are ruled by Rajput chiefs. The desert kingdoms of Jaisalmer and Bikaner, and Jodhpur, or Marwar, lie to the west and north. Shaikhawati (now subject to Jaipur) and Alwar are in the north-east. Jaipur, or Amber, the Jat states of Bharatpur and Dholpur, Karauli, and the three states of Haraoti (Bundi, Kotah, and Jhalawar) may be classified together as the eastern and south-eastern group.

Those in the south are Partabgarh, Banswara, Dungarpur, and the premier state of Udaipur or Mewar, with Sirohi in the south-west. In the centre are Kishangarh, the chiefships of Shahpura and Lawa, and parts of the Mahomedan state of Tonk. The last-named consists of six isolated districts, of which three are, properly speaking, in Central India.

Tod's annals (as already stated) are mainly concerned with the leading clans - the Sesodias of Mewar, the Rathors of Marwar and Bikaner, the Bhattis of Jaisalmer, the Kachhwahas of Amber and Shaikhawati, and the Haras of Bundi and Kotah. Macheri, or Alwar, is an offshoot from Amber, Kishangarh and Sirohi from Marwar, Dungarpur, Pertabgarh, Shahpura, and Lawa from Mewar. The Maharaja of Karauli is the head of the Jadons, or Yadus, to which the Jarejas of Cutch also belong. Tonk is a creation of the East India Company, which conferred it in 1817 upon the Pathan soldier of fortune, Amir Khan (to the great indignation of Tod), in return for his desertion of the cause of Holkar. Jhalawar did not come into existence until 1834, when it was carved out of Kotah in order to provide for the descendants of Zalim Singh, whose position as hereditary regents of the parent state had resulted in an impossible situation. The Jat dynasty of Bharatpur took its rise amid the sanguinary civil wars which followed the death of Aurangzeb. Dholpur, the other Jat principality, was granted by Lord Lake to the nephew of the last Rana of Gohad, who, failing in his engagement to the British, was abandoned to the resentment of Madhoji Sindhia and was dispossessed by him in the year 1784 of the fortress of Gwalior and the rest of his ancestral dominions.

Tod's acquaintance with Rajasthan began in 1805, when he was appointed to the command of the escort of his friend Graeme Mercer, then Government Agent at the Court of Daulat Rao Sindhia, who had been defeated two years before at Assaye. His taste for geographical inquiries led him to organize detailed surveys in Rajputana and Central India between the years 1812 and 1817; and the knowledge thus acquired was utilized to the full during the campaigns undertaken by the Marquess of Hastings for the suppression of the Pindaris, a body of freebooters of all races who were keeping Malwa and Rajasthan in a state of continuous turmoil. A great enveloping movement was begun in July, 1817, and met with rapid success. Madhoji Sindhia was forced in November to sign a treaty which bound him to give assistance against the Pindaris, and opened the door

to those Rajput chiefs who desired to enter into alliance with the British. Nineteen of these princes, headed by the rajas of Udaipur, Jodhpur, Jaipur, and Bundi, promptly availed themselves of the opportunity thus offered. The Peshwa at Poona, who rose in rebellion upon the day on which Sindhia signed his treaty, was quickly put to flight; Holkar's forces were utterly crushed at Mehidpur in December; and the Pindari bands were successively cut up and dispersed. Some of their leaders, such as Amir Khan, made their submission and received their reward. Others fought to the end. Chitu, the most desperate of them all, was hunted into the jungle, and there devoured by a tiger.

It is necessary to bear these events in mind in order to read the pages of Tod with due understanding. He became Political Agent in Western Rajputana in 1818, and held the appointment until his retirement from the Company's service in June, 1822, at the age of 40. Owing to Mahratta oppression and the ravages of the Pindaris, the condition of the country was deplorable. The only remedy lay in reform and reconstruction under British guidance, and in basing that guidance upon the confidence and respect of the princes and people. Few Englishmen could have succeeded in this direction so completely as Tod. He thoroughly identified himself with the Rajput spirit. His affections were centred, however, upon the Sesodias of Mewar and the Rathors of Marwar, who frankly accepted association with the British. The Kachhwahas of Amber were not so ready, and Tod was therefore prejudiced against them. These predilections should have won for him the approval of the Government of Calcutta: but the reverse was the case, and neither on his retirement nor during the remaining thirteen years of his life were his services, official and literary, thought worthy of any distinction.

Upon the value of the Annals it is needless to insist. With the help of his Jain guru and his Brahman pandits, Tod prosecuted his researches in all directions. The epics of the tribal bards furnished him with a rich storehouse of material, of which the historical value may reasonably be debated, but of which the importance cannot be gainsaid as a mirror of current habits and beliefs. Where in the story of chivalry can anything be found to equal the legends of manly heroism and female constancy which are imperishably entwined around the Rajput name? "There is not a petty state in Rajasthan," writes Tod in an oft-quoted passage, "which has not had its Thermopylae, and scarcely a city which has not produced its Leonidas." The

Maharana of Udaipur can point with pride to the fact that, with the exception of the Bhattis of Jaisalmer, his is the only dynasty which has outlived eight centuries of foreign domination in the same lands where conquest placed it. Alone among all Rajput clans, the Sesodias of Mewar disdained to give their daughters in marriage to the Mogul at Delhi. Their ancient capital suffered the horrors of sack no less than four times; and "the sin of the slaughter of Chitor" in 1567, which has left an indelible stain upon the memory of Akbar, is to-day a binding spell upon every Rajput. To this day also, the Maharana of Udaipur places leaves under his plate and straw under his bed, and his beard remains untouched by the shears – in fulfilment of the vow of his great ancestor, Rana Partap Singh. Through every disaster the Rajput temper continued unchanged. When all hope was lost, the fatal Johar was commanded. The women were consigned to the flames, and the men, arrayed in bridal robes of saffron, sallied out to die fighting. Even where the Rajput was compelled to make a virtue of necessity, as in the case of the Rathor princes of Marwar, the personality of the race was never submerged. Jahangir and Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb were the sons of Rajput princesses. Raja Man Singh of Jaipur was the most brilliant figure at Akbar's court, and held in succession the governments of Bengal and Behar, the Deccan, and Kabul. According to a tradition preserved in the Bundi state, the Emperor died of a poisoned confection which he intended for the Rajput chief and swallowed in error. Equally renowned among the rulers of Amber were Jai Singh the First and the Second. Jai Singh the First, or "Mirza Raja" (1625–67), took Sivaji prisoner, and upon finding that his pledge of safety was likely to be broken by Aurangzeb, magnanimously set him at liberty. Sawai Jai Singh the Second (1693–1743) was not only the Machiavelli of his day and the implacable foe of Mewar and the Haras of Bundi; he was the founder of the modern city of Jaipur, and was also a man of science of the first rank. So high was his reputation as an astronomer that he was entrusted by the Emperor Muhammad Shah with the reformation of the calendar. Observatories with instruments of his own invention were erected at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, Benares, and Mathura, and their results were so correct (says Tod) as to astonish the most learned. In later times what career can be imagined to parallel that of Zalim Singh, who from 1771 until his death in 1824 ruled as regent in Kotah? No man ever shared his confidence, no man was more thoroughly master over himself, no man was better able to throw a veil of

consummate art over acts of despotism and vengeance. So complete was the ascendancy which he established, that it was not in the least affected by the blindness which overtook him.

The origin of this remarkable and attractive race is still the subject of speculation, but the conclusions of modern ethnologists agree with Tod's "Scythic" theory. It is now certain that the beginnings of many of the clans can be traced to the Saka or Kushan invasion about the middle of the second century, or, alternatively, to the White Huns who destroyed the Gupta Empire about A.D. 480. The Gurjara tribe connected with the latter founded a kingdom in Rajputana with its capital at Bhilmal or Srimal, some 50 miles from Mount Abu, and embraced Hinduism, their leaders forming the main stock from which the higher Rajput families sprang. Descent from the sun is claimed by the princes of Mewar, Jaipur, Marwar, Bikaner, and their respective clans; while the Bhattis of Jaisalmer and the Jarejas of Cutch deduce their pedigrees from the moon. Both genealogies represent a natural attempt, under Brahman influence, at affiliation with the heroes of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. The same feeling (as Mr. Crooke points out) led Vergil to link the Augustan house with the heroes of the Iliad. Again, four septs—Pramar, Parihar, Chalukya or Solanki, and Chauhan—are known as Agnikula, or "fire-born". Here may be traced the convenient fiction by which, under the guise of a solemn ceremony of initiation or purification, the admission of a foreign element into the caste was concealed. The fact is, as stated by Dr. Vincent Smith, that the term Kshatriya, which is applied to the Rajputs, is not an ethical but an occupational designation, and vaguely denoted any Hindu of the ruling class who did not claim Brahmanical descent. The Rajput has always, until recent times, favoured the Bhat or bard more than the Brahman. His relations with the autochthonous inhabitants were characteristic. A Bhil enjoys the right of drawing the tika of sovereignty with his own blood on the forehead of the prince of Mewar. The same right was recognized in Dungarpur until comparatively recent times. In Bikaner it is held by the Jats, and important offices are retained in Jaipur by the Minas, the primitive inhabitants of the land. There was no question of pollution involved, although the customs observed by some of these jungle tribes might be repulsive to orthodox Hindus.

Among the most fascinating parts of Tod's book are the incidental notices of cults and superstitions, and notably the description given of the popular religion of Mewar. Both Siva and Krishna have their

votaries. The shrine of the former is at Eklingji, " the single phallus," which is situated about 14 miles north of Udaipur city. The office of diwan of the god is held by the Maharana, and can be dated as far back as A.D. 871. The cult of Krishna is observed at Nathdwara, and semi-royal rank is accorded to the mahant of the temple which has been built (in accordance with the god's expressed desire) at the old village of Siarh, 22 miles from Udaipur city. It is one of the leading seats of the Vallabhacharya sect, " the epicureans of the East," whose practices obtained such unhappy publicity in the famous Maharaj libel case, tried at Bombay in 1861. Tod, however, bears witness to the humanizing effect upon the Rajputs of the worship of this god, and attests the partiality of Akbar for the sensuous ritual of Nathdwara. At Udaipur also the sun is universally venerated. The chief entrance to the city is his portal (suryapal); his name gives dignity to the chief apartment (suryamahal) of the palace; and from the balcony of the sun (suryagokhra) the Maharana shows himself in the dark monsoon as the sun's representative. The sacred standard bears his image, and a large painted sun with gilded rays is placed behind the throne in the hall of audience.

Such is a brief and wholly inadequate summary of some of the treasures of knowledge which can be won by dipping into these wonderful pages. The reader need not follow Tod into his many speculations; but if he is in search of facts, sympathetically, methodically, and even meticulously marshalled, he can browse upon them to his heart's content. Mr. Crooke has rendered a real service by bringing Tod within the reach of " everyman ".

H. E. A. COTTON.

PSALMS OF MARĀṬHĀ SAINTS. By NICOL MACNICOL, M.A., D.Litt.

This little book of ninety-one pages forms one of the Heritage of India Series, published by the Oxford University Press, London. It should be welcome both to lovers of Marāṭhī poetry, as showing how the plaintive yet melodious *abhaṅgs*, or lyrics of Nāmdev, Tukārām, and others, may be rendered into tuneful English verse, and also to those who may desire to gain an insight into a phase of Oriental thought which approaches the reverent worship of Christian penitents.

Around the neck of a votary of the God Viṣṇu there hangs a rosary composed of 108 *tulsi* beads. Our author has chosen from the wealth of the material at his command, and under the able guidance of

Sir Rāmkṛṣṇa Bhandārkar, 108 poems, chiefly of the lyrical type, known as *abhaṅgs*, from the writings of six Marāṭhā poets, who were followers of Viṣṇu. In a valuable introduction he supplies historical and critical notes. The chief contributor to the "beads"—no less than 76 in number—is Tukārām, a Śūdra, who in early life kept a grocer's shop. Nāmdev was a tailor by caste. Jñāneśvar and Ekanāth were Brahmins, while there are two minor writers—Janābai and Muktābāī, who were women.

Professor MacNicol is probably correct in dating Nāmdev a century later than the accepted date (A.D. 1270–1350). His language is much more modern than Jñāneśvar's (1275–1301). The latter wrote in archaic Marāṭhī at a time when the language was not completely fixed. Many words and some grammatical forms found in the *Jñāneśvarī* had passed out of usage when Nāmdev took up his pen.

These psalms of Marāṭhā saints have been selected to illustrate the thoughts of the *bhaktī* school of worship—the path of attaining to a one and only God by loving devotion. The close approximation to Theism is evident from a perusal of the greater number of these lyrics. They consist of fervent appeals by the humble and penitent worshipper to a loving and merciful god, the god Viṭṭhal, who is identified with Viṣṇu, and to whose shrine at Pandharpūr countless pilgrims journey even at the present day.

To turn to our author's work. He has succeeded in the difficult task of adhering as closely as possible to the original Marāṭhī, while rendering it into melodious and fluent English verse. Where there is so much to admire it is somewhat difficult to make a selection. The following quotations may serve as some of the most striking examples both of the author's style and of the sentiments of the Mārāṭhā psalmists:—

Jñāneśvar III: "Aequanimitas."

His heart, oh Arjuna, no bias knows;
On all an equal aspect he bestows,
Friends let them be or foes.

A lamp is he, shining with steadfast light,
Not shining to the stranger dark as night,
While to the household bright.

As trees whose shadows on their planter fall
Or on who hews them down—so he to all
Alike impartial.

Sweet to its tender is the cane; nor less
To him who crushed it in the cruel press—
Sweet with no bitterness.

So he who deems a friend or foe the same
Alike unmovèd though the world should blame,
Or though it grant him fame.

Lo, as the unperturbèd skies enfold
The changing seasons, does this one behold
Or scorching heat or cold.

Whether a north wind or a south wind blow
It matters not to Meru[1]—even so
To him is joy or woe.

Ah, sweetly, sweetly does the moonlight fall
Alike upon the monarch or the thrall—
So he the same to all.

Nāmdev XXI: "Who Vāsudev[2] in all can see."

Who Vāsudev in all can see,
Cleansed from the thought of "I",
Know that a saint indeed is he;
The rest in bondage lie.

Wealth to his eyes is only dust;
Jewels as stones he sees;
Gone from his heart is rage and lust;
Pardon dwells there, and peace.

He will not for an instant rest
(Hear what I, Nāmā, say)
But Govind's[3] name—of all the best—
He utters night and day.

Tukārām XXXV: "A beggar for love."

A beggar at thy door,
Pleading I stand;
Give me an alms, O God,
Love from Thy loving hand.

[1] Meru, the central mountain of the universe, round which the planets revolve.
[2] Vāsudev = Visnu-Krsna.
[3] Govind = Krsna.

Spare me the barren task,
To come, and come for nought.
A gift poor Tukā craves,
Unmerited, unbought.

Tukārām LV: "I cannot understand: I love."

Thy greatness none can comprehend,
All dumb the Vedas are.
Forspent the powers of mortal mind;
They cannot climb so far.
How can I compass him whose light
Illumes both sun and star?

The serpent[1] of a thousand tongues
Cannot tell all thy praise;
Then how, poor I? Thy children we,
Mother[2] of loving ways
Within the shadow of thy grace,
Ah, hide me, Tukā says.

Tukārām LXV: "The Bhakta's duty."

The duty of a man of faith
Is trust and loyalty,
A purpose hid within his heart
That cannot movèd be.

A steadfast faith and passionless
In Viṭṭhal that abides,
A faith that not an instant strays
To any God besides.

Who that is such a one as that
Was ever cast away?
Never has such a tale been told,
Never, I, Tukā, say.

Tukārām LXVII: "God is ours."

God is ours, yea, ours is he,
Soul of all the souls that be.

God is nigh without a doubt,
Nigh to all, within, without.

[1] Sesa, the thousand-headed snake, which is at once the couch and canopy of Visnu and which upholds the world.

[2] The god Vitthal represented as a mother. *Viṭṭhal* is believed to be a corrupted form of the word *Viṣṇu*.

God is gracious, gracious still;
Every longing he'll fulfil.

God protects, protects his own;
Strife and death he casteth down.

Kind is God, ah, kind indeed;
Tukā he will guard and lead.

For simplicity and melody the above stands out as a gem. The author has very successfully imitated and retained the poet's refrain.

Tukārām LXXI: "The boldness of Faith."

Launch upon the sea of life;
Fear not aught that thou mayst meet.
Stout the ship of Pāṇḍuraṅg;
Not a wave shall wet thy feet.

Many saints await thee there,
Standing on the further shore;
Haste, says Tukā, haste away,
Follow those who've gone before.

XCVI: Māyā.[1]

If the river be a mirage that I see,
Then what need for me
Of a ford?

If the children buy and sell in make-believe,
Who should joy or grieve,
Gain or lose?

Are not maidens still in kinship just the same,
Though they wedded in a game,
Girl with girl?

Joy or sorrow that we meet with in our dreams
To us waking seems
Nothing real.

So, says Tukā, births and dying—nought is true.
Bondage, freedom too,
Weary me.

[1] Māyā, illusion. "'Tis Māyā, the veil of illusion."

To conclude with a few minor criticisms :—

Jñāneśvar I, verse 3.—*je śāntīsī jāle nave pālav* is rendered " Lo, all in *green* array, the leaves of Peace are they ". It is suggested that " spring array " would bring out more forcibly the idea of the poet that the saints had added *new* lustre—*new* foliage—to the tree of Peace.

Verse 4.—*je ānandsamudrī kuṁbh cubakalūni bharile* is rendered " Of joy fetched from afar each a full water-jar ". *Cubakalaṇē* = *budaviṇē* = to immerse. The poet compares the saints to water-jars immersed in a sea of joy and brought up full and running over. It is not the distance of the ocean, but its immensity which the poet refers to.

Nāmdev XII, verse 3.—" As chiming anklets sweetly ring, so rings thy name abroad." The original runs :—

Brīdācā toḍar garje tri-bhuvanī
Tūcī eka dhaṇī trailokyācā

Brīd = a badge or token worn in jousts or forays as a challenge or claim to superiority. The reference here is to the three steps of Viṣṇu, when incarnate as Vāman, he descended to earth to overcome Baḷi, who had conquered Indra and deprived him and the gods of Heaven. In the first line the poet pictures the God as triumphantly thundering with ringing anklets over earth, heaven, and the nether regions, challenging the powers of darkness and unbelief. Then in the second line comes the true believers' joyous shout—" Thou alone art Lord of all three worlds."

Nāmdev XXII, 3rd verse.

Ase jarī kām bhetoniyā jāvē
Dhāvoni yāvē devarāyā

The poet says : " Although you may be busy, come running, just visit me and then depart, oh my God and King." The author's version—" To help me is a trifling thing ; yet thou must haste, my God and King "—fails to reproduce what the poet meant when he spoke of the God as being engaged with other matters.

Tukārām XXXVI, 4th verse.—It would be preferable to take *sāras* as denoting the *cakravāk pakṣī* in the lines " how the *lotus* all the night dreameth, dreameth of the light ", because this fabulous bird (a kind of crane) is supposed to wander about all the night, seeking its mate, and does not meet her till dawn. As Raghunāth Paṇḍit writes in the poem of the royal lovers, Nala and Damayantī :—

I did not see my beloved in the darkness of separation ;
So went onwards slowly, groping my way,
Adorned like the *cakravāk* for roaming—
Oh sun ! thou risest to my great joy.

Tukārām XL.—Pāulē samān dāvī ḍolā is rendered " let mine eyes behold thy *equal* feet ". It would seem preferable to take *samān* with *ḍolā* and say " let me behold thy feet on a level with my eyes " to express the poet's idea of the true worshipper humbled in the dust, watching for the approach of the Deity.

Tukārām CVI.—Vākāṇī advait bhaktī bhavē vīṇ. The author gives " He praises high Advait " as the rendering. The poet means to say that the philosopher praises Monism and takes no heed of loving devotion.

The author omits the mark for final *anusvāra* in the vernacular headings to the verses.

W. DODERET.

DIE LAUTENTSPRECHUNGEN DER INDONESISCHEN LIPPENLAUTE IN EINIGEN ANDEREN AUSTRONESISCHEN SÜDSEESPRACHEN. VON OTTO DEMPWOLFF. Berlin, 1920.

This is a valuable contribution to Austronesian comparative philology. The author's starting point is a question raised by Kern many years ago, but of which that most distinguished scholar offered no solution, namely, why a certain primitive sound (assumed by Kern to have been *w*) in the Indonesian section of the Austronesian family appeared to have split into two in the Melanesian and Polynesian sections. The author's solution is that there has been no such splitting, and that the so-called primitive sound was not originally one but two different sounds. To arrive at this result he has made a very careful and conscientious tabulation of a great number of words in various languages belonging to the different sections of the family. His investigations have extended their scope considerably beyond the question originally propounded by Kern ; they amount, in fact, to a detailed study of the evolution of all the labials, both simple and nasalized, in the typical Austronesian tongues, and the conclusions arrived at are both interesting and important.

Up to now the general method of scholars in this branch of research has been to start from the Indonesian section and use it as a solvent for the linguistic phenomena of all the others. That course was thoroughly justified on several grounds. In the first place, the

Indonesian languages had been more intensively recorded and studied than all the rest; and secondly, they are undoubtedly in a better state of preservation than the others. Long ago, however, Kern had thrown out the hint that much could be learnt from the Melanesian and Polynesian languages which would cast a reflected light on the Indonesian ones. The author of the work under review has rightly attacked the problem by calling in this fresh evidence, and he seems to have made out a strong case for his conclusions.

In the last resort, however, all such deductions depend upon the fundamental assumption (as regards any given family of languages) of ultimate derivation from a uniform common mother tongue. For instance, in the case of the nasalized labials, if all the Indonesian languages agree in having the sound *p* in a certain group of words, whereas the evidence of the other sections of the family points back to an original *mp*, are we bound to infer that the latter is the older and the direct ancestor of the former sound? Is it not possible that they are variants due to dialectic or other differences in the common mother tongue, which perpetuated themselves, in divergent ways, in its descendants? Such a possibility is not to be lightly brushed aside *a priori*, for we are hardly in a position, at this distance of time, to assess the nature and amount of the phonetic tendencies which may have been operative during the period that preceded the remote date (or dates) when the linguistic ancestors of the several Austronesian tribes left their former joint home and scattered over the wide area they now occupy.

One or two minor details in the work under review may be worth mentioning. If the Malay word *kapas*, "cotton," is to be identified with the Fijian, Samoan, and Maori words given as its phonetic equivalents (p. 13), we must either abandon the Sanskrit derivation usually assigned to it, or suppose it to have wandered very far afield (and also changed its meaning) in the course of trade, or else we are put upon inquiry after other possibly Sanskrit loanwords in Polynesia. So far as I am aware, none have as yet been shown to exist there. On p. 36 the Malagasy *vukitrŭ* is an error for *vuhitrŭ*; and on p. 41 *sĕpak* is an error for *sepak* (twice).

The author's tabulation of the linguistic evidence is very perspicuous, and greatly facilitates its examination. This is an external quality of some practical importance. But it is also an index of clear thinking on the author's part, further exemplified by his scrupulous care in discriminating between the hypothetical and the actual. It has been

too much the fashion in comparative philology to put forward ingenious theories as if they were ascertained facts, and therefore intellectual honesty in that matter deserves an honourable mention, quite irrespective of whether the author's conclusions succeed in gaining general acceptance or are ultimately superseded by the results of further investigation.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE CHAMARS. By GEORGE W. BRIGGS, M.Sc. Oxford University Press. 6*s*. net. Religious Life of India Series.

No problem among the many which arise in India appears more insoluble than that which is presented by the "untouchables". The difficulty is acutely felt by Indians themselves. "We have segregated the pariah: we deny him the use of public wells: we throw the leavings of our plates at him: his very shadow pollutes us. There is no charge which the pariah cannot fling in our faces." Such are the words of Mr. Gandhi, and every one of them is true. Outside the Brahmans and twice-born castes are five categories of inferiors. Firstly, there are those from whose hands Brahmans will take water, and secondly those from whose hands certain of the higher castes will take water Thirdly, there are those from whom the twice-born cannot take water, but who are not "untouchable". In the fourth category are those whose touch defiles, but who do not eat beef. The lowest and vilest, *infima et pessima gens*, are those who eat beef and carrion and whose touch defiles.

The Chamars, who form the subject of Mr. Briggs's monograph, are members of this last class. They occupy an utterly degraded position in the village life, and are condemned to absolute segregation. No clean-living Hindu will visit their portion of the village. Such pollution is conveyed by the touch of a Chamar that it must be removed by bathing with all one's clothes on, the reason consisting in the fact that he not only strips the skins from cattle who have died, but eats the flesh. The defilement resulting therefrom is regarded as unsurmountable (in Madras the leather-worker pollutes at a distance of 24 feet), and even in bathing in the Ganges Chamars must find a place well below that used by other persons. Nevertheless, these despised people contribute a substantial quota to the population of India. The new census figures are not yet available, but the figures for 1911 showed the Brahmans throughout the whole country as the first caste in point of numbers, and the Chamars (11,493,733) as the

second. In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh every eighth man was a Chamar in 1911, and his was the first caste (6,083,283) in point of numbers. Mr. Briggs, therefore, has been most favourably situated in conducting his investigations from Allahabad, and nothing could be more exhaustive than the manner in which he has undertaken and marshalled them. Nor has he been content with his own observations, for the material obtained has been carefully sifted and checked by members of the caste.

Tanners of leather, preparers of skins, manufacturers of leather articles, and makers of shoes belong, naturally enough, to a well-defined class in the Indian social order. Someone must be charged with these occupations, and the Aryan who came as a conqueror and reserved for himself the privileges of the leisured class, took good care that it should not be he. In its origin, therefore, the Chamar caste was occupational and non-Aryan. But the basal group has been recruited from various sources. There has been an upward movement from even lower levels, and also a descent in some cases from the higher rungs of the ladder. For example, the Jatiya sub-caste of Chamars, who are found in large numbers in the Central and Upper Doab, Rohilkhand, and the neighbourhood of Delhi and Gurgaon, and constitute twenty per cent of the total Chamar population, are clearly assignable to a higher physical type and are of a lighter complexion. They claim affinity with the Jats, and many of their family, or *got*, names are distinctly suggestive of those of Rajput clans. It may be that some occupational demand drew certain Jats into this lower form of work, or their degradation may have been caused by some pressure or penalty. Conceivably, also, they spring from the marriages of Jats with Chamars. They are not merely dealers in hides and shoemakers, but are largely engaged in cultivation and field-labour. They employ Gaur Brahmans, and are regarded as the highest sub-caste among the Chamars. About one-half eat carrion, but some abstain from both beef and pork. At the other end of the scale are Chamars the names of whose sub-castes and *gots* show plainly that they have sprung from below, from Doms, Kanjars, Kols, Jaiswars, and other casteless tribes. The Jaiswars, who number about a million, are found almost exclusively in the eastern part of the United Provinces, and principally in the Jaunpur, Azamgarh, Mirzapur, and Faizabad districts. These also profess superiority to the ordinary Chamar, and many are employed in domestic service as house-servants, grass-cuts, and grooms. Some were with the troops which fought with Clive at Plassey. Mr. Briggs,

however, notes that for the most part they eat carrion and pork, and that where they are most numerous they share in all the degrading work and are addicted to all the disgusting habits characteristic of the caste. They worship the halter as a fetish, and consider it an act of sacrilege to tie a dog up with it, because the dog is an unclean animal. The practice of midwifery by the women is by no means universal, either among the Jatiyas or the Jaiswars.

Besides these two main castes, which make up between them nearly two-fifths of the Chamars of the United Provinces, there are many other sub-castes. At the census of 1891 the number was given as 1,156. The lowest of all are the Chāmar Chamars, who are practically confined to the Meerut and Rohilkhand divisions. They eat pork, their women practise midwifery, and their status appears to be due to the fact that they belong to the tanning section. Here and there a sub-caste assumes an independent position. Thus the Dosadh, in Bengal, claims to be of higher standing to the Chamar. Many of them have gone to work in factories and have entered domestic service. They no longer work in leather nor eat carrion, and their women do not practise midwifery. Among other sub-castes the most repulsive in their habits are certainly the Gobardhuas, in the Central Provinces, who collect the droppings of cattle from the threshing-floors and wash out and eat the undigested grain. The Kurils in the United Provinces, who comprise nearly the whole of the Chamar community in the Unao district, and are largely represented also in the Cawnpore, Lucknow, and Rae Bareli districts, challenge attention for another reason. They have chosen to make for themselves an impenetrable barrier of the Ganges. Those of them who live to the west of the river decline to hold social intercourse with those who live on the opposite shore. Intermarriage is prohibited, and the desire to be different is carried so far that the women of the western bank wear skirts and the women of the eastern wear loin-cloths (*dhotis*). Another peculiar caste are the Mangatiyas, who are beggars and receive alms from the Jaiswars only. The Chain is a professional criminal, and although rated in some districts as a Chamar, is willingly relegated elsewhere to a separate caste. The Khatik makes drum-heads and the Jingars make saddles and bind books. Some of the last-named, under the name of Jirayat, are forming an independent group of a higher social scale. They are skilled artisans who handle guns and other delicate instruments. Evidence is not wanting of affiliations with other castes, and a subsequent fissure. The Julaha was originally a Chamar, but

bettered his position by taking to weaving. He eats no carrion, touches no carcasses, does not work in leather, and has entirely separated himself from the Chamars. Ninety-two per cent of the Julahas are Mussulmans.

In the Central Provinces many villages in the Chhattisgarh division contain none but Chamars, from the landlord down; and seventy per cent of the caste have entirely given up leather-work and are absorbed in agriculture. The Satnamis, who form the most important sub-caste, are primarily a religious group and the product of an effort at social revolt. They are followers of Ghasi Das, a Chamar prophet who carried on his propaganda between 1820 and 1830, and worship the sun morning and evening. Although opposed to idolatry, they have temples and recognize the whole Hindu pantheon, especially reverencing the Rama and Krishna incarnations of Vishnu. While professing also to set aside caste, they do not admit into their fraternity members of a caste which they regard as inferior, and a Satnami is put out of caste if he is beaten by a man of another caste, however high, or if he is touched by a sweeper. A division has occurred in the movement over the use of tobacco, and those who smoke substitute a leaf-chilam for the *huqqa*. Further south the leather-worker in the Tamil country is known as the Chakkaliyan, and his counterpart among the Telugus is the Madiga. Mr. Briggs does not provide an inviting picture of either. The Chakkaliyan is a drunkard, a flesh-eater, and a devil-worshipper. Being thus trebly abhorrent, he is more detested even than the pariah. His women, who are noted for their good looks, are loose in their morals, and are usually chosen for the coarser form of *sakti* worship. As for the Madiga, he, too, lives on the outskirts of the village, is an eater of unclean food and a user of obscene language, and serves as a menial and a scavenger. He performs the revolting parts of religious sacrifices, and is supposed to aid in the removal of the demons of disease. Madiga girls are often dedicated to temple service as *basavīs*, and the men are employed to beat drums at festivals. In Behar and Bengal the Mochi and the Chamar form one caste. The former in the Punjab is, as a rule, a Mussulman Chamar, and in the eastern parts of Rajputana the leather-worker is also a Mohammedan. On the Bombay side, leather-workers are distributed among seven main divisions. In the Punjab the Chandar, who does no tanning, ranks among the highest sub-castes, and is strongly represented in the Hissar and Sirsa districts.

Mr. Briggs gives a detailed account of the customs of the Chamar and

of the rites associated with birth, marriage, and death. Most events are attributed to spirit agencies, and these principally of the malevolent variety. There is nothing like leather (it is good to know) to scare away devils, and a shoe hung upside down at night near the foot of the bed is a potent charm. Each disease has its particular godling, and the latest is Kaṁthī Mātā, the goddess of plague. In the case of small-pox the disease itself is the goddess Sitala, and the eruptions are signs of her presence. Fetishes are common, and also totems and their attendant tabus. It is all frankly animistic, and Hinduism supplies the merest veneer. Indeed, Chamars are for the most part denied admittance to Hindu temples. Traces of higher religion are not wanting, however. Mention has already been made of the Satnamis. These are an offshoot of the Kabirpanthis, who derive in their turn from Kabir, the greatest of Ramananda's disciples. Kabirpanthis are required to renounce polytheism, and among other things to eat no meat and drink no wine. Large followings of the Sikhs among the Chamars belong to the sect. Other offshoots are the Rai Dasis and the Siv Narayanas, both Unitarians and both called after the name of their founder. Rai Das was himself a Chamar, and although Siv Narayan was a Rajput, there are more Chamars than any other caste among his adherents.

There does not appear to be much of an outlook for the Chamars under existing conditions. They are steeped in the most lamentable and abject poverty; they are deplorably ignorant (two only in a thousand males are literate), and notorious for their intemperance. Seventy-eight per cent are engaged in farm-work, but the land assigned to them is of the poorest. Among the leather-workers some have undoubtedly grown wealthy, but factory tanned leather is supplanting the village product. There is much room among caste Hindus for that "change of heart" towards Chamars of which a great deal is heard in another connexion. The Chamar is no doubt unspeakably filthy in his habits, and the part of the village in which he lives is the home of abominable smells. But so long as he is regarded as "untouchable" the position is hopeless. Good work is being done among them by Christian missionaries, but the gesture of uplift should come from above and from the Chamar's own countrymen.

H. E. A. Cotton.

A MANUAL OF LUGANDA (Cambridge Guides to Modern Languages). By W. A. CRABTREE. Cambridge: University Press. 1921.

A new grammar of the Ganda language has been needed for some time. The late Mr. Pilkington's useful little handbook, reprinted several times, has been found an invaluable help by many students, but it was avowedly a pioneer work and requires supplementing in many particulars. The *Elements of Luganda* (1902)—in part, at least, the work of Mr. Crabtree—was, in some respects, an advance; but it suffered from defective arrangement, and is now out of print. It is, therefore, matter for congratulation that the Pitt Press has issued the present work, with all the advantages of type and paper which we have a right to expect from that institution. We have no hesitation in saying that it is a great improvement on anything hitherto appearing in English. Nevertheless, though it may seem ungracious to do so, we cannot forbear to mention a few points which appear to call for comment, if not criticism.

The author repeatedly insists on the typical character of Ganda as a primitive Bantu language. It " preserves the original Bantu sounds uncontaminated by such vagaries as the Bushman clicks found in Zulu or the Sudan *kp. gb* met with in the debased Bantu spoken by the Fang ". We are told in the previous paragraph that " throughout Africa " (no special reference is made to Bantu) " there is a remarkable similarity of phonetics ". The apparent contradiction is perhaps removed by the next sentence, " We find peculiar sounds in specific instances only." But it may be worth while to point out that the " labial-velar " sound imperfectly rendered by *kp, gb* is not peculiar to Fang, but is found in several languages of the Congo basin and even in East Africa—at least in one dialect of the so-called " Nyika " languages, where it seems to have been overlooked till recent times. (It was pointed out to me by the late Rev. Udy Bassett at Ribe, in 1913.) It may, therefore, be less exceptional than has been supposed.

But, apart from these side-issues, it is difficult to agree with Mr. Crabtree as to the absence of outside influence in Ganda. Two points are especially striking. Any one accustomed to hear spoken—I will not say Zulu or Swahili (though Mr. Crabtree's view as to the absolutely unique and isolated character of those two languages seems somewhat exaggerated), but Nyanja, Yao, Giryama, and Pokomo, will at once be conscious of some unexpected quality in the sounds of Ganda. It is difficult to say off-hand what is the element of

surprise—it may be either the comparative frequency of short vowels in accented syllables, or the stress on the stem-syllable instead of the penultimate—or both, or something different from either. The stress as the stem-syllable is also found in Yao—which yet does not strike one in the same way—and in other Bantu languages; so that this, by itself, would not account for the impression. The other peculiarity is the number of words which, while one cannot say they look non-Bantu, are yet impossible to connect with the roots so widely distributed over the Bantu area. Thus we have *ente*, "cattle," *endiga*, "sheep," *ensolo*, "wild animal," *omudo*, "grass," and the verbs, *yagala*, "love," *laba*, "see," *ebaka*, "sleep," side by side with such well-known forms as *embuzi*, "goat," *enyuki*, "bee," *leka*, "leave off," *seka*, "laugh," etc. Of course, it would be impossible to base any conclusions on the vocabulary till it has been thoroughly worked over by the statistical method; but to the non-specialist there appear to be quite as many peculiar or "aberrant" roots in it as in Zulu.[1] On the other hand, the grammatical features of Bantu have been remarkably well-preserved in Ganda, fewer classes having been lost than in most other languages. It has even preserved the augmentative prefix *gu-*, which is also found in Kinga, and the three locative classes are still clearly marked.

It is difficult to see why, after enumerating six classes (Bleek's 1–11, though in a different order), Mr. Crabtree excludes from the framework the KA (thirteenth), BU (fourteenth), KU (fifteenth), GU (twentieth), and the three locative classes (treated in a different chapter, under the heading "Preposition or Place-Relation"). The locative prefix *e* (p. 71) is distinct from these, and calls for special investigation. The only parallel I have met with is in Zulu, where, moreover, it is combined—except in a few special cases, with the suffix *-ni*, e.g. *entabeni*, loc. of *intaba*, "hill."

The chapter on "Pronunciation" certainly marks an advance on the old-fashioned handbook, but still leaves some ambiguities to be cleared up. What sound, e.g. is meant by that of "*ch* in *church*" (p. 1)? Does Mr. Crabtree pronounce this word (according to the International Phonetic Association's alphabet) as cʌc? If not, what is the meaning of the previous paragraph, which seems to indicate a sound like ɟ? c and tʃ, ɟ and dʒ are both found in Zanzibar Swahili,

[1] We might note in passing that G. *enju*, "house," is Zulu *in-dlu*; a form which does not seem to occur north of the Zambesi on the eastern side of the continent, though we find it again in Kongo as *nzo*. The alternative G. form *enyumba* is practically universal in East Africa.

and the first pair, certainly, in Nyanja ; Ganda, one is usually given to understand, possesses c only.

Is it certain that the dropped initial consonant of vowel-verbs is always *w* or *y* ? (p. 2, note). Ganda *genda*, compared with *jenda*, *yenda*, or *enda*, points to a different conclusion. Some perplexity may be occasioned by the use of the word "tone", where the author evidently means "stress", and no light is thrown on the question whether words otherwise similar are sometimes distinguished by pitch, as they are in Giryama, Shambala, and many other Bantu languages. The examples on pp. 161–2 illustrate, not etymological tone (pitch), but *sentence-intonation*—an entirely different matter. It is interesting to note that we have a number of pairs of words identical except for the quantity of the vowel (p. 4), and others (p. 8) only distinguished by the consonant being with or without the glottal stop. Mr. Crabtree says that "emphatic consonants" (i.e. those with glottal stop) "are a peculiar feature of Ganda"; but they are also found in Pokomo and in other Bantu languages, e.g. Xosa, Cwana, Konde, etc.

It is worth noting that they are very marked in Galla, a language which has strongly influenced Pokomo, and this perhaps suggests that Ganda may not be quite so free from Hamitic influence as Mr. Crabtree would have us believe.

It would be gross ingratitude, however, to pass on without a word of appreciation the really valuable features of this book ; the clear and handy paradigms of verbs, the abundant examples of idiomatic phrases, and the exercises for translation, which, in the more advanced sections, consist of connected passages. It is now generally recognized that translation *into* the language learnt is not desirable during the early stages of tuition, and this principle has very wisely been adhered to. The discussion of the Initial Vowel (by some wrongly called the article) does a great deal to clear up a vexed question ; but it is curious to find that "the name of a person takes no I.V., because it is definitely associated with that person and is dependent upon his existence". The fact is noteworthy, but the reason given fails to carry conviction, since, in Zulu, a proper name invariably takes the Initial Vowel (though it sometimes seems to be elided in rapid speech)—*except in the vocative* (if the expression can be used where there is no such thing as case-formation, properly so-called), or after the particles *ka*, *ku*, *kwa*. Thus we have *uTshaka* (usually so written, with small initial, followed by a capital for the first letter of the

stress), *uMpande, uCetshwayo, uDinuzulu*—but in direct address, *Tshaka, Mpande*, etc., and *indhlu Ka'Mpande*, etc. I do not think the usage of other languages which have the initial vowel (Konde, Herero, Gisu, etc.) has been noted as regards proper names.

Mr. Crabtree thinks that the Initial Vowel is simply a remnant of the reduplicated prefix, but he gives no reason why the prefix should have been reduplicated. It is a pity that he takes no notice of Professor Meinhof's hypothesis (which really seems, so far as our present knowledge goes, to fit the facts), that it has arisen out of the demonstrative particle *ya*, of which the vowel (and in some cases the consonant) has been assimilated to the prefix.

A. W.

Am Tor von Asien. Felsdenkmale aus Irans Heldenzeit. Von Ernst Herzfeld. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer. 1920.

Students of early Persian art, to whom the costly work by Sarre and Herzfeld (*Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin, 1910) may not be readily accessible, will welcome this recent publication by Professor Herzfeld. Here, in the brief space of 164 pages, he has given the main results of his archæological investigations in Persia for a number of years, from 1905 onwards. About a third of the text is devoted to the monuments of the Medes, Achæmenians, and Arsakids, but the greater part is taken up with an account of the Sasanian sculptures and monuments at Tāq-i-Būstān. Recent investigations have done much to make clear the relation of Sasanian art to other periods of artistic activity, and to the elucidation of this problem Professor Herzfeld's researches have contributed a most important part. In the present volume he has given a detailed study of Sasanian architectural forms and ornament, and has worked out the connexion between the motifs in the rock-sculptures with the so-called Sasanian fabrics, preserved in our museums and in the treasuries of cathedrals, such as Sens. His profound knowledge of the history and the languages of ancient Persia adds weight to his conclusions, which are moreover presented in an attractive form, free from pedantry. The plates and other illustrations are superb, and by the employment of the finest modern processes of reproduction truly admirable results have been attained, for which every student of Persian art may well be grateful.

T. W. Arnold.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE MEANING OF THE TITLE "CHELEBI"

A VALUABLE article in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (ib., p. 831) discusses the origin of this Turkish title, but its derivation is not settled. It was first borne, as far as is known, by Chelebi Husām-ud-Dīn, successor of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī, in the thirteenth century (ib., p. 832). It was also borne by all the sons of Bāyazīd I. but according to Gibbons (*The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 195), the eldest son of Bāyazīd was Sulaimān Chelebi, while his second son, or the son whom he esteemed second only to Sulaimān, was nicknamed Kiri-Chelebi (Girijilibi in Rabbi Joseph: *Chronicles*, ib., p. 257). What authority is there for styling Kiri-Chelebi a nickname? *Kiri-* appears to mean "after-" or "next-" Chelebi, so that the term might mean "next heir-apparent", like the Sanskrit *dvistānia*—if Chelebi meant "heir-apparent".

It is suggested that Chelebi is derived from the Arabic *salb* or *sulb*, "loins," and that it originally denoted "true-born" or "lawful heir", and so "next heir"—in the case of sovereignty. In religious succession it may have denoted "physical successor" as opposed to "spiritual successor" (*khalīfa*). Among the Baqtāsh there appear to be two lines of succession to the headship of the Order, one by spiritual descent, the other by natural descent; so that there are two heads, each with his own following. In Persian *farzand salabī* appears as meaning "own" or "actual" son, e.g. in the *Rashahāt-i-'Ain-ul-Hayāt* (*maqsad* i). The question is: Is the Maulawī Chelebi invariably a physical son of the founder's kin or is the title applied also to one who succeeds to its headship by spiritual adoption pure and simple?

H. A. R.

PRESTER JOHN AND BENIN.

IN Barros' *Da Asia*, dec. i, book iii, p. 177, we find that in 1486 "the King of Benij [= Benin, more properly Bini], whose kingdom lies between the kingdom of Congo and the Castle of S. Jorge da Mina"

[= Elmina], sent an embassy to Dom João II of Portugal, asking for Christian preachers to be sent to his people. Consequently a mission was sent out and a factory established at Gato (Egwaton), a place still in existence on the Ovia river. One reason for the very prompt response to the Benin chief's message was the hope of opening up communications with Prester John (then believed to be located in Abyssinia), suggested by the following information obtained from the envoy (ib., p. 181): "To the east of the King of Benij, at a distance of twenty months' journey, which . . . might be 250 of our leagues, there was a King the most powerful of all in those parts, whom they called OGANÉ, who among the pagan princes of the districts (*comarcas*) of Benij, was held in as great veneration as among us the highest prelates. To whom by a most ancient custom, the Kings of Benin, on succeeding to the crown, used to send their ambassadors with a large present, notifying him that, through the death of such an one (*Foão*) they had succeeded to the said Kingdom of Benij, in the which they besought him to confirm them. As a token of which confirmation this Prince Ogané sent them a staff and a covering for the head after the fashion of the Spanish helmets (*capacetes*), all of shining brass, instead of a sceptre and crown, and he also sent them a cross of the same brass to wear round the neck, of the same shape as those worn by the Commanders of the Order of St. John." The historian adds that these messengers were never allowed to see the Ogané, who sat behind curtains, and, when the messenger was taking his leave, stretched out one foot, to which he might do homage.

As it seems in every way unlikely that a fifteenth century Bini (Yoruba) chief should have received his investiture from Abyssinia, one is tempted to think the "twenty months' journey" is either a misunderstanding of a statement transmitted through (probably) very imperfect interpreters, or a conjecture of the Portuguese inquirers, who, having the idea of Prester John rooted in their minds, could not conceive of him as only twenty *days* distant from the King of Benin. The late Mr. Dennett, whom I consulted on the subject, told me that all the sixteen chiefs of the Yoruba confederacy (of whom the OBA ADO of Benin is one, along with the ALAFIN of OYO, the ALAKE of ABEOKUTA, etc.) received their investiture from the ONI of IFE—Ife being the ancient tribal centre and sanctuary. All the sixteen chiefs are held to be descended from the sons of the first Oni. Mr. Dennett thought OGANE a contraction of OGA, "chief," and INE "one of the four pairs of chiefs said to have come from IFE with the son of the

Oni called EWEKA, the first Yoruba King of the EFAS (now called the BINI) ".

It is thus evident that Barros' " Ogané " is the Oni of Ife. Ogané might have been the title (or one of the titles) of the King of Benin himself, or one of his sub-chiefs; and, whether the communications passed entirely through interpreters, or the envoy spoke Portuguese of sorts, the mistake is not very surprising. The " crowns " of the Yoruba chiefs at the present day are caps adorned with gold or brass plates, sometimes exhibiting symbolical figures (e.g. the chameleon of Abeokuta); and a staff or sceptre also belongs to their insignia. The cross-shaped pendant I have so far been unable to trace, but the figure of the cross occurs in native symbolism—cf. the illustrations on pp. 215, 225 of Mr. Dennett's book, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind* (Macmillan, 1906).

A. WERNER.

LEIBNIZ AND FU-HSI

THE ordinary numbers with which we are acquainted in arithmetic are expressed by means of multiples of powers of 10: for instance, $4705 = 4\times10^3+7\times10^2+0\times10+5$.

This method of representing numbers is called the denary scale of notation, and 10 is said to be the base of the scale. In like manner any other number than 10 may be taken as the base of a scale of notation. If 2 is the base, " two " will be written 10, " three " will be written 11, " four " (i.e. 2^2) will be written 100, and so on.

The mathematician Leibniz (1646–1716), who wrote several essays on the binary scale of notation, saw in it a symbol of " One God and Nothing else beside ", and recommended it on this ground to his patron the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. Through the Catholic missionary Père Bouvet (one of the six " mathématiciens du Roi " sent by Louis to the court of Peking) Leibniz became acquainted with the diagrams of Fu Hsi 伏羲 (*c.* 3000 B.C.), and recognized the fact that the Pa Kuei 八卦, or " Eight Diagrams ", were merely the numbers 7 to 0, written in a binary notation. Similarly, that the Sixty-four Diagrams were the numbers 63 to 0 written in the same notation.

The Eight Diagrams, written in Fu Hsi's order, are ☰, ☱, ☲, ☳, ☴, ☵, ☶, ☷. If for the unbroken line we write 1, and for the broken line 0, we get [1] 111, 110, 101, 100, 011, 010, 001, and 000.

[1] The diagrams are to be read from the bottom upwards, as in the Book of Changes.

This series, translated into the denary (common) scale, becomes 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, 0. The Sixty-four Diagrams (in Fu Hsi's order) will be found to express a similar series. It is curious that although this fact about the diagrams was known in the seventeenth century, no subsequent commentator, either Chinese or European, appears to have mentioned it. In 1728 Père Visdelou, another of the "six mathematicians" at Peking, and consequently the associate of Bouvet, submitted to the Cardinals of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide a notice of the "Book of Changes". He makes no allusion to Leibniz's discovery. Had he explained the mathematical nature of the diagrams, subsequent commentators would have followed suit and the information would have been handed down to Zottoli, Legge, Harlez, etc.

Even Kawakami, in his *History of Mathematics in the Far East*, mentions the Eight Diagrams without noting the only fact about them which could conceivably interest mathematicians. This is probably because the sixty-four chapters of the book are not arranged in Fu Hsi's natural 先天 order, but in the "artificial" order of Wēn Wang (1231–1135 B.C.). This king occupied two years of imprisonment in arranging the diagrams into an order based upon symbolic meanings which he attached to them. But most Chinese editions of the book give Fu Hsi's order 伏羲次序 in the introductory pages, and explain that this "natural order" was afterwards altered by Wēn Wang. One of the reasons for the change is said to have been that Wēn, being in prison, felt that the "natural order of things" had gone wrong, and that the diagrams must be changed in consequence.

The invention of the diagrams, which (even if we regard Fu Hsi as mythical) appears to have been made in the third millennium B.C., was a mathematical discovery of great importance. But we have no evidence that the series was ever used for general purposes of enumeration.

Perhaps the most interesting point is that the diagrams employ the method of "value by position", which is the distinguishing feature of our "Arabic" notation. Thus, in the first of the Sixty-four Diagrams the bottom line represents 2 to the fifth power, the next line 2 to the fourth power, and so on; just as in the Arabic number 2533 the left-hand figure represents tens to the third power, the next figure tens to the second power, and so forth.

This method of position was not used in Europe till the sixteenth century, when we learnt it from the Arabs, who in turn had taken it

from the Hindus. It is not thought to have been in use in India before the sixth century A.D. It was unknown to the great early civilizations of Egypt and Babylon, but it appears that the Chinese had mastered the theory of it 3000 years before Christ.

Schindler (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, iii, 456) considers the sign ☲, which occurs on an old Chinese bronze, to be an owner's mark. It might be the binary number 1001, i.e. 9 in common notation. Yang Hsiung 揚雄 (53 B.C. – A.D. 18) invented a set of 81 diagrams consisting each of four lines of three different kinds. The text of the *Po Ku T'u* 博古圖, the catalogue of Hui Tsung's bronzes, etc., says that this diagram is like those of Yang. In which case, if --- = 0, the number is 28 (expressed in the three-scale); or if --- is 2, the number is equivalent to our 52. Obviously these are only two of six possible alternatives.

ARTHUR WALEY.

TWO NOTES ON NŌ[1]

1. THE DATES OF KWANAMI AND SEAMI.

THE dates of Kwanami, the father of the art of Nō, are generally given as 1354–1406; those of his son Seami as 1375–1455. These dates are derived from the family traditions of the Kwanze School.

Let us begin with Seami. In his *Works* 世阿彌十六部集, on p. 283, he speaks of himself as having "reached his seventh decade"—he is writing in 1432. In 1433 (see p. 285) he is "over seventy". We may, therefore, safely conclude that he was born not later than 1363, and probably in that year. According to the formerly accepted dates, his father, Kwanami, was 9 years old in 1363. It is therefore clear that Kwanami's dates have also been wrongly given.

Now the *Jōraku Ki*, "Record of Eternal Bliss" 常樂記, a list of the death-dates of famous priests published in the fifteenth century, has the following entry: "Shitoku 1st year (1384) 5th month 19th day, the Yamato Sarugaku master Kwanze died in Suruga." From Seami's *Works* we learn that his father died in Suruga at the age of 52.

Accordingly the dates 1333–84 are now accepted for Kwanami by all specialists in Japan.

We know from the *Works* that Seami was alive in 1436. There is a story of his having acted in 1443. As tradition agrees that he reached the age of 81, it was probably in 1443 or 1444 that he died.

[1] These notes are supplementary to my recently published book, *The Nō Plays of Japan*, pp. 320 (Allen & Unwin).

M. Péri accepts the genuineness of the *Works*, yet retains the traditional dates for Kwanami and his son. This position would be hard to justify.

2. The Allusiveness of the Nō Plays.

The impression has been given by certain European writers that to understand the plays demanded a high degree of erudition. Since they make frequent quotations from Japanese, Chinese, and Buddhist poetry (never, I think, from the prose portions of the Sūtras), this would at first sight seem to be the case.

But (1) the Japanese poetry quoted was probably all of it familiar orally, and would have been familiar even to the illiterate, for it was the habit of the age to turn poems into songs. Many of the poems quoted will be found in such song books as the *Rōyei Shū* 朗詠集 and *Ryōjin Hisshō* 梁塵秘抄, in the latter case often adapted as *imayō*.

(2) The range of quotation from Chinese poetry is very small. Almost all the quotations are from the works of one poet, Po Chü-i 白居易, and almost all the couplets quoted were used in songs, and will be found in the *Rōyei Shū*. No general familiarity with Chinese poetry was demanded from the audience.

(3) In some plays (by no means in all) couplets are quoted from the Buddhist gāthas. They consist of well-worn tags, such as would be familiar to every practising Buddhist; their comprehension demanded no book-learning; for example, the famous "Vow" from the Parable of the Mirage City 化城品 in the *Hokkekyō* 法華經:

願以此功德
普及於一切
我等與衆生
皆共成佛道。

May the virtue of this merit
Universally extend over all the world:
That both we and every living creature
May unite in achieving Buddhahood!

Either the whole of this prayer (with which to this day most Buddhist ceremonies are concluded), or part of it, or one of its numerous variants, occurs in many plays.

The *Hokkekyō* is indeed by far the most frequently quoted scripture. But familiarity with the whole contents of this encyclopædic Sūtra is not demanded. Only a few passages (just those, by the way, which

a secular European reader would for himself pick out) have struck Japanese imagination. In particular may be mentioned the Story of the Burning House, the Story of the Dragon King's Eight-year-old Daughter, and the beautiful *gātha* in the Hōben chapter, which teaches that the most trifling act may lead to salvation: "Even if it only be children at their play who heap up the sand in the shape of a stūpa 乃至童子戲聚沙爲佛塔 . . . if it be only one small sound of music 一小音, or the offering of one flower, . . . all these things may lead to Buddhahood."

Sometimes, as in *Sotoba Komachi*, the Buddhist allusions are, for reasons connected with the subject of the play, more recondite and elaborate. In such cases only a general understanding of the argument is necessary for appreciation of the play.

In plays which contain *yamabushi*, Shingon priests, or the like, corrupted Sanskrit spells occur; most often the Middle and Little Fudō *darani*.[1]

Very few hearers, either cleric or lay, understood the meaning of the spells, nor were they intended to. The *darani* are inserted merely in order to produce a general Tantric atmosphere.

I will now analyse the allusions in two of the plays which are most familiar to European readers:—

Sumidagawa

Japanese Poetry.—To the *Manyō Shū*, one: to the *Gosen Shū*, one; to the *Shūi Shū*, one; to the *Shin Kokin Shū*, two.

Monogatari.—To the *Ise*, several passages.

Chinese Poetry.—One allusion to Po Chü-i.

Buddhist.—Nothing beyond the invocations of Amida's name and of the Western Paradise, conventionally representing the Mass said by the priests.

Kagekiyo

Japanese Poetry.—One quotation from a poem in the *Kokin*, which also occurs in the *Rōyei Shū* as a song, under the heading "*Autumn*".

Chinese Poetry.—In Kagekiyo's opening chant, a vague reminiscence of Po Chü-i.

Buddhist.—An allusion to the words 三界無安 "In the Three Worlds is no rest", with which the *gātha* of the Burning House begins.

[1] The letter runs *Namaku Samanta Basarada*, i.e. (in Sanskrit) *Namas samanta vajrānām*, "Praise to all the Thunderbolt-(bearers)!"

In conclusion, it is probable that practically all the passages quoted from Chinese and Japanese poetry were familiar *orally* as songs. Sometimes a quotation which seems to be recondite turns out to be a popular Japanese tradition. For example, to explain the passage about the "fish that leap the cataract and turn into dragons", at the end of *Aya no Tsuzumi*, M. Péri quotes the *T'ai P'ing Kuang Chi* 太平廣記, a work which was probably quite unknown to the writers of Nō plays; but the legend was evidently current in Japan, for it is illustrated in the *Ehon Hōkan* (ii. 19), a popular picture-book by Hasegawa Tōun, published in 1688.

As regards Buddhist allusions, the passages usually referred to were as familiar to the Japanese of those days as are the Apostles' Creed and Lord's Prayer to us to-day.

ARTHUR WALEY.

"THE FEAR OF DEER . . ."

LA note que j'ai publiée sous ce titre (*Bulletin*, Vol. I, Pt. III, p. 185) doit être rectifiée et complétée.

Nous avons affaire à quatre proverbes, de même signification : on ne doit pas renoncer à une chose bonne en soi à cause des défauts qu'elle présente, à cause des risques qu'elle court.

1. Na hi bhikṣukāḥ santīti sthālyo nādhiśrīyante.

Men do not refrain from setting the cooking-pots on the fire, because there are beggars [who may come to ask for some of the contents].

2. Na ca mṛgāḥ santīti yavā (var. śālayo) nopyante.

Nor do they abstain from sowing barley because there are wild animals [which may devour it].

Ces deux proverbes, qui vont souvent de compagnie, sont étudiés par le Col. Jacob, dans le *Second Handful of Popular Maxims* (Bombay, Nirṇayasāgar, 1909, p. 42, index sub voc. *na hi bhikṣukāḥ*).

Le Col. Jacob cite les références qui suivent : Mahābhāṣya, i, 99 ; ii, 194 ; iii, 23 (Kielhorn), dans le même contexte (*na hi doṣāḥ santīti paribhāṣā na kartavyā lakṣaṇaṃ vā na praṇeyam | na hi bhikṣukāḥ . . .*) ; Vācaspatimiśra, Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā, pp. 62, 441 ; Bhāmatī, p. 54 ; Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha, p. 3 de la traduction de Cowell.

À ces références, il faut ajouter Kāmasūtra (voir Cat. Oxford, 216*b*), où les deux proverbes sont attribués à Vātsyāyana (signalé par Weber, *Indische Studien*, xiii, p. 326).

3. Ato 'jīrṇabhayān nāhāraparityāgo bhikṣukabhayān na sthālyā anadhiśrayaṇaṃ doṣeṣu prativídhātavyam iti nyāyaḥ.

La crainte de l'indigestion n'empêche pas de manger.

Le Col. Jacob cite, pour ce troisième proverbe, Pañcapādikā, p. 63 (dont la finale *doṣeṣu prativídhātavyam* se retrouve dans Vasubandhu), Jīvanmuktiviveka, p. 8 (qui attribue le proverbe à Ānandabodhācārya), et Hitopadeśa, ii, 50, *do◦abhīter anārambhaḥ*. . . .

4. Na makṣikāḥ patantīti modakā na bhakṣyante.

Proverbe pour lequel je n'ai d'autre référence que Vasubandhu (*Bulletin*, 1, III, p. 185). Il semble que les Bouddhistes, étant *bhikṣus*, ont substitué au proverbe du mendiant (*bhikṣuka*) et de la *sthālī*, le proverbe moins piquant des mouches et du gâteau.

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

MR. ANESAKI AND A ZEN POEM

IN *Buddhist Art* the following Zen poem is reproduced on Plate 30 :—

只 語 老 趁
蔣 如 蕭 過
不 何 皮 流
識 亂 有 沙
皷 得 血。 遂。
唇 華。
牙 若 定
胡 使 應

This is translated by Mr. Anesaki :—

O thou solitary sage ! hast thou a skin ?
Then surely blood is streaming in thee.
Canst utter words ?
Given a flower, what wouldst do ?
Thy lips would be a drum, thy cheeks a banner, eh ?

It is hardly surprising that his version should make no sense, for (1) he has read the text from right to left instead of from left to right : (2) omitted about a quarter of it ; (3) taken 華 "Chinese" in the sense of "flower" and 胡 "Indian" in the sense of "eh ?" ; (4) failed to recognize in 蕭 the surname "Hsiao" of the Liang emperors ; (5) punctuated wrongly.

The subject is the Indian apostle of Buddhism, Bodhidharma, and his appearance before the Emperor of China. The sense is :—

Saying nothing but "Don't know", he drummed his lips on his teeth ;
For how could he turn his Indian speech into Chinese ?
If he is to cause old Hsiao (i.e. the Emperor) to have any blood under his skin,
He will have to drive him across the desert sands.

不識 "Don't know" is what Bodhidharma is actually recorded to have replied to all the Emperor of China's questions.

胡 is, of course, chiefly applied to Iranians, but also to foreigners in general.

The inscription is in cursive. Several characters puzzled me, and without the assistance of Mr. Hsü, of Cambridge, I could not have made sense of it. The version which I have given must, I think, come fairly near to being right. That of Mr. Anesaki is perhaps the least fortunate attempt to expound Buddhist literature which has ever got itself into print.

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC, PERSIAN, URDU, AND HINDI.

With a view to securing uniformity of transcription in all the languages taught in the School of Oriental Studies, a Sub-Committee consisting of the Director, Professor Sir Thomas Arnold, and Dr. T. Grahame Bailey was appointed by the Academic Board to draw up a scheme of transliteration for Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and Hindi, and this has now been adopted. The scheme for the other languages will follow in due course. A complete scheme for a phonetic rendering of the languages of Asia and Africa is also in course of preparation.

Arabic		Urdu and Persian	Hindi
ث	th	s	—
ج	j	j	j
چ	—	ch	ch
छ	—	chh	chh
ح	ḥ	ḥ	—
خ	kh	kh	—
د	d	d	d
ذ	dh	ẓ	—
ڑ	—	ḍ *and* ڑ = ṛ	ड *and* ड़ = ṛ
ڈھ	—	ḍh	ढ
ز	z	z	—
ژ	—	zh	—
ش	sh	sh	—
श	—	—	ś
ष	—	—	s
ص	s	s	—
ض	d	z	—
ط	ṭ	ṭ	—
ظ	ẓ	ẓ	—

Arabic		Urdu and Persian	Hindi
ع	‘	‘	—
غ	gh	gh	—
ق	q	q	—
ण	—	—	ṇ
ङ	—	n	ṅ
ञ	—	—	ñ
و	w	v	v
ळ	—	—	ḷ
Nasal vowels	—	~	~
Aspirates (1)	bh, kh, etc.	bh, kh, etc.	bh, kh, etc.
(2) In separate syllable	s'h etc.	s'h, etc.	
أو	aw	aw	au *or* av
أى	ay	ay	ai *or* ay

THE SUBJECT INDEX TO PERIODICALS

PUBLISHED BY THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

Indexes the valuable material in over 550 periodicals, English and Foreign.

Language and Literature List (Classical and Oriental) for 1915 . . . . . 3*s.* net.

Language and Literature List (Classical and Oriental) for 1916 . . . . . 3*s.* 9*d.* net.

Language and Literature List (Classical and Oriental) for 1917–19 . . . . . 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

Subscription for all Class Lists 1917–19 (including author index) . . . . . £4 4*s.*

Consolidated volume for 1915–16, revised, art linen, roy. 4to, pp. xvi. 744. . . . . £4 4*s.*

Obtainable from the Library Association, Stapley House, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.: or P. S. King & Son, Ltd., Orchard House, Great Smith Street, S.W. 1.

OBITUARY

Sir CHARLES LYALL, K.C.S.I.

The School of Oriental Studies has lost a valued friend in Sir Charles James Lyall, K.C.S.I., whose death occurred on 1st September, 1920, at the age of 76. Born in 1845, he entered the Bengal Civil Service at the age of 22, and rose to some of the highest offices under the Indian Government, ending with that of Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces—a position equivalent to that of a governor of a province—which he filled from 1895 to 1898. When he left India he became secretary of the Judicial and Public Department, India Office, and continued to hold this post until his retirement from the public service in 1910. He took an active interest in the work of the Royal Asiatic Society and in the Oriental studies carried on in the University of London, and was for many years chairman of the Board of Studies in Oriental Languages and Literatures. He regularly attended such meetings of the International Congress of Orientalists as were held after 1898, and on such occasions generally represented either the Government of India or the Secretary of State for India.

In the intervals of his official duties he found time for the study of Arabic, and he took the opportunity of being on leave in Europe to become a pupil of Professor Nöldeke in the University of Strassburg; to this distinguished Orientalist he dedicated his edition of two Arabic Dīwāns, with the words "Dedicated to our master Theodor Nöldeke in gratitude and affection", adding in his Preface, "Whatever merit the edition may possess is due to this most valuable co-operation of the acknowledged master of all European scholars in this field of study," and he used to show with pride a letter in which Professor Nöldeke averred that Lyall had succeeded in carrying through an undertaking which he himself would not have ventured to attempt.

His first published work was a series of translations that appeared at intervals in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in the years 1877, 1878, and 1881, and were afterwards published in collected form in a book entitled *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry, chiefly pre-Islamic* (London, 1885). His first edition of an Arabic text was *A Commentary on ten ancient Arabic poems, namely, the seven Mu'allaḳāt, and poems by al-A'sha, an-Nābighah, and 'Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ, by the Khaṭīb Abū Zakarīyā Yaḥyā at-Tibrīzī* (Calcutta, 1894). This was followed later by *The Dīwāns of 'Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ of Asad, and 'Āmir ibn aṭ-Ṭufail, of 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah, edited for the first time*

and supplied with a translation and notes (London, 1913), and by *The Poems of 'Amr son of Qami'ah, edited and translated* (Cambridge, 1919). What will be the greatest monument of his erudition, he unhappily did not live to complete—an edition of the Mufaḍḍalīyāt—though he succeeded in seeing the greater part of it through the press, in spite of the difficulties that arose during the war, including the loss of a batch of proofs in a vessel that was torpedoed, and the destruction of the press at Beyrout in which the text was being printed. European scholars had hitherto shrunk from the difficult task of editing this collection of early Arabic poetry (with the exception of about a third of the poems, published by Thorbecke in 1885), and Sir Charles Lyall himself did not approach it until after decades of training and preparation: but when once he commenced the work he brought to it a vast store of knowledge of Arabic lexicography and textual criticism, and his edition (which has been completed by Professor Bevan) will take rank with Freytag's edition of the Ḥamāsa.

In another department of Oriental studies—Hindustani—though his literary output was much more restricted, yet all he wrote was marked with the same careful and accurate scholarship. In his *Sketch of the Hindustani Language* (Edinburgh, 1880) he established the important fact that this language instead of being an artificial hybrid as had hitherto been supposed, was really a development of the dialect spoken in the district of Meerut. He later contributed the article on Hindustani to successive editions of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Sir Charles Lyall took a great interest in the foundation of the School of Oriental Studies. He was a member of the Committee appointed in 1905 by the Senate of the University of London to consider the reorganization of Oriental studies in the University and to suggest a scheme therefor, and he accompanied the deputation that approached the First Lord of the Treasury in 1906 with the request that he would appoint a Departmental Committee to inquire into the subject. The Committee was appointed in 1907, and in the following year submitted a report which met with the approval of the Government, and Sir Charles Lyall became a member of the Committee appointed in 1910 for carrying out the proposed scheme of a School of Oriental Studies. Since the opening of the School in February, 1917, up to the time of his last illness, Sir Charles Lyall continued to take an active interest in the institution to the establishment of which he had devoted so much time and thought.

BULLETIN

OF THE

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
LONDON INSTITUTION

PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS FROM INDIAN LANGUAGES

By Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.Lit.

THESE transcriptions are tentative in character, and are presented with great diffidence. The idea was taken from similar transcriptions of versions of the fable of the North Wind and the Sun in various languages published by the International Phonetic Association in an excellent little pamphlet, *The Principles of the International Phonetic Association*. They have been done from dictation by persons who habitually speak the respective languages, and the transcriber has checked and in other ways sought to verify them at every step. Nearly all of them were done in Calcutta early in 1919, but they have since been revised. He has not given a table of sounds, as so many languages and dialects (there are some twenty-two in the present paper, including practically all the important languages of India) cannot be well represented all together. The sounds of Sanskrit may be regarded as the norm for all Indian languages, and the ordinary values of these are too well known to be described here.

The alphabet is that of the International Phonetic Association. It may, however, be noted that c͡ʃ ɟ͡ʒ of Modern Indian languages are palatal or palato-alveolar affricates—in Old Indo-Aryan and Old Dravidian they were palatal stops c ɟ; they seem also to occur as alveolar affricates, t͡ʃ d͡ʒ, made with the tip of the tongue, in many of the languages, and the transcriber regrets that he did not pay attention to this point in India. The letters ʈ ɖ ɳ ɽ ɭ ʃ are for retroflex sounds made by curling up the tip of the tongue and striking the palate at a point (which varies in

different languages) higher up behind the teeth-ridge. ɸ ʋ are bilabial spirants. ɑ is about half-way between cardinal (front) a and (back) ɑ. No distinction between lax ɪ ʊ and close i u has been made, as these seem to form the same phonemes. In the difficult matter of vowel length, as well as in the question of stress, which generally is rather weak, the transcriber craves indulgence.

The literal translations appended are on the plan of the translations in Dr. Grahame Bailey's *Panjabi Phonetic Reader* (University of London Press, 1914).

The transcriber takes this opportunity to express his gratefulness to Prof. Daniel Jones, of University College, for much helpful advice and suggestion, and to all the gentlemen who helped him with translations and with readings.

BENGALI

p t ṭ k and c͡ʃ without following h are unaspirated. t d l are true dentals. r is an alveolar, always slightly trilled when initial, and reduced to a single flap medially. ṛ is a single flap of the under-side of the tongue forwards and downwards against the teeth-ridge. ṭ ḍ are not the cardinal retroflex sounds of the Dravidian languages and of Panjabi. They are pronounced at a more forward position than the cardinal retroflex, but slightly further back than the South English alveolar t d: they are really 'forward retroflex': to the ear Bengali ṭ ḍ and English t d are very much alike. ʃ is pronounced at a rather forward position, without much friction; it approaches s, and is thus different from the English ʃ. c͡ʃ ɟ͡ʒ and East Bengal t͡s d͡z are assibilated sounds, also without much friction. h occurs initially in the standard colloquial, in an intervocalic position as a modification of k kh in East Bengal dialects. Singly and in the aspirates bh dh ḍh gh and ɟ͡ʒh the h is a voiced sound. Medial and final aspirated stops and affricates tend to be deaspirated; ph bh commonly become the bilabial or dentolabial fricatives ɸ or f, and ʋ or v.

Vowels as a rule are laxly pronounced. ɔ: has greater lip-rounding than ɔ. A lax vowel like i or u (better written ɪ ʊ) can have stress. Diphthongs are falling diphthongs. Quantity depends on position, on stress, and on other factors.

STANDARD COLLOQUIAL

This is the language of the upper and middle classes in Calcutta and West Bengal. It has already become the speech of the educated classes all over the country, and is exerting a very great influence on the dialects. As the recognized language of poetry and the drama, and to a great extent of prose as well, it has become a rival of the ordinary literary form of Bengali. In the following transcript, the transcriber's own pronunciation, which is that of the educated people of Calcutta, has been followed.

Stress is almost always initial, but in a sense-group the first important word takes up all the stress. (ŏ) is a glide to prevent

hiatus: it is audible only in rapid speech, or when words are pronounced in one breath. It is a consonantal e, and occurs as a phoneme as well. The so-called 'double' stops or affricates, or other consonants, e.g. kk dd cc͡ʃ ʃʃ mm, etc., perhaps should be better written k: d: c͡:ʃ ʃ: m:, the sounds properly being a long stop, fricative or nasal, as the case may be. This may be said of other languages also.

'utture haŏa (ĕ)ar 'ʃuɟʃer moddhe 'ʃhɔgŗa hoecʃhilo, 'ka:r 'ʃo:r 'beʃi, '(ĕ)æmon ʃomɔe 'gɔrom kapoŗ ʃoŗie (ĕ)æ:k 'pothik eʃe poŗlo. tara 'ṭhik kolle ʃe, ʃe (ĕ)age 'pothiker 'gaerkapoŗ 'kholate parbe, 'takei beʃi 'bɔloban bole 'ʃikar kɔra hɔbe. 'utture haŏa to ʃɔ'tha:ʃaddho ʃore 'boite laglo, kintu ʃɔ'toi ʃore 'bɔ:ĕ, 'pothik tɔ'toi 'ʈeʃı kore (ĕ)ẽṭe gae kapoŗ ʃɔŗaĕ; ʃeʃe 'utture haŏa tar ei 'cʃeʃṭa 'cʃhere dile. tɔkhon 'ʃuɟʃi (ĕ)uṭhe 'alo kore 'ta·p dite laglen, ar 'omni 'pothik tar 'gaerkapoŗ khule phelle; ar 'utture haŏake 'ʃikar kotte holo, ʃe 'duʃoner moddhe ʃuɟ'ʃoi beʃi 'bɔloban.

Literal Translation.—Northern Wind and Sun's (Sun-of) middle-in dispute was-happening, whose strength much, such time-in warm cloth having-wrapped one traveller having-come fell (2 = came along). They arrangement made that, who before (= first) traveller's body's-cloth to-cause-to-put-off will-be-able, him-indeed much strong having-said (= as) acknowledgement done (*or* doing) will-be. Northern Wind then exact-might strength-with to-blow began, but as-much-even strength-with he-blows, traveller so-much-even much having-done (2 = excessively) having-tightened body-on cloth wraps; end-at Northern Wind his this attempt having-let-go gave (2 = gave up). Then Sun having-risen light having-made warmth to-give began (*honorific*), and immediately traveller his body's-cloth having-put-off threw (2 = cast-away); and Northern Wind-for acknowledgment to-make it-was, that two-persons' middle-in Sun-indeed much strong.

STANDARD LITERARY OR HIGH BENGALI (SĀDHU-BHĀṢĀ)

This is the ordinary Bengali of prose writings. Although books are generally written in it, and it is sometimes used in formal discourse, it is *never* employed in conversation, even by the most learned. In some novels, however, ordinary conversation is rendered in High Bengali, but this practice is falling into disuse. Its forms are archaic, as the language is based on literary Middle Bengali, and it was standardized only in the beginning of the nineteenth century when a prose literature came into being. Its vocabulary is highly Sanskritized, and its syntax rather stiff, but it forms a common bond among the various dialects, and is the current literary language of a population of over 48 millions.

The pronunciation and stress vary in the different dialect areas, but those of West Bengal are recognized as standard. The Calcutta pronunciation is followed in the transcription given below. In reading, closed final vowels can be lengthened at pleasure, especially when at the

end of a breath-group. The original quantity of the long vowels in Sanskrit words is generally retained. Stress commonly occurs in syllables followed by two consonants, and Sanskrit words frequently have stress on the root-syllable.

uttɔre:r ˈpɔbɔ:n o ˈʃurʄe:r moddhe bɪˈba.d hoɪte·c͡ʃhɪlɔ, kɑˈhɑ:r ˈʃokɪɪ odhɪ:k. ˈæmɔ·n ʃomɔe ˈuʃnɔ-bɔstre ʃoˈrɪ:r ˈɑ:brɪtɔ (ˈɑbbrɪtɔ) korɪɑ ˈæ·k ˈpothɪ:k ˈɑʃɪɑ pohũc͡ʃhɪlɔ. ˈˈtɑ̃hɑrɑ [ˈtɑhɑrɑ] tɔkhɔn ˈsthɪ:r korɪlen [korɪlɔ] ʄe, ˈʄini [ˈʄe] ˈ(p)prothɔme ˈpothɪkke niʄɔ ˈgɑttrɔ-bɔ-trɔ unˈmo:c͡ʃɔn kɔrɑɪte pɑrɪben [pɑrɪbe], ˈtɪmɪ [ˈʃei] odhɪ:k ˈʃokɪɪ-ʃɑ.h bolɪɑ bɪˈbe:c͡ʃɪtɔ hoɪben [hoɪbe]. ɔˈnɔntɔ:r uttɔre:r ˈpɔbɔ:n ʄɔˈthɑ.ʃɑddhɔ ˈbege·r ʃohɪt ˈbohɪte lagɪlen [lagɪlɔ], kintu ʄɔˈtoɪ tɪmɪ ˈbɔhe:n [ʃe ˈbɔhe], ˈpothɪ:k tɔˈtɔɪ ˈdrɪɸhɔ korɪɑ niʄɔ ˈde:he ˈgɑttrɔ-bɔstrɔ ˈʄɔɾɑɪte thɑke. ɔbɔˈʃe:ʃe uttɔre:r ˈpɔbɔ·n eɪ ˈ(p)proc̆ɑ:ʃ porɪtˈtæ.g korɪlen korɪlɔ. tɔkhɔn ˈʃu·rʄɔ ˈtɑ.p bɪsˈtɑ:r korɪɑ ˈɑdɪtɔ hoɪlen hoɪlɔ, ebɔ·ŋ ˈpothɪ:k ˈtɔtkhɔnɑ:t ˈgɑttrɔ-bɔstrɔ unˈmo:c͡ʃɔn korɪlɔ. ʃutɔrɑ·ŋ uttɔre·r ˈpɔbɔnke ˈʃɪkɑ:r korɪte hoɪlɔ ʄe uˈbhɔc̆e:r moddhe ʃurˈʄɔi ˈbɔlɔbɑ.n.

Literal Translation.—(The Wind and the Sun when personified would, as in the case of other personifications, generally be referred to by the honorific forms of the pronoun and the verb, but the ordinary forms [which are given in the transcription within square brackets] are also allowable.)

North's Wind and Sun's middle-in dispute was-happening, whose strength much, such time-in warm-cloth-with body covered having-made one traveller having-come reached. They then decision made that, who first-at traveller-for own body-cloth a-putting-off to-cause-to-make will-be-able, he-indeed much powerful having-said (= as) regarded will-be. Then North's Wind exact-might force-of accompanied (3 = with all force) to-blow began, but as-much-even he blows, traveller so-much-even tight having-done (2 = tightly) own body-cloth to-wrap remains (= continues). End-at North's Wind this attempt abandonment made (2 = abandoned). Then Sun warmth a-spreading having-made risen became (5 = rose spreading warmth), and traveller that-time-at (= immediately) body-cloth a-putting-off made. Therefore North's Wind-for acknowledgment to-make it-was that both-of middle-in Sun-indeed strong.

BARISAL COLLOQUIAL

Translated by Mr. Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri, M.A., and Mr. Surendra Nath Sen, M.A., Lecturers in History, Calcutta University, and read by Mr. Sen.

ʔ, the glottal stop, is used for earlier initial h. It is very gently uttered, and is dropped in rapid speech. ʤ easily passes into z.

ˈuttɔrɪɑ bɑtɑʃ ɑr ˈʃuizzer lɔge ˈkɑ·r beʃɪ ˈbɔ·l ɛɪɑ loɪɑ ˈʤɔgrɑ lɑglo, ˈæmɔn ʃomɑɛ̆ ˈækʤɔn ˈpothuɑ mɑnu hɑrɑ gɑe ˈgɔrom kɑpor ʤɔˈrɑɪɑ ˈɑɪɑ oḷlo. tɔˈhon hɛrɑ ṭhik kɔllo, ˈʤe age ɔ:r gɑer kɑpor khoˈlɑite pɑrbe, hɛˈrei beʃi ˈʤu·ɑn kɔ̆ɑ ʤɑibe. tɔˈhon ˈuttɔrɪɑ bɑtɑʃ, ˈhɛ:r ˈʤɔddu·r ʤɔr ɑse, ˈsoṭte lɑglo. kintu ʤɔˈtui ʤɔre ˈsode, ˈmɑnuḍi tɔˈtui kɑporhɑn ɑro ɑṭkil korɪɑ ʤɔˈrɑite lɑglo. ˈhɛʃe ˈuttɔrɪɑ bɑtɑʃ

ˈʔail saria dilo. tɔˈhon ˈʃuizzoɖa ˈækkekale ˈʦetia oɖlo. tɔˈhoni manuɖi kapor ˈkhulia fælailo. kaʤe-kaʤei ˈuttɔria bataʃer ˈʃihar ʤaite ʔoilo, ʤe ˈhɛgo moidde ʃuizˈzui beʃi ˈʤuˑan.

Literal Translation.—Northern Wind and Sun's among whose much strength, this taking (2 = over this) dispute started, such time-in one-person traveller man all body-upon warm cloth having-wrapped having-come got-up (2 = came along). Then they arrangement made, who before (= first) his body's cloth to-cause-to-put-off will-be-able, him-indeed much strong saying (*noun*) will-go (5 = he will be declared stronger). Then Northern Wind, his as-far strength is, to-run began. But as-much-even strength-with runs (= blows), man-that so-much-even cloth-piece greater tight having-done to-wrap began. Last-at Northern Wind helm having-let-go gave (3 = gave up the attempt). Then Sun-that even-one-time-at awaking got-up (2 = shone forth) Then-even man-that cloth having-put-off caused-to-be-thrown. Fact-by-fact-by-even (= consequently, as a result) Northern Wind-for acknowledgment to-go it-was, that their muddle-in Sun-indeed much strong.

DACCA (MUNSHIGANJ) COLLOQUIAL

Translated and read by Mr. Indu Bhushan Banerji, M.A., Lecturer in History, Calcutta University.

The stress is very light, and differs from that of the Standard Colloquial—it is not always initial.

ˈkaˑr ˈʤoːr (ʃ̃oːr) beˈʃɪˌei kɔˈtha loia ʤɔˈkhɔn utˈtoira baˈtaʃ arˈʃuizzo ˈkaiʤa ˈkorte asilo, tɔˈkhɔn ˈʃitori gaĕ dia ɛkˈʤɔːn rastar loːk ˈhei pɔddia ˈailo. tɔˈkhɔn ˈduiɔ ʤɔne ˈʈhik korlo ʤe, ʤe naˈki age ɔre-dia ˈɔːr gaer ˈʃitori khɔɔˈaia faˈlaite parbo, he ˈoi ʔoilɔ beˈʃɪ ˈʤuan. utˈtoira baˈtaʃ tɔˈkhɔn taˑr ˈʤɔddurr ˈʃanddɔ ˈʤoɾe ˈboite laglo, kintu he ʤɔˈtoi ˈʤoɾei ˈboite laglo, poˈthik ɔ tɔˈtoi tɔratori ˈʃitoriʈa gaĕ aɪˈkaia dite aˈrɔmbɔ kollo. ˈhɛʃe baˈtaʃ tar hɔgɔl ˈʦɛʃɪa-ʦɔrittɔ ˈsaira dilo. eier ˈpɔr, ˈʃuzzɔ tar kɔra ˈroud ˈsaira dilo, ar poˈthik ɔ tɔkˈkhɔnoi tar ˈʃitori ˈkhuilla falailo. kaˈʤei utˈtoira baˈtaʃ ˈʈheika ˈʃikar kollo ʤe ˈtago duiʤɔner moidde ʃuizˈzoi ʔoilo ˈʤuan beʃi.

Literal Translation.—Whose strength much, this matter having-taken when Northern Wind and Sun dispute making were, then winter-cloth body-on having-given (= wearing) one-person road-of man that path-having-given (2 = along that way) came. Then two-even persons arrangement made that, who not-that (= possibly) before him-having-given (= by-him) his body-of winter-cloth having-removed to-throw will-be-able, he indeed was much strong. Northern Wind then his as-far might strength-with to-blow began, but-he as-much-even strength-with to-blow began, traveller also so-much-even quick-quick (= quickly) winter-cloth-that body-on having-tightened to-give commencement made (4 = began to tighten). End-in Wind his all attempt-action having-let-go gave. This-of after, Sun his strong sunshine having-let-go

gave, and traveller also then-even his winter-cloth having-put-off threw. Fact-by-even (= consequently) Northern Wind having-experienced acknowledgment made that their two-person-of middle-in Sun-even was strong much.

TIPPERA (BRAHMANBARIA) COLLOQUIAL

Translated and read by Mr. Jagadish Chandra Chakravarti, Student in the University of Calcutta.

ut'toira ba'ta·ʃ ar 'ʃurʤɔ, kɛ'ʤa ka·r thɛik'ka be'ʃi ʤuan, ei loia 'kaizza laglo. æmun 'ʃɔmɔĕ gɔrɔm 'kaʀɔr gao dia ækta luk 'ʔatte ʔaṭte hikha'nɔ ailɔ. 'ta·ra ṭhik kollo ʤe, tarar moidde ʤe'oi pɔrtɔm manuʃṭar 'kaʀɔr ga·r thɛik'ka fa'laite parbo, he'oi dui-ʤɔner moidde be'ʃi ʤuan. ei 'kɔtar pɔr ut'toira ba'ta·ʃ ga:r ʤure 'bɔɔn a'rɔmbɔ kollo; kintu ʤɔ'toi ʤure ba'ta·ʃ 'sa·re, tɔ'toi lukṭa a'rɔ: aiṭ'ṭa 'kaʀɔr gao dæ·ĕ. 'ʃɛʃkhanɔ ut'toira ba'ta·ʃ 'ʦɛʃṭa 'saira dilo. 'tarʀɔr 'ʃurʤɔ khu:b be'ʃi 'te·ʤ sarɔn ʃu'ru kollo, ar æm'noi manuʃṭa ɔ 'ta·r ga·r 'kaʀɔr 'khuilla falailo. tɔkhɔn ut'toira ba'ta·ʃ 'baddɔ ʔoia ʃurʤere'oi tarar moidde be'ʃi ʤuan buil'la 'ʃikar gælo.

Literal Translation.—Northern Wind and Sun, who-that whose from much strong, this having-taken dispute began. Such time-in warm cloth body-on having-placed one-that person walking walking that-place-indeed came. They arrangement made that, their middle-in who-indeed first man-that-of cloth body-of from to-east will-be-able, he-indeed two-person-of middle-in much strong. This word-of after, Northern Wind body-of force-with a-blowing commencement made; but as-much-even force-with Wind lets-go, so-much-even man-that more having-tightened cloth body-on gives (= places). Last-thing-at Northern Wind attempt having-let-go gave. That-after Sun excessive much heat a-letting-go beginning made, and immediately man-that also his body-of cloth having-put-off threw. Then Northern Wind compelled having-become, Sun-as-to-even their middle-in much strong having-said acknowledgment went (= made).

CHITTAGONG COLLOQUIAL

Translated by Samaṇa Puṇṇānanda, Lecturer in Pali, Calcutta University, and Mr. Surendra Nath Barua, Student in the University. Transcribed with the assistance of the same gentlemen.

'utɔrɔr bɔ'ĕa·r ar 'ʃuizzɔ, ei 'dudʤɔner maʤe 'xa:r 'bɔ:l beʃi, ei xɔta loia 'tɔĕral kɔrer, 'ɛ̃:n ʃɔmɔt 'ækdʤɔn 'Fo"tta gɔrɔm 'xotta 'gaɔt di 'ail. tara 'ṭhik koillɔ dʤe, dʤe 'age oi 'Fo"ttar 'xotta xo'lait Faribɔ, tar 'bɔ:l beʃi boli dɔra hoibɔ. 'tar Fɔr 'utɔrɔr bɔ'ĕa·r ku:b 'dʤore 'dʤaitu la-il, xintu ɛ dʤɔtɔ 'dʤore bɔĕ, 'Fo"tta aro 'ʃɔktɔ kori 'xotta dʤɔraĕ. ʃɛ'ʃe 'utɔrɔr bɔ'ĕa·r t(h)amil. 'tar Fɔr gɔrɔm hoi 'rɔid uḍil, ar 'Fo"tta tɔɔn tɔɔn 'xotta xuli feillɔ. xa'ʤei 'utɔrɔr bɔ'ĕa·r 'baĕddɔ hoi ʃi'a·r koillɔ dʤe 'duidʤɔner maʤe 'ʃuizzɔr bɔ:l beʃi.

Literal Translation.—North's Wind and Sun, these two-person's amid whose strength much, this matter having-taken, dispute are-doing,

such time-in one-person traveller warm coat (= cloak) body-on having-placed came. They arrangement made that, who before that traveller-of cloak to-cause-to-put-off will-be-able, his strength much having-said (= as) considered will-be. That-of after North's Wind very-much force-with to-go began, but he as-much force-with blows, traveller more tight having-made cloak wraps. Last-at North-of Wind stopped. That-of after warm having-become sun-shine rose, and traveller then then (2 = at once) cloak having-put-off threw. Fact-by-indeed North's Wind compelled having-become acknowledgment made that two-person's middle-in Sun's strength much.

ASSAMESE

Translated by Mr. Suryya Kumar Bhuyan, M.A., Professor, Cotton College, Gauhati, and read by Mr. Parasuram Datta, M.Sc., Student in the Calcutta University.

Assemese is spoken by over $1\frac{1}{2}$ million people, and there is considerable literary activity in this language.

The pronunciation is that of Upper Assam, which is regarded as the standard.

$\widehat{\text{ʃʒ}}$, z seem to be interchangeable. t, d are alveolar, but the true dental sounds are also heard. Retroflex sounds are absent; and of all Indian languages, Assamese is unique in having only one set of t, d sounds. ĕ is the consonantal sound, as in Bengali. h is voiced, as in Bengali.

'uttɔrɔr bɔ'tah aru 'beli:r 'bhitɔrɔt 'ka:r be'si bɔ:l, take loi xĩ'hɔ̃tɔr 'oriaori laɡil, ɛnete 'ɛzɔn ba'torua 'ɛŋasola ɛta 'pindhi 'xei pone a'hil. xĩ'hɔ̃te 'thik korile 'zɛ, 'zeče ba'torua zɔnɔk prɔ'thɔme solato 'ɡar pɔra khɔ'habɔloi 'baĕddhɔ kɔribɔ paribɔ, take 'antot koi be'si boli buli bhɔ'ba hobo. 'uttɔra bɔ'tahe tar 'xɔktie 'ătemane 'bolibɔloi 'dhorile, 'kintu bɔ'tah ze'mane 'ta:n koi 'boboloi dhɔre, ba'torua zɔne xi'mane solato 'ɡat 'ătihe dhɔre. 'xɔɔ́ɔ xehɔt 'uttɔra bɔ'tahe 'sesta 'eri dile. tar 'pasɔt xu'ruz(ɔ)deŏe 'tikafɔta 'ro:d dile; aru ba'torua zɔne tu'rɔnte 'ɡar pɔra 'solato khɔ'haĕ thole. 'ɡotike xĩ'hɔ̃tɔr 'bhitɔrɔt 'beli:r ze bɔ:l be'si, tak 'uttɔra bɔ'tahe 'sikar koribɔ loi 'baĕddhɔ hol.

Literal Translation.—Northern Wind and Sun-of among whose much strength, that having-taken (2 = in that matter) their dispute began, then one-person traveller cloak one having-put-on that direction came. They arrangement made that, who traveller person-of first-at cloak-the body-of from to-remove-for compelled to-make will-be-able, him other-that-from having-made (2 = than the other) much strong having-said (= as) thought will-be. Northern Wind his strength-with sufficience-measure-with (= to its extent) to-blow got-hold-of (2 = began to blow), but Wind as-much-measure-with force having-made (2 = forcibly) to-blow for holds, traveller person so-much-measure-with cloak-the body-on having-tightened-indeed holds. All end-at Northern Wind attempt having-given-up gave (2 = gave up). That-of after-at Sun-god up-land-

splitting (= scorching) sun-shine gave; and traveller person quickly body-of from cloak-that having-removed placed. Movement-by (= in consequence) their among Sun-of that strength much, that Northern Wind acknowledgment to-make-for obliged became.

ORIYA

Translated, in the colloquial style, by Mr. Rabindra Mohan Datta, M.A., B.L., Lecturer in Calcutta University, and read by Mr. Banchhandhi Mahapatra, M.A., of Puri District, Student in the University.

ʧ ʒ have greater friction than in Bengali. ś is a palatalized s = sj: occasionally it becomes s. ṭ, ḍ, ṛ as in Bengali. ḷ, ṇ are true retroflex sounds. h is voiced, as in Bengali.

ut'tɔra pɔ'bɔnɔ au 'śurʒɔ bhi'tɔre dine kɔ'li la'gila ʒe ka'ha di'hɔre bɔ'lɔ be'śi:, śe'tiki bele, ʒɔ'ṇe ba'ṭoi gɔrɔm lu'ga ghoṛi hei, śe'ṭhi aśi pɔhɔn'ʧila. di'hẽ ʒaka 'ṭhik kɔle ʒe, 'ʒe age śe'hi ba'ṭoi di'hɔru ta:r lu'ga ka'ṛhi nei paribɔ, 'tari ʒɔ'ṇa ʒibɔ ʒe bɔ'lɔ be'śi. ta'ba:d ut'tɔra pɔ'bɔnɔ ʒe'te 'ʒore pare bɔ'huhaku lagila, eṇe pɔ'bɔnɔ ʒe'te 'ʒore bɔ'hu thae, śe'hi baṭoi śe'te bhi'ṛikiri lu'ga ghoṛi heu thae. śe'śɔbeḷɔku ut'tɔra pɔ'bɔnɔ thɔk'ki gɔla. ta'ba:d bɔḍḍɔ 'ʒo:r 'khɔra hela, au śaŋge śaŋge śe'hi ba'ṭoi di'hɔru lu'ga ka'ṛhi pɔ'kaila. śe'ṭhũ ut'tɔra pɔ'bɔnɔku manibaku hela, ʒe di'hiŋkɔ bhi'tɔre 'śurʒɔ bɔṛɔ.

Literal Translation.—Northern Wind and Sun among day-in dispute began that whose body-in strength much, that time-in, person-one traveller warm cloth having-wrapped having-been, there having-come reached. Two each arrangement made that, who before (= first) that traveller body-from his cloth having-removed to-take will-be-able, his-even known it-will-go (= it will be) that strength much. That-after Northern Wind as-much force-with is-able to-blow-for began, but Wind as-much force-with blowing remains (2 = continues to blow), that traveller so-much having-closed-having-made (= making close or tight) cloth having-wrapped becoming remains. Last-time-for Northern Wind having-restrained went (2 = was checked). That-after very force (*adj.* = forcible) sunshine became, and along-with along-with (2 = immediately) that traveller body-from cloth having-removed threw. That-from Northern Wind-as-for to-confess-for it-became (it-was), that two-of among Sun great.

MAGAHI

Translated by Dr. Uma Shankar Bhattacharya of Gaya.

Magahi is a dialect of the Bihari group, and is spoken by about 6½ millions in S. Bihar (Patna, Gaya, Mungir, and Hazaribagh Districts). It has no literary cultivation, Hindostani (Hindi and Urdu) being the language employed by its speakers for literary purposes.

This transcription is based on the pronunciation of two Bengal speakers of Magahi.

ʌ is often pronounced very like an open ɔ, especially when long. ʌi is almost əɪ. h is a voiced sound.

ut'rʌŋgɑ bəj'ɑ:r ʌu su'ruʃ͡ʒ du'nomẽ bər'bʌs hoə'hʌlʌi kʌun ke'krɑ·se ʃ͡ʒʌb'bʌr hoəhʌi. et'nemẽ ego rɑ'hi: gʌrəm kəp'ṛɑ· oṛh(ə)le: one ɑ:gelʌi. du'nomẽ sʌl'lɑ:h bhelʌi ki ʃ͡ʒe pə'hile rə'hiɑke kʌpəṛ'wɑ· u'tɑ:r letʌi, o'hi bʌṛɑ· səm(ə)'ʃ͡ʒhʌl ʃ͡ʒʌitʌi. tʌb ut'rʌŋgɑ ʌpnɑ 'bhʌrbəs bʌh'lɑ:, bɑ:kı u: ʃ͡ʒet'te: bʌh'te ge:lɑ, rɑ'hi: tet'te: kʌpəṛ'wɑ· sə'ṭɑ:kʌi oṛh'te ge:l. ut'rʌŋgɑ bəj'ɑ:r 'hɑ·r dɑo de:ke 'ʧho:ṛ delkɑ. tʌb su'ruʃ͡ʒ ʌpnɑ ki'rin ʧhəṭ'kʌilɑ, ʌu rɑ'hi: tur(ə)'te: kʌpəṛ'wɑ· u'tɑ:r delkʌi. tʌb ut'rʌŋgɑ bəj'ɑ:rke mʌn'hı pʌrəl kı su'ruʃ͡ʒ bʌṛɑ· hʌ:th.

Literal Translation.—Northern Wind and Sun two-among dispute was-happening who whom-from strong is. This-much-in one traveller warm cloth wrapped there having-arrived-went. Two-among agreement took-place that who first traveller-of cloth-big (= piece of cloth, cloak) having-removed will-take-off, he-even great understood shall-go. Then Norther self-of weight-with blew, but he as-much blowing went, traveller so-much cloth-big having-wrapped-having-done putting-on went. Northern Wind defeat chance having-given (3 = giving up hope) having-let-go gave (2 = gave up). Then Sun self-of rays scattered, and traveller quickly cloth-big having-removed gave. Then Northern Wind-for to-acknowledge fell that Sun great ıs (*honorific*).

MAITHILI

The translation, in the Standard Dialect of North Darbhanga, ıs by Mr. Brahmadev Narayan Singh, Student ın the Calcutta Unıversity. The text has been read by the same gentleman.

Maithılı is the vernacular of about 10½ mıllions in Bihar. There is a little literary cultivation of this language, but High Hindi is much used by the people.

ʃ͡ʒ has much frictıon, and sounds almost ʤ. ʃ is as in Bengalı. h is voıced. ɔ ıs pronounced wıthout lip-rounding. The qualıty of ʌ approaches ɔ. ' ıs nearly inaudıble.

ut(ə)'rʌŋg bʌ'sɑ·t ɔ:r 'su·rʤ mẽ ı: 'ʃ͡ʒhʌgṛɑ cʌlʌl ʃ͡ʒe du'humẽ ke ʌdhik bʌl'wɑ.n. tʌhı kɑ:l ek bʌṭo'hi: 'gʌrm bʌstrə 'orhne 'ɑ:jl. o: du'nu i: niʃ'ʧʌj kɛ'lɛnh ki, ʃ͡ʒe keo prʌthʌm bʌṭo'hi:k deh'sɔ̃: ʌŋg-rʌ'khɑ: hʌṭ'wɑot, 'wæ:h dosrɑ'sɔ̃: bʌ'liʃṭ mɑ'nʌl ʃ͡ʒʌjʌt. tʌkhʌn ut(ə)'rʌŋg 'sʌkti-bhɔ:r' bʌ'he lʌg'lɑ:h, kintu ʃ͡ʒɔ̃: ʃ͡ʒɔ̃: 'he:g ʌdhik 'bhe:l ge'lʌik, tɔ̃: tɔ̃: o bʌṭo'hi: orhnʌkɔ̃ ʌp'nɑ ʃʌ'ri:rmẽ ʌdhik lʌ'pe·ṭne 'ge.l. ʌntmẽ ut(ə)'rʌŋg ʧeʃ'ṭɑ 'ʧhɑ r' de'lɛnh ɑ:u 'su·rʤ bʌ'hot gʌrm bhʌj'kɔ̃: ug'lɑ:h. bʌṭo'hi: 'tʌkh(ə)mjẽ ʌ'pʌn orhnɑ 'phɔ:l' phʌ'rɑ.k kelʌk. 'tʌj ut(ə)'rʌŋgkɔ̃: hʌ'ṭhɑ:t swi'kɑ:r kʌre pʌr'lɛnh ʃ͡ʒe, du'huguṭɑmẽ 'su·rʤe bʌl'wɑ:n 'ʧhɔ:th'.

Literal Translation.—Northern Wind and Sun among this dispute went that two-amid who much strong. That time one traveller warm cloth wrapped came. That two this decision did (*honorific*) that, who-anyone (= whoever) first traveller-of body-from body-protector (= cloak) will-remove, he second-from strong acknowledged will-go. Then Norther

strength-having-filled (= with full strength) to-blow began, but as-much as-much force much been went, so-much so-much that traveller wrapper-for own body-on much folded went. End-in Norther attempt having-let-go gave (*hon*). Now Sun much warm having-been rose. Traveller then-even self-of wrapper having-put-off distant did (2 = removed). Therefore Norther-for perforce acknowledgment to-do fell (*hon*) that two-piece (= persons)-among Sun-indeed strong is (*hon.*).

BHOJPURIYA

The translation is by Mr. Sarada Prasad Tewari, of Chapra. Student in the University of Calcutta, and the transcription is from the reading by the same gentleman.

Bhojpuriya is the language of some 18½ millions in Bihar and the United Provinces. There is very little literature in it, the speakers ordinarily using High Hindi and Urdu in literature and public life.

h is always strongly voiced. (ə) is developed from an earlier ʌ, and is more a glide than a distinct sound.

utər'hi: ʌur su'ruʃʒ mẽ 'ge:ŋg ho:t rʌhe, ki du'nomẽ ke bəri'ɑ:r bɑ:, e'hi bi:ʧmẽ ego rɑ'hi: gʌrəm 'oɽhnɑ oɽh(ə)le 'ɑ:l. e'hi bɑ:tke bɑ'ʃʒi. lɑgəl, ki ʃʒe pə'hile o rɑ'hi:ke 'oɽhnɑ utər'wɑ di, ok'reke ə'dhikɑ bəri'ɑ:r bu'ʃʒhʌl ʃʒɑ-i:. tʌb utər'hi: bəɽɑ: 'ʃʒo:rse bʌhe lɑgəl, bɑ:ki:r 'ʃʒʌt(ə)ne 'ʃʒo:rse u bʌ'he:, ut(ə)ne 'ʃʒo:rse rɑ'hi: 'oɽhnɑ ʌpnɑ 'dehmẽ lə'pe:tle ʃʒae. hɑ:rpɑ:ʧhke utər'hi: bʌhəl bʌn ho gʌi:l. tʌb 'ghɑ:m bəɽɑ: 'ʃʒo:rse ugəl, wo ʃʒurutle rɑ'hi: 'oɽhnɑ u'tɑ:r deh(ə)ləs. e'hi:se utər'hi:kɑ sə'kɑ:reke pʌrəl, ki su'ruʃʒ do'nomẽ bʌu'kɑ:r bɑɽe.

Literal Translation.—Norther and Sun among dispute being was, that two-even-among who strong is, this middle-in one traveller warm wrapper wrapped came. This word-of (2 = in this matter) wager was-fixed, that who first that traveller-of wrapper to-cause-to-take-off will-give (2 = will have removed), him-indeed much strong to-understand it-will-go. Then Norther much force-with to-blow began, but even-as-much force-with he blows, even-so-much force-with traveller wrapper self-of body-on folded goes. Defeat-after-of (= at last) Norther to-blow stop having-become went. Then sun-shine much force-with rose, and immediately traveller wrapper having-put-off gave-he. This-from Norther-for acknowledgment-to it-fell, that Sun two-even-among strong is.

HINDOSTANI (HINDI)

Translated by Pandit Jagannath Prasad Chaturvedi, of Calcutta.

Hindostani is the representative language of India. The home of Hindostani is in the Western Districts of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and in Eastern Panjab, but it is in common use (either as the Sanskritized High Hindi or as the Persianized Urdu) as the language of literature and culture in the Panjab, Rajputana, Central India, Bihar, and the Central Provinces as well, and is understood everywhere in the rest of Aryan India. Although it is current among a population

of over 130 millions, its pronunciation differs but slightly over the vast area in which it is employed, but there is appreciable difference in the intonation of the different dialect and language areas. The present translation is in the colloquial style, and in the transcription the ordinary educated Hindu pronunciation of E. United Provinces has been followed, and it does not seek to record the pronunciation of any single person.

ʒ can be employed for z. h is the voiced sound. ɾ is a flap sound. ʌo becomes ɔ: in the western districts of the United Provinces, where æ also occurs as ɛ:, and ʌ before h as æ.

uttə́ri: hə́ʋɑ: ʌor ́su:rəʒ ɪs ́bɑ:t pʌr ʒhʌgəɾ rə́he: the:, ki hʌm do·́no:mẽ· kʌon ə́dhi:k bə́li: hæe, ɪt́ne:mẽ· gʌrəm ́ʧʌddər ˌ́ʧɑ:dərˌ o·́ɾhe: ́e:k bəṭo·́hi: rɑ:́hi: údhʌr ́ɑ: mɪklɑ:, un·do·́no:mẽ· jʌh ṭhʌh́rɑ:, ki ́ʒo: bəṭo·́hi:se· pʌh(ə)́le: ́ʧʌddər utəŕʋɑ: le:, ʋúhi: ə́dhi:k bə́li: səḿʒhɑ: ʒɑ:e·gɑ:. is pʌr uttə́ri: hə́ʋɑ: pu:́re: ́zo:r ke sɑ:th bʌh́ne: lə́gɪ:, pʌr ʋoh ́ʒjõ:́ʒjõ: bʌh́ti: gə́i:, ́tjõ:́tjõ: bəṭo·́hi: əṕni: ́de:hmẽ· ́ʧʌddərko· ́khu:b ləpeːṭ́tɑ: gəɛɑ:. ́ʌntmẽ· uttə́ri: hə́ʋɑ:ne· əpnɑ: ́ʒʌtən ́ʧho:ɾ diɑ:. pi:ʧhe: ́su:rəʒ tíkha:pən ke sɑ:th úgɑ:, ʌor us bəṭo·́hi:ne· túrʌt əṕni: ́ʧʌddər útɑ:r ɖɑ:li:. is lie: uttə́ri: hə́ʋɑ:ko· mɑ:ńnɑ: pə́ṛɑ:, ki do·́no:mẽ· su:rəʒ́hi: bə́li: hæe.

Literal Translation.—Northern Wind and Sun this affair upon having-quarrelled continued were, that "we two-among who much strong is", this-much-in warm sheet worn one traveller that-side having-come came-out. They-two-among this was-settled, that who traveller-from first sheet having-caused-to-remove may-take, he-indeed much strong considered will-go. This upon Northern Wind full strength of with to-blow began, but she as as blowing went, so so that traveller self-of body-on sheet-to much wrapping went. End-at Northern Wind-by self-of attempt having-let-go was-given. After (= then) Sun sharpness of with rose, and that traveller-by quickly self-of sheet having-removed was-put-off. That through Northern Wind-to to-acknowledge fell, that two-among Sun-indeed strong is.

MARWARI

(CHURU OR SHAIKHAWATI DIALECT)

Translated by Mr. Kalıprasad Khaitan, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, Calcutta High Court, and read by Chandiprasad Khaitan, B.A.

Marwari is a dialect of the Rajasthani Group. There is very little literary culture in it, High Hindi being in common use among its speakers.

Sounds mainly as in Hindi—only the cerebrals are stronger. h is a very weak sound, and is easily dropped. ś is a palatalized s.

uttə́ri: hə́ʋɑ: ɔ:r ́su:rəʒ ɑ:pəsri: mə́ ́ə̃ ́bɑ:t ko ́ʒikər kʌr rəjɑ: thɑ:, ki ́kunsəmə̃ ́beśśi: ʒo:r hə. itnəmə̃ gʌrəm ́ʧʌddər oḍḍ́jə̃: ́uṭṭhinə e:k ʒɑtt́ri: ́ɑ: nikljo:. únɑ:mə̃ jɑ: ́tʌj (h)o:i: ki ʒo: ́pæjli po:t ũ ʒɑtt́ri pɑ:ũ: ́ʧʌddər ut́rɑ:j le:go:, bo:́i: ́beśśi: ́ʒo:rʋɑ:n səḿʒjo ʒɑ:ʋəgo·. phe:r uttə́ri: hə́ʋɑ: pu:rə ́ʒo:rsə ʧɑ:lnə lɑggi:,

pʌɳ ʃʒit'ni:i: 'bɑ: ʧʌ:'lli:, ut'no:ɪ: 'bo: ʃʒatt'ri: ɑ:pkɪ: 'ʧʌddərnə kaṭṭh'i 'o:ṛto: gəjo:. 'se:śmə uttə'ri: hə'ʋɑ: ʧe:ʃṭɑ: 'ʧho:ṛ di:. ʃʒʌd 'su:rəʃʒ gʌrmɑ:'ɪ:kə sɑ·th ʧʌmək uṭṭh'jo:, ɔ:r tu'rʌnt 'bo: ʃʒatt'ri: ɑ:pki:'ʧʌddər u'tɑ:r di:. 'ə 'kɑ:rəɳ uttə'rɪ: hə'ʋɑ:nə mɑn'no: pə'ṛjo: ki 'ũ do'nuã:mə 'su:rəʃʒ 'beśśi 'ʃʒo:rʋɑ:n hə.

Literal Translation.—Northern Wind and Sun themselves-of among this affair of dispute having-done continued were, that whom-in much strength is. This-much-in warm sheet having-worn that-place one traveller having-come came-out. Them-among this agreement was that who first occasion that traveller from sheet having-caused-to-remove will-take, he-indeed much strong considered will-go. Then Northern Wind full strength-with to-blow began, but as-much-even she blew, so-much-even that traveller self-of sheet-to having-tightened wearing went. End-at Northern Wind (*ins.*) attempt having-let-go was-given. Then Sun warmth-of with having-shone rose, and quickly that traveller (*ins.*) self-of sheet having-removed was-given. This reason Northern Wind-to to-acknowledge fell that those two-among Sun much strong is.

WESTERN PANJABI

(MULTANI DIALECT)

Translated and read by Prof. Karm Narayan Bahl, M.A., D.Sc., of Muir College, Allahabad.

There is no literary culture of any Western Panjabi dialect, the speakers employing Hindostani (Hindi or Urdu), and Mr. Bahl's pronunciation is possibly affected by that of Hindostani.

Stress as in Hindostani.

pʌrbət-di: ʋɑ: te: surəʃʒ̃ ɑpəs ʋiccʃə lʌṛde: pɲe hʌnn ke keṛhɑ: un(h)ɑ̃: ʋiccʃũ: ḍhe:r trʌkṛɑ· he:. ɪtle ʋiccʃə hɪkk rɑ·(h)ɪ: gʌrəm ʧo:gɑ: pɑ·tje ho:e: ko:lũ ɑjɑ:. un(h)ɑ̃:ne e: Fæslɑ: ki:tɑ: ke ʃʒeṛhɑ: rɑ:(h)ɪ:-dɑ ʧo:gɑ: lʌʋhɑ: ḍeʋe:, u(h)o: un(h)ɑ̃: ʋiccʃũ: ḍhe:r trʌkṛɑ: səmʃʒhea:ʋesɪ. ʋɑ.tə pʌrbət-di: ʋɑ· ʌpɳɑ̃: sɑrɑ ʃʒo:r lɑ:ke ghullɪ:, pʌr ʃʒɪttɪ: ʃʒo:r-dɪ: ghullɑ:dɪ: hɑɪ, rɑ:(h)i: utti: ʃʒʌ:ɖɑ: ʌpɳɑ̃. ʧo:gɑ: ʌpɳe: utte: ʋhʌle:ṭ ghʊndɑ: hɑi ; ʌnticcʃə pʌrbət-dɪ· ʋɑ:-ne: ʃʒʌtən kʌrnɑ: ʧho:ṛ ḍɪttɑ:. ʋɑ:tə surəʃʒ̃ ḍhe:r gʌrmɪ: nɑ.l ʧʌmkəɳə lʌggɑ:, te. rɑ:(h)ɪ:ne: ʃʒhʌṭ ʌpɳɑ̃. ʧo:gɑ. lɑhɑ: sʌṭṭeɑ:. ĩ: tərũ: pʌrbət-dɪ: ʋɑ:kũ: mʌnɳɑ: peɑ: ke ḍuhɑ̃: ʋiccʃũ: surəʃʒ̃ ḍhe.r trʌkṛɑ: he:.

Literal Translation.—Mountain-of Wind and Sun themselves between striving it-may-fall are (3 = were disputing) that who them between much strong is. This-much between one traveller warm cloak worn been near came. Them-by this agreement was-made that who traveller-of cloak having-made-to-remove gives, he-even them between much strong will-be-understood. Then Mountain-of Wind self-of entire force having-brought blew, but as-much force-of blowing-she was, traveller so-much excessive self-of cloak self-of around wrapping was; end-at Mountain-of Wind-by attempt to-make having-let-go was-given. Then Sun much

warmth with to-shine began, and traveller-by quickly self-of cloak having-taken-off was-thrown. This way-by Mountain-of Wind-for to-acknowledge it-fell that two-persons between Sun much strong is.

SINDHI

Translated by Mr Shyamdas Parmanand Vaswani, M.A. (of Haidarabad-Sindh), late Professor in the St. Paul's Cathedral Mission College, Calcutta, who also assisted in the transcription.

ɓ', ɗ', ɠ' are the peculiar Sindhi sounds which are made with the simultaneous closure of the glottis, and have the characteristic hollow quality. ʈ, ɖ, ɳ are true retroflex sounds. ɾ is a strongly fricative ɹ. ɤ is the Arabic *ġayn*. ˀ ʱ are almost inaudible.

uttʌrəʄ͡ʒeˑ həˈʋɑː ʌĩ ˈsiɟ͡ʝə ˈpɑːɳˈmẽː peeˑ təkˈrɑːrʱ kʌɾoˌ tə mʌ̃nˈʄ͡ʒhɑuɳˈ ˈkeːrʱ ʋʌˈdhiːkˀ ˈɖˈɑːɖho. ˈʄ͡ʒʌ̃hte hikˈroː moˈsɑːfərʱ, ˈʄ͡ʒʌ̃hkheˑ gʌɾəm ˈc͡ʃoːɤoː pəheˈrjəlʱ hoː, əc͡ʃɪː lɑ̃ːɳˈɠhɑːu thjoː. unˈhənːˀ ˈpɑːɳˈmẽː thʌhəˈrɑːu kʌɾo, tə ʄ͡ʒe ˈkoː pəheˈrĩː moˈsɑːfərˀkhɑ̃ː ˈc͡ʃoːɤoː lʌhəˈrɑːindo, soː ˈɓˈeːkhɑ̃ː ʋʌˈdhiːkˀ ˈɖˈɑːɖho səmˈʄ͡ʒhʌɳˀnẽː ĩndo. uttʌrʱ ˈpʌ̃hnʄ͡ʒe ˈsʌbh ˈtɑːkətˀsɑ̃ː lʌgˈʌɳʱ ʃuˈruː kʌɾo. pʌrˀ ʄ͡ʒiə ʋʌˈdhiːkˀ pjo ləˈɠˈe, tɪə moˈsɑːfərʱ ʋʌˈdhiːkˀ soːˈɠhɑiəsɑ̃ː ˈc͡ʃoːɤoː pəjo ɓˈʌˈdhe. ɑˈxərˀ uttʌrˀ ˈpʌ̃hnʄ͡ʒɪː koːˈʃəʃ c͡ʃhəˈɖˈe ɖˈɪˈniː. poːe ˈsiɟ͡ʝʱ ˈteː-ʄ͡ʒˀsɑ̃ː ˈc͡ʃɲkəɳˈ ləˈgˈoː. ʌĩ hɪkəˈdʌm moˈsɑːfərə ˈc͡ʃoːɤoː lɑːhe c͡ʃhʌɖˈˈjo. ʌĩ ˈtʌ̃hkəre uttʌrə həˈʋɑːkhe lɑˈc͡ʃɑːr thɪˑ kəˈbuːl kərˀˈɳo pjo, tə khɑ̃ːũsˀ ˈsiɟ͡ʝʱ ʋʌˈdhiːkˈ ˈɖˈɑːɖho.

Literal Translation.—North-of Wind and Sun-by self-amid it-falls (= *prog. auxiliary*) dispute was-done (3 = dispute was taking place), that out-of-them who much strong. That-at one traveller, whom-to warm cloak wrapped was, having-come passer was (3 = happened to pass by). Them-by self-amid agreement was-made, that who anyone (2 = whoever) first-at traveller-from cloak will-get-removed, he two-from much strong understanding-in will-be. Norther self-of all might-with to-blow commencement made. But as-much much fell may-blow (blows) (2 = was blowing), so-much traveller much closeness-with cloak fell may-bind (binds) (2 = was tightening). End-at Norther-by self-of attempt having-let-go was-given. Then Sun warmth-with to-shine began; and one-breath (= immediately) traveller-by cloak having-put-off was-removed. And therefore North-of Wind-for obliged having-been acknowledgment to-make it-fell, that from-him Sun much strong.

GUJARATI

(PARSI DIALECT)

Translated and read by Dr I. J. S. Taraporewala M.A., Ph.D. (Wurzburg), Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Calcutta.

ɳ is more alveolar than retroflex; the same can be said of ʈ, ɖ also. ɽ is a flap sound.

utˈtʌrnɑ ˈpʌʋən ʌne ˈsuːrəʄ͡ʒ ʋʌɛc͡ʃe təkˈrɑ r c͡ʃɑːlɪ, ke ˈbɛ mɑ̃ ˈkoːɳ ʋəˈdhɑːre ʄ͡ʒorɑˈʋər. ˈtetlɑ̃ː ek muˈsɑːfər, ʄ͡ʒe ˈɠʌrəm kəpˈɽɑːmɑ̃

ʋiʈlaːjlo əto·, te ˈɑ·ʋi lɑ·gо. ˈbeu ʃ͡ʒʌn kəˈbuːl thəˈjɑː, ke ˈɑːj muˈsɑːfər pɑːse ˈteːno ˈdʌglo ʃ͡ʒe ˈkoːi utˈrɑːʋe, te ʋəˈdhɑːre ʃ͡ʒorɑ·ʋər gəˈnɑːj. ˈtɑːre utˈtʌrnɑ ˈpʌʋəne poˈtɑːnɑ purɑ̃· ˈʃ͡ʒoːrthɪ ˈfukʋɑ· mɑ̃·ɖjũ, pʌɳ ʃ͡ʒɛmʃ͡ʒɛm ʋəˈdhɑːre ˈʃ͡ʒoːrthɪ te ˈfukjo·, tɛmtɛm te muˈsɑːfərе poˈtɑːnɪ ɑspɑs te ˈɖʌglo ʋəˈdhɑːre ˈʈaiʈ ʋɪˈʈɑːljo, ne ˈʧ͡ʃheˈlle sərˈʋɑːle utˈtʌrnɑ ˈpʌʋəne poˈtɑːni koˈʃeˑʃ ˈpʌrti nɑ.khɪ. ˈtɑːrpʌʧ͡ʃhɪ ˈsuːrəʃ͡ʒe ɡhʌɳũ ˈʃ͡ʒoːrthi prəˈkɑːʃʋɑ mɑ̃·ɖjũ, ne thoˑˈɽɑːʃ͡ʒ ʋəˈxʌtmɑ̃ pelɑ muˈsɑːfərе poˈtɑːno ˈɖʌglo ˈkɑːɽi nɑ·khjo. ne ˈtɑːre utˈtʌrnɑ pʌʋənne kəˈbuːl kʌrʋũ pʌɽjũ, ke ˈbɛːmɑ̃ ˈsuːrəʃ͡ʒ ʋəˈdhɑːre ʃ͡ʒorɑ·ʋər uto.

Literal Translation.—North-of Wind and Sun amidst dispute was-gone, that two-amid who more strong. Then one traveller, who warm cloth-in wrapped was, he having-come began (2 = came along). Two persons agreement became, that that traveller from he-of (his) cloak who anyone (2 = whoever) may-cause-to-take-off, he more strong may-be-counted. Then North-of Wind-by self-of full force-with to-blow it-was-begun, but as-as more force-with he blew, so-so that traveller-by self-of side-and-side that cloak more "tight" was folded, and last account-in (2 = at last) North-of Wind-by self-of attempt abandoned was-dropped. Then-after Sun-by much strength-with to-shine it-was-begun, and short-even time-in that traveller-by self-of cloak having-removed was-dropped. And then North-of Wind-by agreement (acknowledgment) to-make it-fell, that two-amid Sun more strong was.

MARATHI

Translated and read by Pandit Sitaram Narahari Shastri Shende, of Poona, Lecturer in Sanskrit in the University of Calcutta.

ʦ ʤ are assibilated sounds. ʈ ɖ ɳ ɭ ʃ are true retroflex sounds. ɾ is developed from an intervocal ɖ, and is a flap-sound, as in other Indo-Aryan languages.

ʌ is an o pronounced with spread lips, and ɪ is the Marathi substitute for ordinary Indian ʌ.

utˈtʌreːʦə ʋəˈjuː ʋʌ ˈsuːrʲ ɑpˈljɑ məɖˈdhje ˈbhɑːɳɖət hote: kĩː, ɑpˈljɑ məɖˈdhje əˈdhɪk səˈmʌrthjəʋɑːn koːɳ. ʧjɑʋeˈɭes ɛːk prəˈʋɑːʃiː ɡoːdhˈɾiː: pɑ̃ŋˈgh(ə)ˈruːn ˈʤɑːt hotɑ. ʧjɑˈnĩː əˈsẽ· ʈhʌrəʊ(i)ˈlẽ kĩː, ˈʤo koːɳiː prəˈʋɑːʃjɑs ɑːpˈlɪ: ɡoːdhˈɾiː: phẽˈkuːn ˈdjɑːʋəjɑːs lɑˈʋiːl, to əˈdhik bʌlʋɑːn sʌməʤ(ə)ˈlɑ ʤɑˈɾɪːl. nəntʌr ʋəˈjuː soˈsɑːʧɑne ʋəˈhũ: lɑɡlɑː ʋəˈjuːʦə ˈʤoːr ˈʤʌsʤəsɑ əˈdhik hoˈɑ̃: lɑɡlɑ, ˈtʌstəsɑ to prəˈʋɑːʃi ɑpˈlɪ: goːdhˈɾɪ: ɑpˈljɑ ˈbhõːʊtĩ əˈdhik ɡũˈɖɑːɭĩ lɑɡlɑː. sərˈteʃeː-ʊ(ə)ʈi ʋəˈjuːnẽ prəˈjʌtn̩ kʌrˈɳɑːʦe soˈɾuːn dilẽː. nəntʌr ˈsuːrʲ ɑpˈljɑ uʃɳəˈteːne əˈʈɪʃʌ prəˈkhʌr hoˈũː lɑɡlɑː. teˈʊhɑ̃: prəˈʋɑːʃjɑne ɑpˈliː goːdhˈɾɪ: ˈduːr phẽkuːn dɪh.. əˈʃɑː rɪtɪne ʋəˈjuːs kəˈbuːl kʌrɳẽ ˈbhɑːg pʌrlẽ kĩː, doˈghɑːməɖˈdhjẽ ˈsuːrʲ əˈdhik bʌlʋɑːn.

Literal Translation.—North-of Wind and Sun themselves amidst disputing were that, themselves amidst much strong who. That-time-in one traveller blanket having-wrapped going was. By-them this was-

agreed that, who any-one (2 = whoever) traveller-from self-of blanket having-thrown-off to-give-for (2 = to have removed) will-cause-to-do, he much strong considered will-go (= will be). Then Wind whistling-with (= with greatest force) to-blow began. Wind-of force as-much-as-much much to-be began, so-much-so-much that traveller self-of blanket self-of sides much to-tighten began. Consequence-end-in Wind-by attempt to-make-of having-abandoned was-given. Then Sun self-of warmth-with excessive fierce to-be began. Even-then traveller-by self-of blanket far having-thrown was-given. This way-by Wind-for acknowledgment to-make fate befell that, two-amidst Sun much strong.

TELUGU

(COLLOQUIAL)

Translated and read by Mr. Jonnalagadda Satyanarayana Pantulu, of Rajahmundry, Student in Calcutta.

The plosives have a slight aspiration. A final syllable at the end of a breath-group not finishing a sentence has a rising pitch ; otherwise there seems to be no accentuation. ś is a palatalized s.

uttʌrəpu-gɑ:lini su:rjuɖunnu ʋɑ:ɭlɑ.llo: jɛʋəɖu bʌləmʌinəʋɑ:ɖəni ʋɑ:dintsukuɳtuuɳɖəgɑ:, ʋɛttsəni pɛddəko:ɳu toɖukkuni dɑ:re:po:ʋʋɑ:ɖokəɖ-occʃɑ:ɖu. ʋɑ:ɭlu dɑ:re:po:ʋʋɑ:ɳɳi ʋɑ:ɖi ko:ɳnu mɔṭṭɑmodəṭ-ɛʋəɖu ti:śikoneṭəṭṭu cʃe:stɑ:ɖo:, ʋɑ:ɖu reɳɖo:ʋɑ:ɖikʌnnə bʌləmʌməʋɑ:ɖəni ʌnuko:ʋɑ:ləni ʋoppuɖələcʃe:sukunnɑ:ru. ʌppuɖu uttʌrəpu-gɑ.li tʌnə bʌləmukoddi ʋi:cʃenu, kɑ:ni gɑ:li jekkuʋəgɑ: ʋi:cʃnəkoddi, dɑ:re:po:-ʋʋɑ:ɖu ʋɑ:ɖi ko:ɳnu tsuṭṭu mʌrintə dʌggʌrəgɑ: tsuṭṭəbeṭṭukunnɑ:ɖu. cʃiṭṭʌcʃiʋʌrəkı uttʌrəpu-gɑ:li tʌnə prəjʌtnɑ:nni mɑ:neše:šenu. ʌppuɖu su:rjuɖu ti:ʈʃəɳʌŋgɑ: prəkɑ:śintsəgɑ:, ʋeṇṭəne dɑ:re:po:ʋʋɑ:ɖu ʋɑ:di ko:ɳnu ti:še:šɑ:ɖu. ʌncʃe:tə uttʌrəpu-gɑ:li, ʋɑ:ɭliddʌrlo: su:rjuɖe: bʌləmʌməʋɑ:ɖəni ʋoppukoʋʌləśiʋʌccʃenu.

Literal Translation.—Northern-Wind-and Sun-and they-among who strong-person-having-said (= as a strong one) dispute-having-taken (bought)-having-been-while (= while they were disputing among themselves), warm big-"coat" to-wear-having-taken (= having worn, *reflexive*) road-in-he-that-goes one came-he. They road-in-he-that-goes (*acc.*) his "coat" (*acc*) first (*emphatic*) who having-removed-take-like (= as to cause to remove) will-make-whoever, he second-(other)-person-than strong-person-having-said think-must-having-said (=as) agreement-to-do-took-(bought)-they. Then Northern-Wind self-of strength-all blew-it, but Wind the-more having-blown-much, road-in-he-that-goes his "coat" (*acc.*) around the-more closely to-wrap-round-took-he (*reflexive*). Last-at (*emphatic*) Northern-Wind self-of endeavour (*acc.*) stopped-it. Then Sun excessively shining-while, immediately road-in-he-that-goes his "coat" (*acc.*) took-off-he. Therefore Northern-Wind they-two-persons-among Sun-indeed strong-person-having-said (= as) agree-take-having-wished-(= must)-came (= was forced to agree).

KANNADA (CANARESE)

(COLLOQUIAL)

Translated and read by Mr. Ramaraja Puttaraja Urs, B.A., of Mysore City, Student in the University of Calcutta

The stops have a slight aspiration. The cerebrals are true retroflex sounds. ɔ is a rather low sound. Stress is mostly on the root syllable, which is initial; the final vowel in a breath-group is pronounced at a high pitch, and is slightly prolonged. h is voiced.

uttʌrəgɑ.ḷiju mʌttu su:rjənu tʌnnəlli ja:ru hecc͡ʃu bʌlə𐞥ʌntərendu 𐞥iə𐞥ɑ:də𐞥ɑ:ḍuttiddəru. ɑ:gə 𐞥obbə prəjɑ.ṇikənu mʌnne:le 𐞥ondu nilu𐞥ʌŋgijənnu ha:kikoṇḍu bʌndənu. ja:ru mudəlu prəjɑ·ṇikənu tʌnnə nilu𐞥ʌŋgijənnu tegeduhuḍu𐞥əha ge mɑ:ḍutta:ro:, ʌ𐞥ərɔ: hecc͡ʃu bʌlifʃtərendu, ʌ𐞥əru 𐞥oppikoṇḍəru. nʌntərə uttʌrəgɑ·ḷiju bʌlə𐞥ɑ:ɡi bɪ.situ. ɑ:dəre prəja:ṇikənu, uttʌrəgɑ·ḷiju jefʃtu ɟ͡ʒo:rɑ·ɡi bɪ sito:, ʌfʃtu gʌṭṭijɑ:ɡi tʌnnə nilu𐞥ʌŋgijənnu tʌnnə suttə suttikoṇḍənu. konege uttʌrəgɑ:ḷiju tʌnnə prəjʌtnə𐞥ɔnnu biṭṭitu. nʌntərə su:rjənu sudu𐞥ɑ·ha:ge kɑ.dənu. tʌkkʃəɲə𐞥e prəjɑ·ṇikənu tʌnnə nilu𐞥ʌŋgijənnu tegeduhɑ.kibuṭṭənu. hi:ge uttʌrəgɑ:ḷiju, ʌ𐞥əribbərʌlli su rjənu hecc͡ʃu bʌlə𐞥ʌntənendu 𐞥oppikoḷḷəbe·kɑ·jitu.

Literal Translation.— North-Wind and Sun self-among who more strong-having-said (= as) dispute-doing-were-they. Then one traveller body-upon one long-coat (*acc.*) having-put-on-having-taken came-he. Who first traveller self-of long-coat (*acc.*) having-removed-having-left-so will-do-he (*hon.*)-maybe, they-indeed (= he, *hon.*) more strong-having-said (= as), they having-agreed-took-they. Then North-Wind strongly blew-it. But traveller, North-Wind how-much strongly blew-it-maybe, that-much firmly self-of long-coat (*acc.*) self-of round having-put-round-took-he. End-at North-Wind self-of attempt (*acc.*) gave-up-it. Then Sun warmly shone-he. Immediately traveller self-of long-coat (*acc.*) having-removed-having-thrown-gave-up-he. So North-Wind, they-two-persons-among Sun more strong-having-said (= as) having-agreed-to-take-it-was-wanted (= had to agree).

TAMIL

Translated and read by Mr. T. E. Sundaram Pillai, of Tinnevelly, Student in the Presidency College, Calcutta.

ṭ ḍ ṇ ḷ ɻ are true cacuminals (retroflex sounds). ɻ and ɾ are fricative r sounds, respectively retroflex and alveolar. ṯ, ḏ are alveolar sounds, occurring only as ṯṯ(ɾ) and nḏɾ. The distinction between the rolled forward retroflex r, and the ordinary rolled alveolar r, as well as the interdental n, and the ordinary alveolar n, is not indicated, the transcriber finding it difficult to distinguish the very slight difference which exists, no doubt, but probably is not of phonemic importance. t, k often aspirated (th-, kh-, -tth-, -kkh-). ð ɣ occur in the interior of a word, and ɣ is sometimes unvoiced to x. ɯ is an u with unrounded lips, with probably advanced tongue position.

Enunciation very rapid. Root-syllables, generally initial, bear the stress.

ʋʌɖəgaːʈʈɯm suːrjənum jaːr dʒaːsti bʌləʋaːn jenɖɯ tʌrkkittɯ koɳɖirɯkkʌijil, ʋoru prəjaːɲi ʃriðɯ ʋeppəmaːnə ʋoːr uɖʌijeit tʌrittɯ kkoɳɖɯ ʌʋʊɹije: ʋʌnðaːn. ʌnðə prəjaːɲijɯɳɖʌijə uɖʌijei jaːr muðəlil jeɖɯkkumbəḍi ʃejʋɪkkiraːnoː, ʌʋəne: ʃɪrʌndə bʌləʋaːn jɛnək kʌrɯðə ʋeːɳɖum, jenɖɯ ʌʋərgəl sʌmməðittɯk koɳɖaːrgəl. pirəgɯ ʋʌɖəgaːʈʈɯm tʌnnuɖʌijə muɹu bʌləttoɖɯ ʌɖikkət toɖəŋginaːn. aːnaːl jeʋʊəlʌʋɯ dʒaːstijaːgə ʌɖikkəp prəjʌttənittaːnoː, ʌʋʊələʋɪkkʌʋʊələʋɯ prəjaːɲijum tʌn uɖʌijei dʒaːstijaːgə muːɖikkoɳɖaːn. muɖiʋil ʋʌɖəgaːʈʈɯm ʌʋənuɖʌijə prəjʌttənəttei ʋiʈʈɯ ʋiʈʈaːn. pirəgɯ suːrjen tʌnnuɖʌijə ʋeppəttei ʋeḷi ʋiʈʈaːn. ʌppoɹuðe: prəjaːɲijum tʌnnuɖʌijə poːrʋʌijei jeɖuttɯ ʋiʈʈaːn. aːgʌijinaːl ʋʌɖəgaːʈʈɯm ʌʋərgəliruʋəril suːrjəneː mikkə bʌləʋaːn jɛnə ʋoppukkoḷḷumbəḍi neːrnðəð ɯ.

Literal Translation.—North-Wind-and Sun-and who much strong having-said (= so) having-disputed having-taken-being-at (2 = while they were continuing to dispute), one traveller little-that hot-that-was (2 = warm) one cloth (*acc.*) having-worn having-taken that-way-even came-he. That traveller-of cloth (*acc.*) who first-at that-will-remove-according cause-to-do-he-maybe, him-even goodly strong to-say (= so) to-consider it-is-necessary (2 = must consider), having-said (= that) they having-agreed took-they (3 = they agreed). After (= then) North-Wind self-of whole strength-with to-blow began-he. That-which-became-if (= but) what-measure much-to-become (= excessively) to-blow attempted-he-indeed, that-measure-to-that-measure traveller-also self cloth (*acc.*) much-to-become having-wrapped took-he. End-at North-Wind he-of attempt (*acc.*) having-left left-he. After Sun self-of heat (*acc.*) out left-he (2 = gave out). That-time-even (= then) traveller-also self-of cloak (*acc.*) having-removed left-he. By-the-becoming-even (= therefore) North-Wind they-two-persons-among Sun-even too-much (= more) strong to-say (= so) that-will-take-to-agree-according happened-it (= as for the North-Wind, it was to agree that, etc.).

MALAYALAM

Translated and read by Mr. Chittur Telakkat Narayana Menon, B.A., of Cochin, Malabar. Revised with the help of Mr. Lakshmipuram A. Ravivarma in London.

Sounds much as in Tamil. Distinction between the "palatal" and alveolar r-sounds, and between the alveolar and the interdental n-sounds, have not been indicated. th in ʌthikəm is probably an unvoiced d + h. Stress as in Tamil.

ʋʌṭəkkən kaṯṯum suːrjənum tʌmmil aːraːɲə ʌthikəm bɛləʋaːn jennə tʌrkkicc͡ʃə koɳɖirikkɯmboḷ, ʋoru ʋaɹijaːttrʌkkaːrən c͡ʃuːɖuḷḷə kuppaːjeʋum thʌrɪcc͡ʃə ʌʋiṭe ʋʌnnu. aːroruttən aː ʋaɹijaːttrʌkkaːrəne tanṯe deːhʌttilninnə kuppaːjəm jeɖuppikkunnuʋoː, ʌʋən mʌṯṯəʋəneka:l bɛləʋaːn aːɲennə ʋic͡ʃaːrikkənəmennə ʌʋər sʌmmədic͡ʃu. pinne

ʋʌṭəkkən kaṯṯə tanṭe ʃʌkti muṯuʋənum iṯṯə ʋi:ʃi. jenna:l ʌtə jettrət-to:ləm ʌthikəm ʋi:ʃijo: ʌttrətto:ləm ʋaɳja:ttrʌkka:rən tanṭe kuppa:jətte de:həttil muruge muḍi. ʋoḍuʋil ʋʌṭəkkən kaṯṯə tanṭe ʃrʌməm kʌiʋeḍiɲɲu. pɪnnɪḍə su:rjən cʃu:ḍoḍe: prəka:ʃɪkkukʌjum uṭəne:tʌnne ʋaɳija:ttrʌkka:rən tanṭe kuppa:jətte jeḍukkukʌjum cʃejdu. ʌtukoɳḍə ʌʋəriruʋərilum ʋecʃə su:rjənə:ɳə ʌthɪkəm bɛləʋa:n jennə ʋʌṭəkkən kaṯṯinə sʌmmədikkeɳḍi ʋʌnnu.

Literal Translation.—Northern Wind-and Sun-and self-among who-is much strong having-said (= as) having-disputed having-taken-being-while (2 = while they were continuing to dispute), one way-farer warm cloak-and having-worn that-place (=there) came. Whoever that way-farer (*acc.*) his body-from cloak having-caused-to-remove-who, he other-than strong is-that consider-should-that they consented. Then Northern Wind his strength whole-and having-put blew. But that what-measure much blew-maybe, so-much-measure way-farer his cloak (*acc.*) body-upon closely folded. Last-at Northern Wind his labour hand-left (= left off). Afterwards Sun warmly having-shone-and immediately way-farer his cloak (*acc.*) having-removed-and did. That-with (= therefore) they-two-persons-among-and having-placed Sun-is much strong having-said (= as) North-wind-to having-agreed it-came.

SINHALESE

(COLLOQUIAL)

Translated and read by Swami Rambukwelle Siddhartha, Sastravisarada, Vinayacharya, of Uposothatama, Kandy (Ceylon), Lecturer in Pali and Sinhalese in the University of Calcutta.

p-, t-, ṭ-, k-, and r have a slight aspiration. ŋ̆ is a very short sound.

uturuhuləŋ̆gʌt su:rgjəja:t ʌtəre: e:denna:gen kʌʋuru ʋæḍije bʌlə-sʌmpʌnnədə kija: ʋiʋa:dəjʌk una:. etokoṭəmə u:ʃnəreddʌk porəʋa:gʌt mʌgijek a:ʋa. etendi: e:denna:gen pʌləmukoṭə mʌgija:ge: porəʋənəjə ʌhʌkkərəʋənṭə puluʋʌn ekkena: ʋæḍije bʌləsʌmpʌnnəja: hæṭijəṭə piligʌnṭə ekəŋ̆gəuna:. etendi: uturuhuləŋ̆gə puluʋʌn sʌktijen hʌmʌnṭə pʌṭʌŋgʌtta:. numut eja: tʌdin hʌmʌnṭə hʌmʌnṭə mʌgijʌt ʋæḍije ʋæḍije tʌdə kərə kərə reddə porʌʋa:gʌtta:. ʌntime:di: uturuhuləŋ̆gə utsa:hə no kərə ʌttærija:. etendi: su:rgja: unuhumʋa: bʌbəlʌnṭə pʌṭʌŋgʌtta:. etokoṭəmə mʌgijʌt porəʋənəjə ʌhʌkəṭəgʌtta:. etendi: e:denna:gen irə ʋæḍije bʌləsʌmpʌnnəjə hæṭijətə uturuhuləŋ̆gəṭə piligʌnṭə siddə una:.

Literal Translation.—North-Wind-and Sun-and between that-two-of who much strong-? having-said (= as) dispute-one was. Then-verily warm-cloth-one having-covered traveller-one came. Then that-two-of first traveller-of cloak to-cause-to-take-off able one-person much strong according-to to-accept one-body-were (= were unanimous). Then North-Wind (with-all-his)-ability strength-with to-blow began. But he strongly to-blow to-blow traveller-also much much tight having-done

having-done cloth having-wrapped-took (= wrapped). Last-at North-Wind attempt (endeavour) not having-done hand-gave-up (= desisted). Then Sun warm-having-been (= warmly) to-shine began. Then-verily traveller-also cloak away-took. Then that-two-of Sun much strong according-to North-Wind-to to-accept accomplished was.

The above transcription has been revised with the help of Mr. H. S. Perera, of the University College, London, the joint author, with Mr. Daniel Jones, of *A Colloquial Sinhalese Reader* (Manchester University Press, 1919), which has a valuable introduction on the sounds of Sinhalese. In that work a has been used for both ɑ and ʌ as above.

The language of the above translation has one or two literary words. A translation of the same fable, entirely in the colloquial, by Mr. Perera, has since been published, in phonetic transcription, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* ("A Specimen of Colloquial Sinhalese", by H. S. Perera and Daniel Jones, JRAS. for April 1921, pp. 209–10).

THE RELIGION OF THE KURDS

By G. R. Driver, Magdalen College, Oxford

AMONGST the Kurds there is found a considerable variety of religions, which has caused unfavourable observers to regard them as idolatrous.[1] Not only are the Christians of several dominations represented among them, but also the Muslims, who form the predominant *millah* or creed among the peoples of Kurdistân[2]; in addition to these there are several less important sects, of which by far the most important are the Qizilbâsh and the Yazîdî Kurds.

Of the Christian sects in Kurdistân there are three, the Jacobites, the Armenians, and the Nestorians. Of these the Armenians are most important in the north, where Kurdistân and Armenia adjoin one another. The Armenians are divided into two parties: the uniate Armenians are those who are in communion with the Roman Church, while those who refuse to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope constitute the non-uniate church. But few Kurds belong to either the Armenian or the Jacobite Church. It is the Nestorian branch which embraces the largest number of Kurds; the Nestorians and the Kurds are racially closely related through inter-marriage, and, when a Kurd adopts Christianity, it is to the Church of Nestorius that he usually turns; further, though inter-marriage between Sunnî Muslims and Christians of any sect is discountenanced, it is by no means uncommon at the present day for a Kurd to court a Nestorian girl and take her to wife.[3] But the dominant religion throughout the country is naturally Islâm, the religion of a long succession of conquerors and of all the surrounding races with whom the Kurd comes into closest contact; but it is often a form of Islâm contaminated by pagan superstitions and strange rites, many of which are said to have points of resemblance with Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and other heathen cults. These corruptions, grafted on to the religion

[1] Ibn-ul-Athîr calls them *mushrikîn*, "polytheists" or "idolaters" (*Kâmil*, iii, 37).

[2] The attitude of the Kurds towards Judaism is uncertain; for, whereas the Talmud forbids the admission of Kurdish proselytes (*Yebāmôth*, Jer. i, 6; Bab. 16*a*), Mas'ûdî, the Arab traveller and geographer, is said to have recorded that "Jews are often found among them" (Al-Ansârî, *Nukhbat-ul-Dahr*, p. 19).

[3] It is said that Mas'ûdî found Kurds who professed Christianity in the tenth century (Al-Ansârî, *Nukhbat-ul-Dahr*, p. 19).

of Islâm, however, await fuller investigation by an inquirer familiar with every branch of that creed. It should be added that those Kurds who are Muslims are almost entirely Sunnî or orthodox Muslims, and this partly helps to explain their hostility to the Persians, who are notorious for their Shî'î leanings.[1]

But it is not here the place to explain the tenets of such well-known creeds as Christianity or Islâm, but to give some account of certain religions more or less peculiar to the Kurds.[2] Of these there are three, that of the Qizilbâsh, the Bâbî, and the Yazîdî, the last being not only the most peculiar but by far the most important of the lesser faiths professed by the Kurds.

The word Qizilbâsh originally meant "red head" and was applied to certain Shî'î Persians, who lived on the Turkish frontier near Adharbaijân and many of whom have settled in Asia Minor in the neighbourhood of Angora and elsewhere, from the red caps which they always wore. But the religion of the modern Qizilbâsh, who are said to number 45,000 persons, bears now but little resemblance to the Shî'î faith and has become, under the influence of the Kurds, nothing but a very degraded superstition. They worship a large black dog, in which they see the image of the divinity, and seem entirely ignorant of any definite doctrines or religious practices. Once a year they unite in an isolated spot to celebrate a ceremony which leaves far behind in its shameless rites those of the oriental Bona Dea at Rome. There, after prayers noteworthy only for revolting cynicism and an invocation of the deity of fecundity, the lights are extinguished and the sexes intermingle without regard to age or the ties of kinship. They have no legal existence in the Turkish Empire, and their scandalous rites enjoy only a secret indulgence. They avow no beliefs, but they always give themselves out for orthodox Muslims, that they may enjoy the civil rights permitted to the adherents of that religion.

The sect of the Bâbî was founded in Persia in A.D. 1844 and 1845 by Mîrzâ 'Alî Muḥammad of Shîrâz, who was himself put to death at

[1] Saladin and his descendants, the champions of Islâm against Christianity, were Sunni Muslims; yet their antagonism to Christianity did not prevent, if not Saladin himself, at least some of his family from making use of the services of Christian physicians; the names of two are known, Ya'qûb ibn Ḍaqlân, employed by the Ayyûbî in Jerusalem, and Ḥasnûn, who served another branch of the same family at Urfah and Diyârbakr (Abu-'l Faraj, *Târîkh Mukhtaṣar-ud-Duwal*, ed. Pococke, pp. 482–4).

[2] See T. Gilbert, "Note sur les Sectes dans le Kurdistan," in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1873, vii, 2, pp. 393–5.

Tabrîz by the orders of the Persian Government, the execution being carried out by a company of Shiqaqî Kurds; but the movement was carried on by a succession of devoted adherents of the Bâb and now has its headquarters at 'Akkâ in Syria. The Bâbî dispute the authenticity of the Qur'ân and as a consequence reject all the teaching derived from the commentaries upon it. They have replaced it by an enormous mass of writings, so unsystematically arranged that their teaching on many points is very obscure. They refuse to acknowledge the authority of the *mullâ* in religious matters but accept the mission of the prophet Muḥammad, at least in appearance; for they claim that the traditions have been altered and corrupted with the course of time and that the *mullâ* is but the usurper, so to say, of the divine law. They are charged with communism and even with preaching the promiscuous use of women, but probably falsely. They believe in a kind of transmigration of souls: a Bâbî who dies to-day in the true faith rests for several days in an intermediate stage, when his soul enters the body of another Bâbî, who is at once, as it were, identified with the dead man. Thanks to this doctrine, the Bâbî is immortal; death is only an absence of short duration before the opening of another life. This transmigration is traced very far back, the soul of each chief being regarded as that of some *îmâm* or legendary hero of the Shî'î faith. The number of the adherents of this creed in Kurdistân is said not to exceed 5,000 souls, who inhabit chiefly the villages of the Hakkârî country between Bâsh Qal'ah and Katur near the Turco-Persian frontier. Their chiefs exact implicit obedience from their followers and an inviolate pledge of secrecy in regard to their religious practices, and in return receive as implicit an obedience as did once the *Shaikh* of the Mountain.

There are also a few whole tribes which worship the trees of the forest and have altars formed of rude blocks of stone, like dolmens or menhirs, in the secret recesses of their country; these people are probably to be identified with the Zâzâ Kurds, who are dispersed throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Of the Yazîdî Kurds it is almost impossible to estimate the numbers, for they are found scattered throughout Kurdistân from northern Syria to the Persian frontier, though the great bulk of them are naturally settled on the Jabal Sinjâr and round the religious centre of their race, the shrine of the Shaikh 'Adî, near the village of Al-Qawsh; Gilbert, however, in the above-quoted work,[1] suggests 30,000

[1] Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

in round numbers, and Jacob estimated that the total number of the Yazîdî on the Jabal Sinjâr alone is about 8,000 or 10,000 persons.[1]

The origin of this sect is buried in profound obscurity. Hammer-Purgstall seems to regard them as the descendants of the old Mardi whom Strabo and others mention;[2] the Mardi were an old Persian sect who worshipped the principle of evil and from them the historian thinks that the Yazîdî inherited their devil-worship just as he would derive the sun-worship of a small sect called the Shamsî, who live near Mârdîn, from the ancient Sabaeans.[3] It is, at any rate, certain that their religion is centred round the shrine of a saint whose name is the Shaikh 'Adî. The Arabic historians[4] relate that the Shaikh was born at Bait Fâr in the district of Ba'albakk, and that he migrated to the country of the Hakkârî, where he gave himself up to a life of extraordinary asceticism and is believed even to have performed miracles. There he lived till the age of ninety years and died in A.D. 1160 or 1162. Beyond the fact that his family is supposed to have been connected with the Umaiyad Caliphs, nothing further is known of him.

The origin of the name Yazîdî is even more obscure. The god Yazîd is clearly a late creation, invented to account for a title otherwise inexplicable, a view confirmed by Ibn Khallikân's statement that the sect was originally called the 'Adawîyah. Others have supposed that the name is derived from Yazîd I (A.D. 680–3), the second Umaiyad Caliph. The suggestion that it is derived from *yazdân*, the Persian word for "god", is perhaps the most probable view, although still somewhat unsatisfactory.[5]

The Yazîdî are regarded by Muslims as apostates from Islâm, and consequently the accounts given of them are often distorted, not only through ignorance but also through *odium theologicum*. Their beliefs seem to be a confused medley of Jewish legends overlaid with

[1] Jacob, "Ein neuer Text uber die Jezidis," in *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Orients*, 1909, vol. vii, pp. 30–5.

[2] See Strabo, *Geogr.*, pp. 523, 524, and 727; Plinius, *Hist. Nat.*, vi, 27; Arrianus, *Anab.*, iii, 24.

[3] Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. ii, pp. 443–5.

[4] See Ibn Khallikân, *Kitâb Wafayât-al-A'yân* (ed. MacGuckin de Slane), vol. ii, pp. 197–8, who adds that his full name was 'Adî ibn Musâfir and that a religious order, called the *'adawîyah*, was named after him.

[5] The derivation of the word from Yazd, the capital of the province of Yazd in Persia, presumably on the ground that Yazd is a stronghold of the Zoroastrians, with whose religion that of the Yazidî is supposed to show certain affinities, is highly improbable.

the crassest superstitions, of many of which it is now quite impossible to trace the source. Thus they derive the origin of the human race from the same beginnings as the Jews, claiming that, while Christians, Jews, and Muslims were sprung from Adam and Eve, their own patriarchs were the descendants of a certain Shahîd, the son of Adam alone. After the deluge, of which Noah and his family were the sole survivors, there was a second flood, from which the Yazîdî race were preserved in the person of Na'mî, surnamed Malik Mîrân, who thus became the second founder of their race. They believe in seven gods, one of whom came down onto the earth and created Adam and Eve, and all of whom descend once in every thousand years in order to perform miracles and lay down laws for the human race. Another of their gods is Yazîd,[1] whom we have seen to be in all probability a pseudonymous hero invented to account for their religious appellation, an apostate from Islâm who also has visited the world in order to teach his followers his own faith and to instruct them in the paths of justice. At the same time he is said to have bestowed on his chosen people seven *sanâjaq* or symbols, wrought in bronze in the form of a peacock, under which form the divinity is to be adored. Yet another of their gods is called Malik Ṭâ'ûs or the "King Peacock". They hold also that Muḥammad, whom they suppose to be a prophet of the Ismâ'îlî sect, was inspired by God, and that hell was created at the same time as Adam for the punishment of the wicked.

It is clear, however, that the Yazîdî recognize one Supreme Being, although they seem neither to pray to him nor to make any offerings to him; but at the same time they recognize an evil spirit of whom their dread is so great that they will not utter his name.[2] This evil spirit or the devil it is which is represented under the bronze bird known as the *Malik Ṭâ'ûs* or "King Peacock". The chief symbol of the *Malik Ṭâ'ûs* remains always with the great Shaikh, and is carried

[1] The only regular fast enjoined on them is that in honour of the death of Yazid, which is held annually for three days in December.

[2] In the avoidance of ill-omened words the Yazîdî are very strict. It is forbidden to them, for example, not only to mention *shaiṭân* (Satan), *iblîs* (the devil), Ahriman (the principle of evil), or to use the words *la'an* (cursed), and its derivatives *la'nah* (curse) and *ma'lûn* (accursed), and *rajîm* ("stoned", a title for Satan in the Qur'ân), but also even to employ words of a similar sound, such as *shaṭṭ* (stream), as resembling *shaiṭân*, and *na'l* (sandal), which sounds not unlike *la'an* inverted; they are therefore compelled to use various substitutes for these words, the devil being called, for example, *malik-ul-qûwah* or "the king of might" and *shaṭṭ* being replaced by *nahr* (river) or some other synonym.

about with him wherever he may go. But other copies of this symbol or *sanjaq*, as it is called, are taken in procession by the priests round the Yazîdî districts at the appointed season.[1] Satan is believed to be the chief of the angelic host, now indeed undergoing punishment for his rebellion against the Divine will, but still all powerful and hereafter to be restored to the high celestial dignity from which he has fallen. He must still, therefore, be conciliated and propitiated as able to chastise mortals for offences against himself. Next to Satan, but inferior to him, are ranked seven archangels, who are held to exercise great influence over the world; they are Gabrâ'îl, Mikhâ'îl, Rafâ'îl, 'Azrâ'îl, Dadrâ'îl, 'Azrafîl, and Shamkîl.[2] Christ also they regard as a great angel who took the form of a man, but they deny that He died on the cross, asserting rather that He ascended into heaven without dying.

They hold in reverence the Old Testament, in so far as they are acquainted with it, nor do they reject either the New Testament or the Qur'ân, though they regard them as entitled to an inferior degree of veneration. But the texts chosen to be inscribed over their tombs are always selected from the last-mentioned book. Muhammad, Abraham, and the other patriarchs they hold to be prophets, and they look for the second advent not only of Christ but also of the Mahdî, in regard to whom they accept the fables of the doctors of Islâm.

Their great saint is the Shaikh 'Adî,[3] of whose history and life they are nevertheless completely ignorant. But to suggest that he is regarded as a god, as some Western scholars have done, is false; for this is disproved by many passages in the *Hymn of the Shaikh 'Adi*. For example, he is but the judge who rules the world, the vice-gerent here on earth of the All-merciful.[4] But the whole poem is full of inconsistencies, for in another passage he claims that there is no God but himself.[5] It is, in fact, impossible to formulate the canons of

[1] See Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 47–8, and *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. p. 298. Whether the images which have been lost or confiscated by the Turkish Government were the original *sanâjiq* or, as the Yazidi assert, only copies of them, it is now impossible to say.

[2] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i, p. 299.

[3] On the Shaikh 'Adi see also Maqrizi, *Sulûk*, vol. ii. pp. 287–8, and vol. iii. pp. 116–17.

[4] See ll. 49–50: "And I am he to whom the Lord of heaven hath said, | Thou art the just judge and the ruler of the earth," and ll. 58–9: "Verily the All-merciful hath assigned unto me names, | The heavenly throne, and the seat and the seven [heavens] and the earth!"

[5] See l. 60: "In the secret of my knowledge there is no God but me."

the Yazîdî faith either from this hymn or from the statements made by their priests to those who have inquired into their doctrines.[1]

Their sacred village,[2] the religious centre at which their chief festivals are held, and to which they frequently go on pilgrimage,[3] is called Shaikh 'Adî, after their founder, and is situated in the mountains about 20 miles to the north-east of Rabbân Hurmuzd. Here are preserved two of the remaining *sanâjiq* at the shrine of the saint; a third is said to be still preserved in the village of Al-Ḥasanîyah.[4] The *sanjaq* is taken round the district in which it is kept in solemn procession, the people bowing down and worshipping it as it passes them. According to Badger, "the form of the *sanjaq*[5] is that of a bird, more resembling a cock than any other fowl, with a swelling breast, diminutive head, and wide spreading tail. The body is full, but the tail flat and fluted, and under the throat is a small protuberance intended perhaps to represent a battle. This is fixed on the top of a candlestick, round which are two lamps, placed one above the other, and each containing seven burners, the upper being somewhat larger than the under. The whole is of brass and so constructed that it may be taken to pieces and put together with the greatest ease."[6]

Of these seven *sanâjiq* all were in safe custody apparently till after Layard's visit, but Jacob, writing in A.D. 1909, states definitely that five of them, bearing the names respectively of Ḥaḍrat Dâ'ûd, Shaikh Shams-ud-Dîn, Yazîd ibn Mu'âwiyah, Shaikh 'Adî, and Shaikh 'Adî Baṣrî, have been lost or perhaps confiscated by the Turkish Government. A number of other sacred objects, however, such as a bronzen serpent and the relics of certain saints, were still in existence at that date.[7]

[1] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i, ch. 9.

[2] The shrine lies in a valley along which there runs a deep ravine with a limpid stream flowing through it, lined with oaks, poplars, and olives, which form a shady avenue leading up to the temple, and the whole scene is very desolate but picturesque. The heights above are covered with dwarf-oak, amidst which rise numerous dwellings intended for the reception of pilgrims, while in the vicinity of the shrine are between forty and fifty conical-shaped buildings raised over the tombs of famous chiefs.

[3] The chief annual pilgrimage is that to the *zamzam* or sacred well near the shrine of the Shaikh 'Adi, and takes place from the 15th to the 20th September.

[4] Jacob, *loc. cit.*

[5] The word *sanjaq* as thus used means a "banner" or "symbol", and Layard is careful to point out that the *Malik Tâ'ûs* is looked upon not as an idol but as a symbol or banner of the house of the ruling chief. (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, ch. 3, p. 48).

[6] Badger, *The Nestorians and other Rituals*, vol. i, p. 124. [7] Jacob, *loc. cit.*

The only religious literature belonging to the Yazîdî still known to exist is the *Hymn of the Shaikh 'Adî*, a somewhat unintelligible rhapsody, of which Layard obtained a copy written on some tattered leaves of no very ancient date.[1] Of their sacred books, one of which was called *Al-Jalwah*[2] and the other *Mushâf-ul-Rûsh* or the "Black Book", the fate is uncertain. According to one tradition they were stolen on the road to Aleppo, whither they were being sent for the instruction of the Yazîdî in those parts; according to another story they were confiscated by the Turkish general 'Umar Wahbî Pashâ on the occasion of his forcible conversion of many of the Yazîdî to orthodox Islâm. The most probable view, however, and that at which the Yazîdî themselves hint, is that they are still somewhere kept in safe hiding and secretly consulted by the faithful. Works purporting to be the sacred books of the Yazîdî, at any rate, are at present circulating in Mesopotamia, for Captain H. P. W. Hudson obtained a copy of one such work during the European war.[3]

The chief festival of the Yazîdî is called the *sarsâl*, and is celebrated at the New Year, which is held at the beginning of April. The ceremonies begin on the Wednesday preceding the New Year's Day, when the rich sacrifice sheep and oxen and the poor chickens, while the women and girls of the tribe roam over the hills gathering roses and every kind of red flower, which they tie up in bunches and hang about their houses, except on the doors; meanwhile the priests make the hills re-echo with the sound of their cymbals, chanting at the same time Kurdish prayers and collecting food and alms for the poor.

Every Friday offerings are made to the *sanjaq*; and the *kûjak*,[4] who is charged with the maintenance of the sacred buildings and the collection of the alms of the faithful, if their offerings seem to him to be less than what is just, threatens them with the punishments of

[1] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 89–92.

[2] Or Al-Jilwah; the name is Arabic and appears to mean "the Exposition" or "the Manifestation" from *jalâ*, signifying "became clear", "manifest"; "appeared", "showed himself". (Parry, *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*).

[3] Mingana, "Sacred Books of the Yazidi," in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1921, pp. 117–19. These sacred books of the Yazîdî are said to have vanished in A.D. 1849 and to have reappeared in A.D. 1889 in India, whither they had been taken away no one knows how or when. There are, however, grounds for regarding all these works as forgeries. (See also Mingana, "Sacred Books of the Yezidis," in the same *Journal*, 1916, pp. 505–26; Dirr, "Einiges über die Jeziden," in *Anthropos*, 1918, pp. 558–74; Joseph, "Devil Worship," and Nau, "Recueil de Textes sur les Yézidis," in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 1917, pp. 142–200 and 225–77.)

[4] See below, on the functions of the *kûjak*.

God, such as plagues and earthquakes, and urges them to increase their gifts.

On the occasion of a marriage a piece of bread is fetched from the house of the local priest and divided between the bride and the bridegroom, who eat it with prayers for the consummation of their wedding: but if this bread cannot be obtained from a priest, a morsel of earth from the nearest shrine is consumed in its stead. A small amount of this earth is also preserved in every house as a means of ensuring the divine favour to the occupants. Marriage is forbidden in the month of April, which is sacred as the first month of the year, except in the case of a *kûjak*. No one make take as his wife the daughter of a *kûjak*, who may only be given in marriage to another *kûjak*, nor may any young man wed outside his own rank or station, except an *amîr*, who is at liberty to take in marriage a girl from any family whatsoever.[1]

When a Yazîdî dies, the *kûjak* has to administer to him the last rites of his religion and after his death to pray for his soul, at the same time keeping watch for dreams and visions which may reveal to him the fate of the dead man in the next world or under what form he may return again to this world. The spirits of the just are held to dwell in heaven and to reveal the secrets of this world to mankind, while those of the wicked undergo various transmigrations in the bodies of diverse animals till they are re-embodied in human beings.

Throughout the year pilgrimages are made to other shrines besides that of the Shaikh 'Adî, especially to that of the Shaikh Shams-ud-Dîn, who is regarded as the Messiah. At these assemblies both sexes feast together, eating, drinking, and dancing. Other important pilgrimages are those to the Jabal 'Arafât and the so-called "Road of the Qauwâl", which is held in the mountains near the shrine of the Shaikh 'Adî.

The chief of the Yazîdî is called the *mîr ḥajj*, or "prince of the pilgrimage". The *amîr* enjoys an absolute supremacy and the blind obedience of his followers, even to the extent of appropriating their private possessions for his own use. His person is sacred, and whatever comes into contact with him is an object of veneration; his clothes may only be washed by a *kûjak*, several of whom are attached

[1] Chabot (*Journal Asiatique*, 1896, vol. vii. p. 127) records that a daughter who refuses to marry must compensate her father, for she is regarded as an addition to his wealth, as were the "cattle-bringing" maidens of the Homeric poems.

to him as personal attendants. The emirate is hereditary in a family which traces its origin to the Shaikh 'Adî: but the history of the Yazîdî can hardly be verified, as one of the tenets of their religion is the prohibition of reading and writing, in consequence of which the only records of the sect are based on oral tradition. The revenues of the emirate depend entirely on the gifts of the faithful at the annual pilgrimages to their shrines. The seat of the *amîr* is at Ba 'Idri, which lies about eight hours' journey to the north-east of Mausil. Next in importance to the *amîr* are ranked the spiritual chiefs, whose title is *shaikh*,[1] and who are divided into five families. Each *shaikh* is responsible for the administration of the rites of religion to a certain number of families, to whom they have to teach especially the laws which regulate the intercourse of sexes, and for whose welfare they are bound to pray. In return for these services they receive for their maintenance the alms of their co-religionists. The second rank in the hierarchy is that of the *pîr*,[2] who is the deputy and assistant of the *shaikh*. The *faqîr*,[3] who is a member of a kind of monastic order and who is bound to the practice of an ascetic life, is held in high esteem. The *faqîr* is also called *qarâ'baish*, a Turkish word meaning "black head", from the hood and robe of black wool in which he is enveloped, though over this he often wears a cloak of some bright colour. The *faqîr* also wears a turban of silk or wool, a girdle of black wool and a pair of ordinary shoes. Round his neck hangs a cord, which is never laid aside day or night. This monastic order is administered by a superior, called the *kâk*,[4] who lives in a *mazâr* or holy place containing the tomb of a saint, in the province of Aleppo. The *kâk*, whenever he attends any of the ceremonies on the Jabal Sinjâr or elsewhere in the territory occupied by the Yazîdî, receives the precedence over all the assembled chiefs, both secular and spiritual.

In addition to these grades there are six classes of inferior religious persons: they are the *qawwâl*, the *shawîsh*, the *kûjak*, the *kâbanah*, the *fuqraiyah*, and the *farrâsh*.

The duty of the *qawwâl*, or "chanter", is to go round the various districts inhabited by the Yazîdî, taking with him the local *sanjaq*, for the veneration of the faithful. During the exposition of the *sanjaq*

[1] An Arabic word meaning "old man" or "elder".
[2] A Persian word signifying "abbot".
[3] An Arabic word denoting "poor" or "a beggar".
[4] A Persian word for "master", "teacher".

the chanters sing religious hymns and psalms to the accompaniment of flutes and tambourines. They form a distinct class and claim to trace their descent from the attendants of the Shaikh 'Adî himself. The title of *shawîsh* is only given to four or five individuals who have the charge of the tomb of the Shaikh 'Adi; they remain unmarried, and, when one of them dies, the chief priest of the sect elects a successor from a number of candidates, celibate or widowers, who are recommended by the zeal which they have shown in practising the rites of their religion. The *kûjak*, on the contrary, is a member of a large order, numbering from two to three hundred men, under the command of the chief priest; there are no restrictions on election, any Yazîdî, whether priest or layman, being eligible. They depend for a livelihood mostly on agriculture, their ministerial duties being gratuitous and only intermittent. Their chief office is the preparation of everything needful for the feasts celebrated at the recurrent reunions and annual pilgrimages of the sect. Other less important duties which are incumbent on them in the course of the year have already been mentioned.

The signification of the word *kâbanah* is obscure. All that can be affirmed with certainty is that the *kâbanah* is an unmarried woman or widow who is the abbess in charge of the nuns, to whom are entrusted menial duties in connexion with the tomb of the Shaikh 'Adî. The *faqraiyah*,[1] who must live unmarried or be a widow, belongs to a class of nuns which numbers as many as five hundred women, devoted exclusively to performing the meanest services connected with their religious observances.

Lastly, the *farrâsh*[2] is the sacristan of the shrine of the Shaikh 'Adî, on whom devolves such duties as going every evening round the holy places in the neighbourhood and lighting the lamps in them, and carrying the censers on the occasion of the great festivals.

In A.D. 1847 the Ottoman Government had attempted to conscript the Yazîdî for military service, an attempt which was frustrated by the intervention of the British Ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning. When a similar endeavour was made by the Turkish General, Muḥammad Ṭâhir Bak, in A.D. 1872–3, in spite of the *firmân* of A.D. 1847 guaranteeing to the Yazîdî the free exercise of their religion,

[1] This word is a feminine diminutive formed from the Arabic *faqîr*, "poor man," "beggar," "ascetic," meaning a "poor sister".

[2] An Arabic word meaning "sweeper", and corresponding exactly to the Greek νεωκόρος.

a petition was drawn up by the religious leaders of the sect and forwarded to the Government.[1]

The petition. of which the introduction is in Syriac and the text itself in Arabic, is as follows :—

In the time of the Sulṭân 'Abd-ul-'Azîz [2] in the year 1289,[3] the chief of the general staff, Muḥammad Tâhir, was sent from Stambul to Mauṣil, in order that he might raise a force of 15,000 soldiers of the *nizâm* [4] from the Dâsnâyê [5] dwelling in the neighbourhood of this town, namely, of the sect of the Yazîdî. The general summoned to himself at Mauṣil their chief men and magistrates and read out the decree to them. Thereupon they asked him for a delay of ten days, after which they brought to him a document in which the following is written :—

We, the Dâsnâyê, cannot by any means serve in the *nizâm* on account of our religion. We rather prefer, as the Syrians and Jews, to contribute money than men. There are many reasons which deter us therefrom; herein we lay down fourteen of them :—

First Clause. According to our religion, the Yazîdî religion, every member of our sect, young man and old, woman and girl, three times a year, namely, firstly, from the beginning to the end of the month of April, according to the Greek reckoning; secondly, from the beginning to the end of the month of September; thirdly, from the beginning to the end of the month of November—must visit the image of *Tâ'ûs-ul-Malik*—honoured be his state!—If he does not do so, he is an unbeliever.

Second Clause. If any member of our sect, young man and old, does not visit at least once in the year—namely, from the 15th to the 20th of September, according to the Greek reckoning—the sanctuary of the *Shaikh* 'Adî ibn Musâfir, the holy God of the exalted mysteries of both of them, he is an unbeliever.

Third Clause. Every member of our sect must daily at sunrise visit a place whence he can see the rising sun,[6] provided that no Moslem or Christian or Jew or any other be found there. And if any of them do it not, he is an unbeliever.

Fourth Clause. Every member of our sect must daily kiss the hand

[1] Published by M. Lidzbarski in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig), 1897, No. 51. p. 592, from "Codex Sachau 200" in the *Königliche Bibliothek* at Berlin.

[2] 'Abd-ul-'Aziz reigned from A.D. 1861 until 1876.

[3] The Muslim year 1289 lasted from 11th March, 1872, till 28th February, 1873.

[4] The *nizâm* constitute the regular soldiers of the Ottoman army.

[5] In Syriac *Dasnâyê*, in Arabic *Dawâsin* (singular *Dâsin*), is the tribal, as distinct from the religious, name of the Yazidî Kurds.

[6] Lit. "the place of the rising of the sun". It is interesting to notice in this connection that the Kurds whom Mâr Sabâ converted to Christianity are called sun-worshippers by the saint's biographer (Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, vol. ii, pp. 672–3).

of his brother, his brother in the Hereafter, namely, the servant of the *Mahdī*, and the hand of his *shaikh* or of his *pir*. And if he does not perform this, unbelief is imputed into him.

Fifth Clause. A thing which is inadmissible in our religion [is the following]: In the morning, when Muslims begin to pray, they say the words—God forbid [that we should say them]—" I take refuge in God," [1] and so on; if any of us hear this, he must kill the man who says it and kill himself. Otherwise he is an unbeliever.

Sixth Clause. If at the time, when one of our sect dies, his brother for the Hereafter or his *shaikh* or his *pir* or one of the *qawwālin* be not with him and say over him three sentences, namely: " O servant of *Tā'ûs-ul-Malik*—honoured be his state!—thou must die in the religion of him who is worshipped of us, who is *Tā'ûs-ul-Malik*—honoured be his state!—and not die in any other religion than it. And if anyone of the religion of Islâm or the religion of the Christians or the religion of the Jews or of religions other than that of the *Malik* come to thee and speak to thee, consider not that they speak truly and believe them not. And if thou considerest true or believest any other religion than that of him who is worshipped of us, *Tā'ûs-ul-Malik*—honoured be his state!—then thou shalt die an unbeliever." If this be so, he is an unbeliever.

Seventh Clause. There is among us a thing which is called the " benediction of the *Shaikh* 'Adî", namely, earth from the tomb of the *Shaikh* 'Adî, even his holy mystery. Every member of our sect must carry a quantity thereof in his pocket and he must eat of it every morning; and if he eat not of it duly (?), he is an unbeliever. And also when he dies, at the approach of death, if none of this earth be duly (?) found, he dies an unbeliever.

Eighth Clause. Concerning our fasting: every member of our sect, if he wishes to fast, must fast at home, not abroad; for every single day of the fast he must go in the morning to the house of his *shaikh* and his *pir* and begin to fast: then at the time of breakfast also he must go to the house of his *shaikh* or *pir* and break the fast with the consecrated wine belonging to that *shaikh* or *pir*; and if he drink not two or three glasses of that wine, his fast is not accepted, and he becomes an unbeliever.

Ninth Clause. If any of our sect travel to a foreign land and remain there less than a whole year, and he afterwards return home, then is his wife secluded from him and none of us shall give him a wife, and, if any man give him one, he is an unbeliever.

Tenth Clause. Concerning our clothing: as we have mentioned in the fourth clause, that every member of our sect has a brother for the

[1] Qur'ân, *Sûrah* 114: " Say, I take refuge in the Lord of men, the king of men, the God of men, from the evil of the Whisperer [Satan] who stealthily withdraws, who whispers in the breasts of men, from *jinn* and men."

Hereafter, as well as a sister for the Hereafter, according to this, if any one of us wishes to have a new shirt made for himself, the above-mentioned woman, his sister for the Hereafter, must make for him the opening at the neck in every shirt with her own hand; and if she make not the opening at the neck with her own hand, if he put it on, he is an unbeliever.

Eleventh Clause. If anyone of our sect makes himself a new shirt or clothing without dipping it in the consecrated water which is to be found at the shrine of the *Shaikh* 'Adî, even his holy mystery, if he put it on, he is an unbeliever.

Twelfth Clause. Clothing of dark blue we cannot by any means wear, nor can we ever comb our heads with the comb of a Muslim or of a Christian or of a Jew, and such like; nor do we shave our heads with a razor which any man but ourselves has used, unless we are willing to wash it in the consecrated water which is to be found at the shrine of the *Shaikh* 'Adî; at that time, if we shave our heads therewith, it is permissible; but if it be not washed in that consecrated water and we shave our heads therewith, we are unbelievers.

Thirteenth Clause. No single Yazîdî can enter a closet or go into a bath or eat with a spoon belonging to a Muslim, nor shall he drink from the cup of a Muslim or of the follower of any other creed; and if he enter a bath or a closet or eat or drink with the spoon of a Muslim or of those whom we have mentioned, he is an unbeliever.

Fourteenth Clause. In respect of food, there is a great difference between us and the rest of the creeds; we eat not such things as meat, fish, gourds, *bâmiyâ*,[1] beans, cabbage, and lettuce; nor is it possible for us to dwell in a place where lettuce and such like is sown.

For these and other reasons we cannot engage in military service, and so on.[2]

This document, of which a translation has been given above, is now the *locus classicus* on the subject of the Yazîdî religion. But the information given above can be supplemented to a certain extent from the researches of modern travellers.

Inquiries about their religion are rarely answered by the Yazîdî, being usually parried with counter-questions. But it is generally admitted by them that the *Shaikh* 'Adî is regarded as the author of good and the Malik-ul-Ṭâ'ûs of evil, an admission which would seem

[1] The word *bâmiyâ* denotes probably the *hibiscus esculentus*, a plant allied to the European mallow.

[2] This petition was signed by the Amîr Shaikhân Ḥusain, chief of the Yazîdî sect, Shaikh Nâṣir, the spiritual chief of the sect in the district of Shaikhân, and the *mukhtârân* of Mâm Rashân, Mûsikân, Ḥatârah, Baibân, Dahkân, Ḥuzrân, Bâqaṣrah, Bâ'ashiqah, Khûshâbâ, Qarâ Paḥû, Kabârah, Sînâ, 'Ain Sifni, Qaṣr 'Izz-id-Din, and Kibarṭû.

to point to a form of dualism as lying concealed behind their doctrines. They themselves never say any prayers, which are left to be recited, or rather mumbled, by the *qawwal* in classical Arabic, a language which is now unintelligible to most of the worshippers. Further, they seem to be completely in ignorance concerning the origin and the meaning of the rites which they follow. They seem to worship the rising sun indirectly by way of doing homage to a supreme deity, and they also venerate a number of saints, all of whom bear Muslim names. In this connexion it should be borne in mind that Badger, when he visited the shrine of the *Shaikh* 'Adî, found not only many symbolical signs cut on the walls of the temple but also inscriptions in Arabic, including a long passage from the Qur'ân. They regard Christ as an angel in human form, and recognize Muḥammad as a prophet, together with Abraham and the patriarchs, in which there are the clearest signs, if not of a Muslim origin, at any rate of very strong Muslim influence.[1] Their objection to blue is probably due to its sacred character as the colour of heaven, and their veneration for it they carry so far as to resort to a Christian indigo-factory in the neighbourhood in order to kiss the doorposts.

The principle of evil is propitiated by worship and by offerings, and scarlet anemone is frequently used as a propitiatory charm as being of the colour of blood. Circumcision is common but not obligatory; for instance, the Khalâtîyah, the largest tribe, do not observe this custom, and yet are considered orthodox Yazîdî. The Yazîdî, at least in the neighbourhood of Mausil, are industrious, clean in their habits, quiet and orderly in their general behaviour; but many are very intemperate in the use of *'araq*. They are comparatively free from immorality, and the right of marrying three wives is probably responsible for the charge of lewdness which is sometimes levelled at them.[2]

In conclusion, therefore, it would appear that the Yazîdî religion

[1] They also employ the years of the *Hijrah* or "Flight" of Muhammad for the purpose of dating events and observe Friday as a holy day, both customs of Muslim origin.

[2] Badger, *The Nestorians and other Rituals*, vol. i, ch. 10. See also O. H. Parry, *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*; Giamil, *Monte Singar*; Forbes, "Account of the Yazidis of Jebel Sinjar," in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. ix; Chabot, "Notice sur les Yézidis," in the *Journal Asiatique*, IX, v, pp. 100-32; Siouffi, "Notice sur la Secte des Yézidis," and "Notice sur le Cheikh 'Adi et la Secte des Yezidis", in the *Journal Asiatique*, VII, xx, pp. 252-68, and VIII, v, pp. 78-98.

is not a homogeneous whole but a mixture of several religions. The underlying creed on which it is based is undoubtedly Islâm. The choice of a Muslim as the chief *walî* and the worship of many saints, most of whom bear Muslim names, the acceptance of Muḥammad himself, the employment of such technical terms as *shaikh* and *faqîr*, the belief in a single supreme being, the licence to marry more wives than one, the obligation to perform the pilgrimage, and the observance of Friday as a sacred day are all elements of the religion of Islâm, while the belief in Christ as a prophet and in the New Testament comes through Islâm, as the practice of fasting and the acceptance of the Old Testament with its cosmogony and its Patriarchs, together with the later doctrine of Archangels, are derived from Judaism through the same intermediary. To this evidence should be added the firm belief of the Muslims themselves that the Yazîdî are nothing but apostates from their religion. But there is also a large admixture of Zoroastrian tenets: of these the most important are the belief in an arch-devil and the dualism which results therefrom; and the very name Yazîdî seem to owe its origin to the Persian appellation of the deity. The gathering of roses by girls on the hill-sides and the belief in holy bread and consecrated water also are not above the suspicion of being borrowed from Zoroastrian sources. In a few points the influence of the Sabaean religion may perhaps be seen, as in their reverence for the sun expressed in the practice of kissing the object on which its beams first fall, and the turning of their faces towards it as towards the *qiblah* during their religious ceremonies; fire they reverence as symbolical of a divine force, while the colour blue is an abomination also to the Sabaeans, whom they resemble further in their fondness for white linen, their cleanliness, and their frequent ablutions.[1] Other customs, however, such as baptism with water, the beginning of the year at the same time as the Eastern Christians, and the employment of the Christian names of the months, or the doctrine that God sits on His throne on New Year's Day to ordain his decrees and decide men's fate for the coming year, which is clearly borrowed from the Armenians,[2] cannot be held to show that Christianity exercised any essential influence on ideas of the Yazîdî.[3]

[1] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol i, pp. 300–2.

[2] Brockelmann, "Das Neujahr-fest der Jezîdis," in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. lviii, pp. 876 ff.

[3] Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i, pp. 300–2.

Rather these and similar doctrines and practices may have been chosen out of antipathy to the Muslims, from whose persecutions the Yazîdî have suffered much, than for any definite religious reason, or perhaps because they have not only borrowed indiscriminately from Islâm, Zoroastrianism, Sabaeism, and all the surrounding creeds, but also have then contaminated the doctrines which they have borrowed with the half-understood rites of diverse pagan cults.

THE FORMATION OF MODERN PERSIAN, THE BEGINNINGS AND PROGRESS OF THE LITERATURE, AND THE SO-CALLED RENAISSANCE

By C. E. Wilson

THE historical materials which we have for the prosecution of the above inquiries are scanty, but the conclusions which may be deduced from them may serve in a measure to support an argument based mainly, as it must be, on the general principles of the progress of language and literature and upon analogical reasoning.

For the purpose of our inquiries we have to consider not the natural changes in language and literature common to all languages and literatures when influenced only slightly from the outside, but those which have always been seen to ensue upon the conquest of one people by another.

In ordinary conditions, when no strong influence is exerted from the outside, change and progress in language are slow—witness American English, which in the course of 300 years has altered little except in the mouths of the uneducated. On the other hand, take the English language of our own country, which, owing to the Norman Conquest, changed in the course of 300 years from Anglo-Saxon into modern English.

In English we can trace the progress of the language from Anglo-Saxon through Middle-English to the modern tongue, since there is no gap in the literature; in Persian, unfortunately, we cannot do so, owing to the fact that there is a gap of at least 200 years between Pahlavī and modern Persian. It is true that we have a later development in Parsī, but even Parsī, though showing more recent forms than Pahlavī, can scarcely be called anything but a mere beginning of Middle-Persian. But the deduction is obvious, for, setting aside the question of inflection, there is as great a difference between Pahlavī and modern Persian as between Anglo-Saxon and modern English, and as there has been a gradually progressing Middle-English leading to the modern language, so there must have been a gradually progressing Middle-Persian leading to modern Persian.

Now, at any stage in the evolution of a language from an older one, the language at that stage is as much the standard language of the country or province as the latest development, and there is no reason why it should not be cultivated as much in literature. As

a matter of fact this was done in English; then why should it not have been done also in Persian? The Persians have always been a highly poetical people, and it seems an undue assumption that for at least 200 years after the Arab Conquest no literature but Arabic should have been cultivated. As regards Pahlavī, we know as a fact that such an assumption would be unfounded, since religious works, at least, continued to be written in that language to the middle of the ninth century A.D., when Pahlavī was a dead language. And here a few remarks may be offered upon the generally received opinion that Islām was forced on the Persians. Zoroastrianism continued to flourish amongst a large section of the Persians, including a number of famous men, for hundreds of years after the Arab Conquest, and it was only by slow degrees that the majority of the people became Muslims, influenced much more by motives of interest than by any pressure brought to bear upon them.

Professor Sachau, in his account of the great chronologist and astronomer Bīrūnī, says: "From oral information Al-Bīrūnī seems to have learned all he knows of the chronology and calendar of the Zoroastrian populations of Persia, of his native country (i.e. Khvārazm), and of Sogdiana (or Bukhārā). In his time the majority of the country-people still adhered to Ahuramazda, and in most towns there must still have been Zoroastrian communities, so that Al-Bīrūnī *did not* lack the opportunity for studying the manners and institutes of the then existing followers of Zoroaster. . . . We must be thankful to Al-Bīrūnī for his having preserved to posterity the festal calendars as used by Zoroastrians of his time when their religion was on the eve of dying out. . . . Muslim orthodoxy had not yet become so powerful as to imperil the life of a man, be he Muslim or not, who would study other religions and publicly declare in favour of them. Dakīkī, a poet not long anterior to Al-Bīrūnī, a favourite of the Muslim house of Sāmān, was allowed to sing:—

> Of all that is good and bad in the world
> Dakīkī has chosen four things to himself:
> A woman's lips as red as rubies, the melody of the lute,
> The blood-coloured wine, and *the religion of Zoroaster.*"

The original lines are as follows:—

دقیقی چار خصلت برگزیدست بگیتی ازهمه خوبی و زشتی
لب یاقوت رنگ ونالهٔ چنگ میٔ چون زنگ وکیش زرتهشتی

All this was the case, it should be remembered, about A.D. 1000, i.e. more than 350 years after the Arab Conquest. If pressure were brought to bear upon Zoroastrians afterwards it was mainly by the bigoted Maḥmūd of Ghaznī.

We may now continue our parallel between the gradual formation of modern Persian from Pahlavī and of modern English from Anglo-Saxon. The influences which brought about the formation of modern Persian from Pahlavī were similar to those which produced the change from Anglo-Saxon to modern English. In the former case there was the Arab invasion, in the latter the Norman. The result, too, was very similar: the language of the conqueror was used in literature for about 200 years, to the exclusion in a certain degree of that of the conquered. But in the development of the later languages an important difference may be remarked. Whilst the encroachment of Arabic upon the Persian produced no change, from at least the ninth century, in the forms of the Persian words, the influence of the Norman-French upon the Anglo-Saxon continued to be very considerable to an advanced date. This, together with the consideration that Persian literature is to a considerable extent stereotyped, may account for the fact that Persian more than a thousand years old is fairly intelligible with some study and the use of glossaries to an educated modern Persian, whilst English of more than 500 years ago is almost unintelligible to an educated modern Englishman.

It by no means follows, however, as some seem to imply, that there is not a considerable difference between the older language and the modern, and that a separate and distinct study of each is not necessary. Persians do not speak nowadays in the language of Firdausī any more than Englishmen do in that of Chaucer. But it may be asked, what marks the transition from the older language to the modern? We may answer, I think, that when the language begins to be fairly intelligible to an educated modern person it may be called the modern language.

In English we have fixed data in the preservation of the literature from Anglo-Saxon times to the present. In Persian, unfortunately, as before remarked, we have not. There is an absolute chasm between Pahlavī and modern Persian, bridged only in a slight degree by Parsī and Firdausī's Shāhnāma, and we can do little more than form conjectures based upon certain analogies. There is no such thing now existent as Middle-Persian, unless we take Parsī as an early, and the Shāhnāma as a late specimen of it. The earliest literature

extant, excluding that work, differs but little from that of a much later date, except, perhaps, in being partially somewhat more simple.

The use or disuse of Pahlavī affords us no key to the development and progress of the modern language, since it continued to be written, under the auspices of the priests, for a long time after the formation of modern Persian.

The absurdity of certain stories as to the beginnings of modern Persian poetry is evident from the fact that the verses are referred to Sasanian times, when Pahlavī, not modern Persian, must have been spoken. To this category must be assigned the original of the work *Vāmiq and Azrā*, said by Daulatshāh, the biographer, to have been dedicated to Nūshīrvān, the Sasanian king, who reigned from A.D. 531 to 579. The quotations by Arab authors of early Persian writings must be considered valueless. Some of them also refer to times when Pahlavī was spoken.

'Aufī, the earliest biographer, whose work dates from the early part of the thirteenth century, quotes two couplets by Hanẓala of Bādghīs, north of Herat. Two other couplets are cited by the author of the Chahār Maqāla, who credits him with having composed a Dīvān. This takes us back to the time of the Ṭāhirides, who ruled in Khurasan from 820 to 872. The same biographer quotes a very few couplets by Maḥmūd-i Varrāq, Fīrūz-i Mashriqī, Abū Salīk-i Gurgānī, and a few others, and assigns them to the time of the Ṣaffārides, who reigned from 864 to 903. All the couplets above-mentioned may be authentic, but are more probably not so. The oldest surviving monuments of any extent date from the time of the Sāmānides, who ruled from 874 to 999. These works are Bal'amī's *Translation of Ṭabarī's Arabic History*, made for the Sāmānide Manṣūr I in 963; a *Materia Medica* by Muvaffaq of Herat, composed for the same Manṣūr; the second volume of a *Commentary on the Qur'ān*, of about the same period. Some remains also, possibly more than 300 couplets, have been preserved in biographies, anthologies, and Asadī's *Lughat-i Furs*, or Persian Dictionary, of the poetry of Rūdagī, who flourished in the first half of the tenth century.

Now, for the purpose of forming some idea of the progress and development of modern Persian from Pahlavī we must have recourse mainly to analogical reasoning. This is generally considered unsafe, but in the absence of real evidence, or of such, at least, as may be reckoned quite conclusive in itself, there is no other means of reaching any conclusion.

In less than a hundred years after the Norman Conquest our language had changed so much from the Anglo-Saxon forms as to constitute, in Dr. Johnson's opinion, the beginnings of modern English. A very distinct change, indeed, from Anglo-Saxon had taken place, but the resulting form is still unintelligible without some knowledge of the older language, and we should now prefer to call it the earliest beginnings of Middle-English. It is not till the time of Chaucer that we have the commencement of modern English, intelligible with the help of a glossary to educated people of the present day. Chaucer, however, is more intelligible than contemporaneous authors, since his genius established the East-Midland dialect, in which he wrote, as the ancestor of our modern standard language. Irrespectively of Chaucer, therefore, we must take a somewhat later date as that of the commencement of modern English literature.

So, in rather more than 300 years after the Norman Conquest we have the change from Anglo-Saxon to modern English. Now the question arises, are we on account of slower change in the East to add to this for the development of modern Persian from Pahlavī? On the contrary, rather, since notwithstanding that in later times the West has progressed much more rapidly than the East, in those times the Persians were, most probably, a much quicker people than the Anglo-Saxons. We must also take into account the great influence that Arabic must have exercised, at all events for a considerable time.

I should take it, then, that in about 200 years after the Arab Conquest Persian had reached as advanced a state of development as English had in rather more than 300 years after the Norman. This would mean that Pahlavī was beginning to show signs of change into later forms not many years after the Arab Conquest, and in far less time, probably, than it took Anglo-Saxon to do the same. We know as a fact that the *Kārnāmak-i Artakhshatr-i Pāpakān*, a Pahlavī work, was composed in about A.D. 600, nearly half a century before the final conquest of Persia by the Arabs: and since this is a secular work, it would seem to offer some evidence that Pahlavī was still spoken at that date, notwithstanding that Pahlavī works on religious subjects continued to be written until at least the middle of the ninth century, when modern Persian had been developed. Our calculation, it is true, is based mainly upon analogical reasoning, and that of a restricted character, but it has some additional support in the consideration that we can scarcely allow much less than 200 years for the process of change from a language like Pahlavī to one like modern Persian

especially when we consider the advanced state in which we find it in the language of Firdausī.

I should explain here that although Firdausī wrote in the tenth century, his style is admittedly archaic, and is, I should say, to be ascribed rather to the ninth. As Chaucer forms a connecting link between Middle and modern English, so Firdausī, in his Shāhnāma, at least, does between Middle and modern Persian. I should take his language to be a late specimen of the former.

This conclusion, to which I was led through the above considerations, accords with a highly probable theory which might be advanced that it was the powerful influence of *Arabic*, following upon the conquest, that first effected the vital changes in the forms of Pahlavī which we have been considering. Some strong external influence must have been required.

If this be the case, then, these changes began about 200 years before the time when the archaic language of the Shāhnāma was in use, and this leads us to the question of the so-called Persian Renaissance after the more general cultivation of Arabic literature since the conquest. That Persian literature was much more extensively cultivated from the times of the Sāmānide Dynasty is a fact, and this was due to a number of circumstances. But that Persian literature had not been cultivated side by side with Arabic long before those times seems incredible when we consider the state of perfection displayed in the highly cultivated and beautiful poetry of Rūdagī and Firdausī.

Poetry is certainly progressive, as we see in our own literature, and it is highly improbable that it should not have followed a similar course in Persia to that which we observe in other countries. I mean, at least, until it had reached a certain degree of development. In support of the view I am taking we have the evidence of the following lines of Firdausī, who flourished not many years after Rūdagī :—

سخن گستران بیکران بوده اند سخنها بی اندازه پیموده اند

ولیك ارچه بودند ایشان بسی همانا نگفتست از ینسان کسی

Unnumbered poets there have been before,
Of verse they measured out unmeasured store ;
Yet truly, many as they were, not one
Has written verse so fine as I have done.

Taken in connexion with these lines it is not without significance that the language of the Shāhnāma, as before mentioned, is decidedly archaic for its time. It does not include a few archaic terms, as a certain writer has implied, but very many terms—terms, too, that have never been employed by any later poet. This fact, I think, helps to support the hypothesis that there were earlier poets whose language Firdausī knew from their poetry and imitated.

The language, too, is of much significance as affording a slight link between the earlier forms and the later. It may be taken, I think, as I have before surmised, as the only example of late Middle-Persian poetry.

Besides the lines given above there is the following couplet from one of Firdausī's odes, quoted by 'Aufī in his Biographies :—

I troubled much to study all the store
Of Persian works composed in times of yore.

This, of course, does not imply that the works studied were poetic, but it does imply the existence of Persian literature long antecedent to the age of Firdausī, always supposing that Pahlavī works are not intended here.

As further corroboration of what has been advanced there are two historical facts which certainly lend support to the supposition that Persian literature was cultivated long before the time of Rūdagī. The first is the promotion to influence and high offices in the State of the Persians after they had raised the first 'Abbāside to the supreme power as Khalif in A.D. 749. The second is the support and favour accorded to the Persians by the Persian family of the Barmecides, great patrons of learning, who rose to power in 752 on the death of Abu'l-Jahm, and administered the State till A.D. 804.

In addition to all this Daulatshāh, the biographer, who is rather a doubtful authority, however, tells us that 'Abdu'llāh b. Ṭāhir, the ruler of Khurāsān from 828 to 844, ordered that all books by Persians and Magians found in his dominions should be burned. This does not much support the contention that the Arabs destroyed modern Persian literature, since the range of 'Abdu'llāh's influence was limited, and he ruled only sixteen years. But, if Daulatshāh is to be trusted, it certainly affords additional evidence of the existence of a considerable Persian literature long before the time of Rūdagī, who flourished in the middle of the tenth century.

That there were no *great* poets before Rūdagī is possible, but that there were only a few poets before his time is, as I have tried to

show, highly improbable. Of Rūdagī even, who was by all accounts an extremely voluminous writer, but little has survived.

To sum up, then, we have as facts, on the one hand, the language and poetry of Chaucer 300 years after the Norman Conquest: and, on the other hand, the language and poetry of Firdausī 200 years after the Arab. I conclude, then, that as poetry progressed during 300 years through Middle-English to Chaucer, so it must have progressed during 200 years through Middle-Persian to Firdausī. Also, that as we could scarcely conceive such poetry as Chaucer's to have arisen without intermediate stages, and as a matter of fact, of course, it did not, so we can scarcely imagine such poetry as Firdausī's to have arisen without predecessors, and as a matter of fact Firdausī himself speaks of many such.

From all the above considerations it seems to me that to speak of a Persian Renaissance 200 years after the Arab Conquest is to speak of an imaginary quantity. There are only two alternatives: either there was Persian literature before Rūdagī, or there was not. If there was, it is absurd to speak of a Renaissance, though that literature was lost. If there was not, it is equally absurd to speak of a revival of what did not previously exist. We can scarcely, I think, speak of a Renaissance of modern Persian literature supervening directly upon Pahlavī literature. That the literature supposed should have been lost is hardly surprising. Pahlavī literature continued to be cultivated by the Zoroastrian priests till about the middle of the ninth century, and their care was devoted only to the preservation of ecclesiastical literature, as we see by what has remained in Pahlavī. Then the Arabs for a long time devoted themselves almost entirely to the cultivation of Arabic literature. Their Persian converts did the same, though not, I should surmise, to the same extent. It was probably then Zoroastrians, though not priests, who principally cultivated Persian literature, if, as I believe, it continued to be cultivated; but they were under the government of the priests, who were not interested in preserving any literature except the religious. This is proved, as above remarked, in the case of the Pahlavī literature.

In addition to these facts we have that of the destruction of libraries by the Mongols under Chingiz Khān and later by those under Hulāgū. There may be other reasons, too, for the loss of early Persian literature, for some even of the earlier Arabic has also perished. Von Kremer says, "The Arabic historical sources of the Umaiyad period perished altogether, and the oldest writings preserved to us

arose in 'Abbāside times." This statement suggests a final remark as to the supposed destruction by the Arabs of Pahlavī works, and their persecution of Zoroastrians. The absurdity of the former is shown by the following facts: Firstly, scarcely any but religious works have survived, and these they would have first destroyed, if they destroyed any. Secondly, the substance of some Pahlavī works has been in part preserved by Muhammadan writers, and Pahlavī works were translated into Arabic by some of them who understood the former language. Thirdly, Pahlavī was used on coins of the early Khalifs till about A.D. 770, i.e. 120 years after the conquest, a fact, I think, of some significance.

The assertion that the Zoroastrians were persecuted by the Arabs is disproved by the fact, related in history, that in about the middle of the eighth century, a hundred years after the conquest, many Zoroastrians of the upper classes adopted Islam of their own accord; after which we may suppose that in accordance with the Arabic saying, الناس على دين ملوكهم "The people follow the religion of their kings," many of the lower classes followed their example, though Zoroastrianism, as Professor Sachau states, still prevailed to a very large extent until the time of Mahmūd, the Ghaznavide. In fact, the earlier conversions were most probably due to the fact that it was to the interest of the conquered to adopt the religion of the conquerors.

HAUSA LEGEND AND EARTH PYRAMIDS IN THE WESTERN AND CENTRAL SUDAN

By H. R. PALMER

IN 1907 M. Louis Desplaques described in *Le Plateau Central Nigérien*[1] a series of large tumuli—pyramids of earth—the burial places of chiefs of a past era. He notes their existence at El Walaji and as far east as Aménaka, near Zinder, on the banks of the Niger near the Bassa rapids, west to Sikassa, and on the banks of the Senegal. On archæological grounds, supported by a well-known passage from the Arab writer El Behri, he concludes that they were built by "red" or Berber races of the same stratum of population as the ancient inhabitants of the Ghana Empire. "They remain," he writes, "as the sole witnesses of the activity, the industry, and civilization of these 'red' peoples, whose names and real origin we do not know."

Few will question the soundness of M. Desplaques general conclusions in respect to the area of which he writes, but a good deal of further light is thrown on the subject by the existence of two distinct groups of similar tumuli, at Bugaji and Durubi Takusheyi near Katsina, and on the Komaduga Yobe in Bornu.

Several of the former group were opened by the writer in 1907, and a picture of one appears in the *Anthropological Journal* for January–June, 1908.

Durubi Takusheyi is about 16 miles almost due east of Katsina on the eastern or right bank of a river—dry for six months in the year—which rises near Kusada on the Kano–Katsina border and runs into the desert north of Dankama.

The ground occupied by the tombs is a rise studded with large granite boulders and trees. There are seven tombs, each of which it is said had formerly a large kuka (baobab) tree beside it. Certainly some of them still have kukas of great age near them.

The tombs as at present known by name are Koran, Katsi, Rumba, Kumaiyo, Katsina, and Bari; at least such are the names given by the villagers, who are, however, now Fillani entirely, since Hausa superstition is too strongly connected with the place to allow Hausas to remain there at ease.

[1] Larose, 1907, pp. 54-66.

Under the Hausa dynasty of Katsina the reigning Durubi might on no account see the tombs or enter the village: if he did so it was feared some evil would befall him. The taboo applies even to the present reigning family of Durubi, though they are Fillani. The popular idea was that the tombs were tombs of deceased Hausa Durubis. The largest of these tombs is about 90 feet across the base by 25 to 30 feet high: the smallest about 30 feet across the base by 12 feet high.

Almost in the centre of the ground occupied by the tombs (they extend over about half a mile square) there is a circle of huge granite boulders—somewhat reminiscent of dolmens—but obviously natural. Yet it does not seem an undue stretch of the imagination to suppose that the rocky site was selected by tribes practising rites of sacrifice (such as are known to have been practised at Kano and Kayauri) as one eminently suitable for their observances.

When questioned about the tombs, natives of repute as having "lore" expressed a doubt as to whether they really were tombs. The formation of an artificial mound forms part of many pagan rites, and it was thought that their origin might be accounted for in this way. It was mentioned, for instance, that in Gobir there is one such mound formed artificially (so it is stated) for the purpose of making sacrifices on the top. In almost all sacrifices of propitiatory offerings a small mound of earth a foot high or so is made, and the victim's throat cut above it.

To set the matter at rest the Emir of Katsina had two of these tumuli excavated. They were, in fact, bisected, and a section exposed. In both cases the same results were obtained. In the centre and bottom of the mound, level with the general surface of the land, were the almost decomposed remains of a round mud-house, roofed with straight rafters (generally called "Kudandam" in Hausa). In this *kudandam* was in each instance the powdered skeleton of a human being, apparently interred in an upright or semi-upright position. In one case (the tomb called Koran) the spine and pelvis could be distinguished quite easily, and it further appeared that the corpse had been interred either sitting or kneeling, judging by the lie and general appearance of the white dust which represented the decomposed bones. With the skeleton was a decomposed branch of a tree, which from appearance seemed to be a *dashi*[1] or thorn. This

[1] This tree is sacred and is planted by pagan Hausas near tombs.

branch was parallel to the spine of the corpse—in a vertical position. It seemed probable that the reason the corpse remained upright when the roof of the house fell in—as it naturally would very soon with the weight of the mound on the top—was that the corpse was tied to this tree in an upright position.

About the same level as the lowest remains of bones—the level of the ground outside—was found a great deal of charred wood or charcoal. Various objects were found, including remains of *tulus* (water-jars), *tukunia* (bowl for food, etc.), *dutsin niku* (corn-grinding stones), a stone fastener of a woman's *zani* (skirt), the top of a lamp or dish, and a variety of bones—among them sheeps' bones—and iron spear heads. Most of these objects were found outside the apparent dimensions of the *kudandam*, and animals had been evidently sacrificed above the *kudandam* (in the case of Koran's tomb).

In another case (the tomb of Ramba) nothing was found above the *kudandam*, but from the number of animal bones round about it seemed clear that animals had been sacrificed. Many of the bones seemed burnt. In both cases, as far as could be seen, there was only one occupant of the central chamber or *kudandam*.

The tumuli in the valley of the Komadugu in Bornu stretch from Yo down to the region of Geidam. They are popularly supposed to be the tombs of So kings—i.e. the kings of a race of giants which were the predecessors of the present races called Kanuri. The tumulus at Gamzahi (Gajidibun) was opened by the writer in 1918, and was found to be precisely similar to that of Koran at Katsina. There were the same remains of a small house with acacia rafters; numerous animal bones, some bones which a medical officer thought to be human; a small pottery vase about 6 inches high, which evidently contained drink for the hero in the next world; iron arrow heads; and, as in the case of the other tumuli, a layer of ashes and half-burnt pieces of wood, pottery, etc., which indicated that before the populace piled the earth on the top there had been some ceremonial with fire. The pottery found was large and coarse, as was the case at Katsina,—and not at all like the finer objects found in the upper Niger, which were no doubt imported.

The tumulus at Gajidibun was about 200 feet in diameter, while those at Yo are much larger.

Now a study of M. Desplaques' detailed description of the "tumuli" of the Niger region seems to raise a strong presumption

that all these "tumuli" were the work of the same kind of races; and that those races were Hamitic.

In Katsina they were not the work of the historical Habe dynasty of Katsina, for their customs in regard to the burial of their kings were quite different. At both Katsina and Kano the old Habe kings were buried in a special place within the town, and at Katsina the new king was first anointed with the blood of an ox which was slaughtered above him, and then made to drag his predecessor, wrapped up in the skin of the same ox, to his tomb close by.

In Bornu also it is not probable that the tumuli in the Kamadugu were made by "Kotoko", a race who are nowadays held to represent the "So", and there is also the fact that one of the earlier or legendary Mis of Bornu, Mi Bayoma Katurimi, is supposed to be the occupant of one of the Yo tumuli. The first Moslem Mi of Bornu ruled about 1086 A.D., so that if the Yo tumulus was made for this early or pagan Mi of Bornu, it would be anterior by 100 years or so to that date.

Similarly at Katsina the general tradition with regard to the tumuli, seems to indicate that they belonged to a race (Koran in the red) which conquered pre-existing negro peoples (Sanan), a people who were originally aliens but from whom sprang ultimately the Hausa dynasty. The title "Durubi", with which the tombs are associated, may very probably be a Kanuri word meaning "head of the encampment" (Dor-bé), the original Durubi corresponding in fact very much in function to the Sashin Fillani now found in Fillani Emirates. Such a supposition synchronizes in a rather remarkable way with the chronology of the old Habe dynasties of Hausaland—for it was just about this date, A.D. 980 or so, that, according to the *Kano Chronicle*, Bagoda, son of Bauwo, son of Bayajidda, and the Queen of Daura, founded the seven Hausa states, that is to say, conquered the indigenous negroes, who were probably of Nilotic type much like the modern So (Kotoko).

Who then were these people and can they be identified? It seems to the writer that they can, and that they were in fact part and parcel of the group of peoples called by the Arab writers Zaghawa, or in other words the earliest Hamitic or Kashite stratum that can be definitely traced along the Sudan zone.

The Zaghawa of to-day live in northern Darfur and Wadai—at least, the tribes now known by that name—but Yacubi, A.D. 891, states that the inhabitants of Kanem in his day were Zaghawa; Ibn Said, A.D. 1282, says that Zaghawa lived to the south of the

Tibel Lunia (Tibesti), and again that "Kanem is the centre of the kingdom, of which the inhabitants are in general called Zaghawa—bounded on the south by Habesh, east by Nubia, north by Barca, and west by Tehrur".[1] From Edrisi (1150) it is clear that the Zaghawa were in general nomads and camel owners, they acted as guides in the desert, and extended over the region from Kanem to Asben and Fezzan,while so late as the time of Ibn Batuta there was a Karkari Sultan in the Asben region—Karkur being the title of the Zaghawi chiefs.

The German savant G. A. Krause some years ago stated his belief that the modern dialect of the Wadai Zaghawa was a primitive form of Hausa, a supposition strongly supported by the Zaghawi vocabularies published by Mr. H. A. MacMichael in the *Anthropological Journal*. Zaghawi is, in fact, extraordinarily like Hausa in vocabulary, though in formation it bears a closer resemblance to Kanuri and Teda.

If we postulate a people or series of tribes extending from Darfur to the region of the Niger in the era A.D. 500–1000, speaking languages akin to the modern Zaghawa language, it seems clear that—

(*a*) The Hausa language arose from their contact with the Berber dialect.

(*b*) Kanuri is the result of the modification of the same tongues by Teda.

With regard to the former supposition one of the most remarkable features of the affinity Hausa has to the Berber tongues is that comparison of roots shows that Hausa words resemble the Kabyle forms of North Africa almost more than they resemble Tuareg forms.

The explanation of this seems to be that the legendary Bajajidda (Aba Jibda), who married the Queen of Daura,[2] was, in fact, representative of North African stock, as indeed the name of his grandson Bogoda (Bogud) implies. In the Asben region the name Bayajidda is Ba Yezîd, and there are many legends concerning him, a sacred rock being supposed to be marked with his footprints.

When we consider the time when this legendary Ba Yezîd is supposed to have come to Hausaland, in A.D. 950–1000, it seems almost certain that the whole legend is derived from the famous Abu Yezîd, "the man on the ass," who revolted from the Fatimids in A.D. 928, took Kaiman, and was not finally crushed till A.D. 947.

[1] Hamaker—Specimen Catalogi, p. 203.

[2] See the Hausa legend translated below.

Abu Yezîd was actually born in the Sudan,[1] his mother being a negress; his followers were, after his defeat, driven south, and it is extremely probable that from the life and doings of this famous sectary arose the Hausa legend of "Baghdad splitting into forty factions". On the other hand, Daura and Gobir (Kober) are even now names of Zaghawa tribes,[2] and the Queen of Daura is the equivalent of the Makira (Queen Mother of Bornu), the "Selimeh" of the "Selemah" Oasis, near Dingola, and the better-known Candace of Meroe.

The Zaghawa were clearly Kushite Nomads, who derived their ideas of sepulture from Egypt and the Eastern Sudan, but about this period, A.D. 1000, were absorbed and modified by different stocks in different parts of the Sudan. In Kanem a section of them intermarried with the Tamagira clan of the Teda—a people probably of Libyan origin, as Leo Africanus says, who spoke a language akin to the present Berberine language of the Nile valley. From this fusion came the so-called Sefawa—the Magumi—the Kanuri of history, their father's stock being a Zaghawi tribe called Kayi or Kayi Bulala, cognate to the modern Beli (Bideyat) and the Qur'aan and Kareda tribes of Kanem.

In the Central Sudan, as we have seen, at about the same period Berber tribes bore down on another section of Zaghawa located at Daura, and combining with them spread south among the negroes. The North African influence was here so strong that it completely altered the form of the language, which developed after the conquest into the modern Hausa.

In the west again these tribes (Zaghawa), as we know from Arabic and other sources, were the principle ingredient in the formation of the Songhay Empire, and constituted to a large extent the population of the Ghana Empire. Originating in the Persian Gulf, the Zaghawa-Kash, made their way into the Egyptian Sudan, and thence spread west to the Atlantic, and to them, in default of any other probable hypothesis, must be attributed the remarkable earth pyramids which extend from the shores of Chad to the Senegal.

It follows that the term Zaghâwa, as used by the Arab writers, corresponds generally and roughly to the term now used to denote the Hamite races of the Central Sahara and Sudan—Berri-Berri, which is simply a plural form of the 3rd personal pronoun in Zaghawi—"Ber."

[1] See Mercier, *History of Africa*, i, p. 338.

[2] See MacMichael, *Tribes of Nordofan*, s.v. Zaghawa.

The sketch of Sudan history given above finds strong support in a Tuareg MS. translated some years ago by the writer. Speaking of the Asben Oasis—"It is stated," says the author, "by the Ulema of Asben that the first inhabitants of Asben were Hausas (Daurawa), but that they were conquered by the Berri-Berri. When the rule of the latter became weak the Gobirawa ruled the country. To them succeeded the Tuareg."[1]

The negroes (Habash) of the Ahbasan (Asben) region were conquered by Berri-Berri (Zaghawa), possibly between A.D. 500–800. The Zaghawa, reinforced by North African Berbers, then slowly spread south; finally, towards A.D. 1500, the Tuareg came from the north, came out of Aujila, as Sultan Bello says, and took control of the Southern Sahara, displacing the Berri-Berri (Zaghawa) races and relegating them to the east of a line drawn roughly from Tripoli to Lake Chad.

THE HAUSA LEGEND OF THE ORIGIN OF THE SEVEN HAUSA STATES[2]

The Book of the Kings of Daura, Katsina, Gubar, Zakzak, Kano, Rano, and Gabbas ta Buram.

They spring from a man called Aba Yajîda or Aba Jibda, simply, son of 'Abdu'lahi, who was the Sultan of Baghdad.

The reason that he left Baghdad was because of a heathen woman Dthi Tauwa, who raided his people till Baghdad was divided into forty divisions.

So Aba Yajîda journeyed with twenty of these divisions to Bornu, and the strength of his host was greater than the hosts of the Sultan of Bornu.

Now the brethren of Aba Yajîda perceived that they were stronger than those of the Sultan of Bornu, and said let us kill the Sultan and do you, Aba Yajîda, become Sultan.

When the Sultan heard of the plot of the brethren of Aba Yajîda, he asked his counsellors what should be done. They said bind Aba Yajîda to you by giving him a woman in marriage.

So the Sultan of Borna gave him his beautiful daughter called Magiram, or, as others say, Magira.

Peace was then established, and when the Sultan of Bornu wished to go to war he would say: "Aba Yajîda, give me a thousand mounted men of your host to aid me." Aba Yajîda gave him 2,300 men, but when they returned from war the Sultan did not return them to Aba Yajîda, but set them in a district other than that from which they had set out.

[1] "Notes on Some Asben Records," *Journal African Society*, 1910.

[2] The original is in Arabic.

There remained then these and the brothers of Aba Yajîda, and his wife and horse.

There were two brothers, whom Aba Yajîda addressed as follows: "O, my brethren, I wish each of you to seek a place in which you may settle and become rulers." One of them went to the land of Muslims, Kanem, and became Sultan of Kanem; the second went to the land called Bagarmi; so that Aba Yajîda remained with his wife, the daughter of the Sultan of Bornu, called Magiram or Magira, and his horse.

Plans were made to kill him, so he fled from Bornu with his wife Magiram, who was with child.

When he came to Gabbas ta Buram his wife became weary with travel. He left her at the place where he stayed in that district, which we call Gabbas ta Buram.

After her husband left, when her days were accomplished, Magiram bore a son called Buram, who became Sultan of Gabbas ta Buram.

When Aba Yajîda reached Daura he found a woman was reigning this country. Before her there had reigned as the first Sultan of this land called Daura, a heathen woman called Kafira, and after her Yakano, and Yakanya, and Kadatata, and Gabata, and Wewela, and Gadir-Gadir, and Ina Gari, and the ninth of them, who succeeded the last named, was called Daura, and in her time Aba Yajîda alighted at the house of the old woman called Aiwela and asked her for water.

The old woman replied: "My son, we draw no water in this town save on Fridays." Aba Yajîda said to her "Give me the bucket". So she gave him the bucket, and he went to the well. This all happened in the night.

When the bucket reached the water, and the snake heard the splash—the name of the snake was Saribi—he put out his head from the well seeking to kill the intruder, but Aba Yajîda took his sword, and drew it, and cut off the head of the snake.

He took the head and hid it, and drew water, and drank it and gave his horse water. Then he returned to his lodging with the rest of the water he had drawn. On reaching the abode of the old woman he gave her the rest of the water.

In the morning, when the people saw the snake and the well they said, "What has happened to the snake?" and they were much astonished at the absence of its head and the body which was left at the well.

The news reached Daura, and she mounted with her followers and went to the well. On coming to the place where the snake was killed she said, "Where is the snake's head, so that its body is left in the well? who has done this to the snake, which hindered us from the water, save on a Friday? if he can be found I will divide my kingdom with him."

A man of her following who had not killed the snake said, "I killed it."

Daura said to him, "Where is the head." He produced another snake's head. Comparison was made, and he was proved a liar.

Another came forward and said, "I killed it." Daura said, "Where is the head." He had nothing to say, so was discredited. Many others after that tried the same story, till the old woman at whose house Aba Yajîda lodged said: "A man certainly came to my house with something like an ox and took a bucket, and went to the well, and drew water; and drank, he and his beast. Then he returned from the well with the rest of the water, and gave it to me; perhaps he did the deed."

Daura said, "Send to his lodging and bring him to me."

Then the old woman went to her house—her name was Ai Wela—and when she reached it said, "My son, arise up." And he went with the old woman and came to Daura, who said to him, "Was it you who killed this snake?" He said, "Yes, I killed it in the night." She said to him, "Where is the head." He produced the head, and the people saw that it was indeed the head of the snake.

Then they were astonished, and Daura said, "O man, I have said that if I found out who had done this deed I would divide my kingdom with him."

Aba Yajîda said, "I do not wish for half the kingdom, but I do wish to marry you." So he married her, and remained in her house with a slave she gave him.

Whenever Daura's people went to her house, they did not call it Daura's house, but said that they went to the house of Makas Sarki (the snake killer).

This is the origin of the Hausa title "Sarki".

Now the slave of Daura conceived, but Daura herself had no child. When the child was born it was a boy, and they sought a name for it, and called it Mun Karbi Gari (we have taken over the town). Then Daura conceived, and bore a son, and when he was to be named said, "that her son should be called Bawo Gari (give us the town)."

Then his father Aba Yajîda Makas Sarki died, and Bawo succeeded him, and himself begat the sons of Bawo, six in number.

The first born was Boganda, Sarkin Kano, who with Gazan Sarkin Daura had the same mother.

Gamgama Sarkin Zakzak and Dausa'a, the first Sarki of Gobir, had the same mother.

Kumaiyo Sarkin Katsina and Zamnagawa Sarkin Rano had the same mother.

KHAMRIYYAH (THE WINE SONG) OF SHAYKH 'UMAR IBN AL-FĀRID (577-632 A.H.)

With translation by A. SEFI

[*For text, see p. 247.*]

(1) To the Beloved we drank a wine,
With which we were intoxicated,
Ere the vineyard was created.

The Beloved is the Prophet, or the Creator Himself, source of love. The wine is the knowledge and love of the Divinity and the intoxication is ecstasy.

شربنا على ذكر كقولهم شربنا بسرّ فلان

الذِّكر في اصطلاح المشايخ التوحيد والفرآء يخصُّ الذِكر باللسان والذُكر بالجنان

الكرم والكرمة بستان العنب وبنت الكرم الخمرة

(2) The full moon is for It a cup,
And Itself is a sun,
A crescent hands It round,
And oh! how many stars appear,
When It is diluted.

The description is a contrast with the material crystal cup and red wine usually handed round by a young attendant, and the wine being then diluted with water ومنه قولهم اذاشربتَ فاُحنذْ. The full moon represents the Prophet. The sun represents the divine wine. The crescent represents the learned. The dilution means the various religions. The stars represent the bubbles that rise in dilution and mean the teachers of the various religions.

ومن تشبيههم الخمر بالشمس قولهم

خمرٌ اذا ماندیمي باتَ یشربها اخشى علیهِ من اللألآءِ یحترقُ

لو رام یحلف ان الشمس ماغربت في فیهِ كذَّبهُ من وجههِ الشفقُ

(3) Were it not for Its fragrance,
I should not have found my way to Its Tavern,
And were it not for Its radiance,
Imagination could not have pictured It.

The Tavern is God's creation, the rest is His manifestation therein.

الشذا قوّة ذكآء الرائحة

الحان دكّان الخمّار مذكر حانة اوجمع لها مثل حاج جمع حاجة
قيل انها على وزن فعَلة من الحَين وهو الهلاك
لانها تهلك المال والاعراض

السنى النور والسنآء الرفعة

الوهم مايقع في القلب من الخاطر

(4) Age has reduced It to an essence,
As if It were a secret to be kept
In the heart of the wise.

Old wine being best, this wine older than any is consequently best of all.

الدهر الزمان الطويل وهناعنى به العالَم

الحشاشة بقية الحياة كالرَمَق

الخفا بدل من الخفآء بالمد لضرورة الشعر وهذا الفعل
هومن الاضداد بمعنى كتَم واظهر فان الاية في
سورة طه ان الساعة اتية اكاد أُخفيها تعنى
اكاد اكشفها

كتم اسرّ

But Shaykh Hasan Būrīnī sets against this interpretation the saying of Al-Shahāb al-Suhrawardī : يانورالنور ويا خفيًا من فرط الظهور

i.e. "Oh! Light of the light, O! Thou hidden to the sense, by thy overwhelming presence."

(5) Were It mentioned in the tribe,
Its members would become intoxicated,
But without incurring shame or sin.

Wine-drinking is sinful in Islam, besides it being shameful to get drunk.

اصبح ترمي الى ان التهجدُ كشرب الخمر يكون ليلاً
نشاوى جمع نشوان المذكر و نشوى المونث وهو السكران
إثم الحرام وفوق الذَنْب

(6) Should It ever come to the mind
Of anyone,
Joy would abide with him, and sorrow depart.

خطرت مَرّت والخاطر البال ومنه قول الحريري وكم اخطر
في بالٍ ولا اخطر في بالِ اي امشي بثوب بالٍ ولا
امَرّ ببال احد ليرحمني

(7) And were they to lay in the shade of Its vineyard,
A sick one despaired of,
Sickness would leave him.

الفَيءُ ماكان عشيّةً والظلُ ماكان قبل ذلك
الحائط الجدار والاول بمعنى الاحاطة والثاني بمعنى الارتفاع
اشفى العليل امتنع شفآءهُ

(8) And were a paralytic brought near
To Its abode,
He would start walking.
And mutes would talk at the thought
Of Its flavour.

ذِكرى الذِكر باللسان او بالقلب غير منصرفة لان الفها للتأنيث

المذاق طعم الشي

(9) Were they to sprinkle with It,
A grave,
Its dead would rise, with his body revived.

Shaykh Nābulusi says this is a reference to Christ's raising of Lazarus.

نضح رشّ وبلّ ونضحت القربة رشحت ومنه المثل وكل اناءٍ بالذي فيه ينضح مراً الى افعال الناس وتفاوتها بالحسن

ميّت للذكور وميْت للذكور والاناث

(10) Were Its perfume to spread East,
And one deprived of smell were West,
The power of smell would come back to him.

By West is meant Morocco and its divines.

عَبَقَ المكانُ بالطيب انتشرت رائحته فيهِ

انفاس جمع نَفَس

الزُكام بطلان الشمّ لعروض آفةٍ على حاسَّتِهِ

(11) And were the revellers to gaze at Its seal,
This sight alone would intoxicate them.

The seal is a guarantee of quality in wine, and as such an important factor.

النَدمان المُنادِم على الشرب وكل رفيق وقد يكون جمعاً واما النديم فيجمع على نُدَمآء وقيل ان المنادمة

قلب المدامنة لان المنادم يُدمِن الشراب مع
ندبه والقلب في كلام العرب كثير

(12) And were a person's hand to be stained,
Through touching Its cup,
He would not lose his way at night,
Since a star would be in his hand.

كُف لامسٍ اشارة الى بيع الملامسة والى الحديث ان الله اشترى
من المومنين انفسَهم

الخضاب هنا اشارة الى النجم المسمّى الكفّ الخضيب والافان
الخضاب للرجل هو صبغ اللحية وللمرأة صبغ
اليدين بالحِنّآء

نجم اشارة الى الحديث اصحابي كالنجوم بايّهم اقتد يتم
اهتد يتم والشيخ النابلسي يقول بان اصحاب
الرسول هم محبوّه في كل زمان على الاطلاق

(13) And were It secretly put before a blind man,
He would see,
And the sound of pouring It out,
Would make the deaf hear.

جُليت عبارة عن ظهورها

الراووق المِصفاة والكاس بعينها

(14) Were travellers to pass through Its land,
And one of them be bitten by a snake,
The poison would not hurt him.

الركب رفقة من عشرة ومافوق على الجمال ام على الخيل

الملسوع الذي عضّته حيّة

(15) And were a wizard to inscribe the letters
Of Its name on the forehead of a madman,
The inscription would restore his reason.

The wizard is the teacher.

جُنَّ سُلِبَ عقله فهو مجنون وجَنَّ الليل اظلم

(16) And were Its name to be written on the banner of an army
The writing would intoxicate those who are under it.

The Sufi leaders themselves have various banners, for instance, the followers of الشيخ عبد القادر الكيلا ني have theirs inscribed الذلُّ والانكسار; while the followers of محي الدين بن عربي inscribe theirs with العلم النافع والعمل الرافع, and followers of الشيخ ابي الحسن الشاذلي write on theirs ترك التدبير, meaning respectively "Humility and Contrition", "Useful learning and Ennobling action," and "Abandonment of Artifices."

(17) It exalts the sentiments of Its votaries,
And by It the cowardly would find strength.

اخلاق جمع خُلُق وخُلُق وهو السجيَّة والطبع والمروءة والعادة والدِين وعلم الاخلاق علم السلوك

العزم والعزيمة الارادة المؤكَّدة مطلقاً واما العزم والحزم الارادة الحسنة

(18) And he whose hand knows not generosity,
Generous would he become,
And he who has no clemency,
Would under provocation be clement.

i.e. contrary to the effect of ordinary wine!

الحِلْم الطما نينة عند سؤرة الغضب والحلم الرؤيا في النوم
والحَلَم فساد الجلد ومن امثالهم انما تقرع
العصا لذي حِلْمٍ وايضا ادابغةٌ وقد حَلِمَ
الاديمُ هذا الاخير مأخوذ من بيت كتب به
الوليد بن عقبه الى معوية بن ابي سفيان يقول فيه
فانك والكتابَ الى عليٍّ كدابغةٍ وقدحَلِمَ
الاديمُ

(19) And were an idiot to be allowed,
To kiss Its stopper,
The kissing would make him wise.

الفَدم الغبي الغليظ والفِدام المِصفاة

الشمائل جمع شِمال وهوالطبع

(20) They say to me: Describe It, for thou art in that an expert;
Yes I have knowledge of Its qualities.

The knowledge claimed here is experience.

اَجَل حرف جواب مثل نَعَم الأَانه احسن منها بعدالطلب
وهي احسن منه بعدالا ستفهام

عِند ظرف مكان حقيقةً كجلست عنده ومجازاً كعندي
علم وتاتي لزمان الحضور كجئته عند طلوع الشمس
ولاتقع مجرورةً الاَ بمن كجئت من عندِهِ وتاتي
بمعنى الاعتقاد تقول عندي كذا اي اعتقادي

كذا وبمعنى الملك نحو عندي مالٌ اي املك مالاً
وبمعنى الحكم نحو عندي هذا افضل من ذاك
اي في حكمي وبمعنى الفضل والاحسان كما في صورة
القصص فان اتممتَ عشراً فمن عندِكَ اي من
فضلكَ وتقع اسم فعل للاغرآبها نحو عندك
فلاناً اي خذهُ

(21) (These are :) Limpidity, but not of water ;
Softness, but not of air :
Luminosity, but not of fire :
Spirit, but without body.

هواً بدل من هوآء بالمد لضرورة الشعر اما الهوى فهو
العشق

(22) It was, before all existing things,
In the long past, when there was no shape or form.

حديثها هو اما الكلام "لوغوس" اما النشأة الذاتية لا الزمانية
اذ الزمان من جملة المخلوقات

(23) Then, by It all things had their being,
And for some wise purpose, It veiled Itself therein,
To those who have no understanding.

Some see in this a pantheistic idea, but pantheism is " the Universe is God ", whereas here the idea is that God is immanent in all things, like the tree in the seed.

(24) And my soul loved It, to the extent of being
One with It, but there was no mixing as that of one substance with another.

Being one with It, is interpreted by some as " Hulûl ", but I take it to mean simply agreement.

مَزَجَ الشرابَ بالماءِ خلطه بهِ وتمازج الرجلان اختلطا
بالمزاج وهو الطبع ومِزاج الخمر ريحها لاطعمها

(25) Before It there was no before,
And there is no after, after its after,
And the precedence of all afters is absolutely its own.

Time being a created thing, is finite, whereas the Absolute Spirit is not.

قَبل ظرف زمان نقيض بعد مالم يحْذَف المضاف اليه
وينوَ معناه فقط دون لفظه فيُبنى على الضمّ
كقول الشاعر محا حبُّها حبَّ الاولى كُن
قبلَها وحلَّت مكانالم يكُن حُلَّ من قبلُ

قبلية اسم زمان من قبل
الا بعاد جمع بَعْد

(26) Beauties are all these, which
Teach admirers of this wine,
The way to praise It,
And so they do in prose and verse.

محاسن جمع حسن على غير قياس
لوصفها اي الى وصفها

(27) And joyful he will be, who knows It not,
When its name is merely mentioned,
Like a lover when he hears the name of a beloved.

نُعْم اسم مليحة من نسآء العرب اللواتي تتغزَّل بهن
شعرآءهم كليلى ومي وسعد وسعدى وجُمْل
والمشتاق هوالمغرم التائِق كقول مجنون ليلى

الستَ وعدتني ياقلبُ اني اذاما تُبتُ عن ليلى تتوبُ
وها انا تائب عن حبّ ليلى فمالك كلما ذُكرت تذوبُ

(28) They said : Thou hast drunk the sin !
I replied : Never, but rather that which,
It would be a sin, not to drink.

Wine being forbidden by the Qur'ān, it is sinful to drink it.

(29) Happy are the Convent's dwellers,
How often they are intoxicated by It,
And they drank It not, but they aspired !

He means that Christian mystics and monks, have tried to taste of this divine wine, but were not thorough in their endeavour.

تهنّاءً بالطعام والشراب ساغ لهولذّ فهنيئًا دعآء بذلك للرهبان

همّ بالشيء عزم عليه ولم يفعله

(30) I felt Its exhilaration when yet a child,
And It will ever remain with me,
Though my bones decay.

النشوة نشاط الحاصل في مبادي الشرب

النشأة من نشاء الطفل اذا شرع بالارتقآء نحو الشبوبية وبينهما الجناس اللاحق وبين البقآء والبلى جناس الطباق

(31) Hasten and take It pure,
But if you wish It diluted,
Be just and get It from the mouth,
Of the Beloved.

The Prophet's mouth.

عليك بها تحريض على تناولها

عَدَل عن امتنع واعرض عن وبينه وبين الظلم ايهام الطباق لان عَدَلَ يناقض ظَلَم

الظَلَم بريق الا سنان ومآءها
الظُلَم الحيف والتعدي
} وبينهما الجناس المحرَّف

كما ان بين الصرف والمزج جناس الطباق

(32) Take It in the tavern,
And pass It round there,
To the sound of music,
Which adds to its charm.

The tavern here stands for the place of meeting for Dhikr.

الجلوة تكون للعروس فقداشار بانها كالعروس

العرب تقول المُدامة بغير نَغَم غمّ وبغير دَسَم سمّ وبغير نديم نَدَم وقال شاعرهم ولاتشرب بلاطرب فاني رائتُ الخيل تشرب بالصفيرِ وقيل الكريم طروب وفي البيت الجناس التامّ بين الحان والالحان والمقلوب بين نغم وغنم

(33) For where It is, worry cannot be,
As sadness can never be,
Where there is music.

والهمَّ منصوب على انه مفعول معه والواو للمعية ويجوز ان يقال والهمُّ بالرفع على انه معطوف على الضمير المستكن كقول المتنبي

اوذُ من الايام مالاتوده واشكو اليها بيننا وهي جندُهُ
يباعدن خلاً يجتمعن ووصله فكيف بخلٍّ يجتمعن وصدُّهُ

وبين هم وغم الجناس المحرَّف وبين نغم وغم الجناس المطرف

(34) Were you to be for one hour only,
Drunk with It,
You would fancy the world your slave,
To rule and command.

لو للتوكيد والتشديد لاللشرط

قال الشاعر اذاما نديمي علّني ثم علّني ثلاثَ زجاجاتٍ لهنَّ هديرُ

خرجتُ اجرُّ الذيل تيهاً كانني عليك اميرَ المومنين اميرُ

وما احسن المقابلة بين الساعة والدهر

(35) There is no happiness in this world,
To him who lives sober,
And one who does not die drunk with It,
Will miss the benefit of resolution.

عيش المعيشة ولذتها ومجازاً الخبز الذي يعتاش به

الصاحي هنا للصاحي للعب واللهو والزينة والتفاخر والتكاثر

قال تعالى انما الحياة الدنيا لعب ولهو وزينة

وتفاخر بينكم وتكاثر في الاموال والاولاد

(36) Let him bewail his fate,
Whose life has been spent,
And has not in It,
A lot or share.

خمريّة
الشّيخ عمر بن الفارض

1 شربنا على ذكر الحبيب مدامة سكرنا بها من قبل أن يخلق الكرم
2 لها البدر كأس وهي شمس يديرها هلال وكم يبدو إذا مزجت نجم
3 ولولا شذاها ما اهتديت لحانها ولولا سناها ما تصوّرها الوهم
5 ولم يبق منها الدّهر غير حشاشة كأنّ خفاها في صدور النّهى كتم
4 فإن ذكرت في الحيّ أصبح أهله نشاوى ولا عار عليهم ولا إثم
6 وإن خطرت يوماً على خاطر امرئ أقامت به الأفراح وارتحل الهمّ
7 ولو طرحوا في فيء حائط كرمها عليلاً وقد أشفى لفارقه السّقم
8 ولو قرّبوا من حانها مقعداً مشى ويفطق من ذكرى مذاقتها البكم
9 ولو نضحوا منها ثرى قبر ميّت لعادت اليه الرّوح وانتشر الجسم
10 ولو عبقت في الشّرق أنفاس طيبها وفي الغرب مزكوم لعاد له الشّمّ
11 ولو نظر النّدمان ختم إنائها لاسكرهم من دونها ذلك الختم
12 ولو خضبت من كأسها كفّ لامس لما ضلّ في ليل وفي يده نجم
13 ولو جليت سرّاً على أكمه غدا بصيراً ومن راووقها تسمع الصّمّ
14 ولو أنّ ركباً يمّموا ترب أرضها وفي الرّكب ملسوع لما ضرّه السّمّ
15 ولو رسم الرّاقي حروف اسمها على جبين مصاب جنّ أبرأه الرّسم
16 وفوق لواء الجيش لو رقم اسمها لاسكر من تحت اللّوا ذلك الرّقم
17 تهذّب اخلاق النّدامى فيهتدي بها لطريق العزم من لاله عزم
18 ويكرم من لم يعرف الجود كفّه ويحلم عند الغيظ من لاله حلم

19 ولو نالَ قَدْمُ القومِ لثمَ فِدائِها لَكسبَهُ معنى شمائِلِها اللثمُ
20 يقولونَ لي صِفْها فأنتَ بوصفِها خبيرٌ أجَلْ عندي بأوصافِها علمُ
21 صفاءٌ ولا ماءٌ ونورٌ ولا نارٌ ونُورٌ ولا نارٌ ورُوحٌ ولا جسمُ
22 تقدَّمَ كلَّ الكائناتِ حديثُها قديمًا ولا تُكلْ هُناكَ ولا رُسْمُ
23 وقامتْ بها الأشياءُ ثمَّ لحِكمةٍ بها أحجبتْ عن كلِّ مَنْ لالهُ فهمُ
24 وهامتْ بها روحي بحيثُ تمازجا تسحادًا ولا جرمٌ تُخلِّلهُ جرمُ
25 ولا قبلَها قبلٌ ولا بعدَ بعدُها وقبليَّةُ الأبعادِ فيها لها ختمُ
26 محاسنُ تهدي الماهرينَ لوصفِها فيحسُنُ فيها منهمُ النثرُ والنظمُ
27 ويُطربُ مَنْ لم يدرِها عندَ ذِكرِها كمُشتاقِ نُعمٍ كلَّما ذُكِرتْ نُعمُ
28 وقالوا شربتَ الإثمَ كلًّا وإنَّما شربتُ التي في تركِها عندي الإثمُ
29 هنيئًا لأهلِ الدَّيرِ كم سكروا بها وما شربوا منها ولكنَّهم همُّوا
30 وعندي منها نشوةٌ قبلَ نشأتي معي أبدًا تبقى وإنْ بليَ العظمُ
31 عليكَ بها صِرْفًا وإنْ شئتَ مزجَها فعدلُكَ عن ظلمِ الحبيبِ هو الظلمُ
32 فدونكَها في الحانِ واستجلِها بهِ على نَغَمِ الألحانِ فهي بها غنمُ
33 فما سكنتْ والهمَّ يومًا بموضعٍ كذلكَ لم يسكنْ معَ الغمِّ الغمُّ
34 وفي سُكرةٍ منها ولو عُمرَ ساعةٍ ترى الدهرَ عبدًا طائعًا ولكَ الحكمُ
35 فلا عيشَ في الدنيا لمَنْ عاشَ صاحيًا ومَنْ لم يمُتْ سكرًا بها فاتَهُ الحزمُ
36 على نفسِهِ فليبكِ مَنْ ضاعَ عمرُهُ وليسَ لهُ فيها نصيبٌ ولا سهمُ

ARABIC LITERATURE SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By Shaykh M. H. 'Abd al-Raziq

THE dawn of the nineteenth century marks a new era in the history of Arabic literature. After five centuries of mental lethargy, beginning with the irruption of the Mongols into the Muslim world in the thirteenth century, a renewed zeal for learning has dispelled the gloom which so long overshadowed the Arabic-speaking countries. Many factors were at work to bring about a beneficial change. The West began to take varied interest in the dormant East by collecting and studying its long-forgotten literatures. This interest led to a closer relation between Arabic-speaking countries and European nations, resulting happily in a Renaissance in Egypt and Syria especially. The natives of these countries began to study not only their own literature, but also the new literatures of the West.

This Renaissance swept away the cobwebs of ignorance, superstition, and bigotry. It created a new desire for knowledge, infused vitality into the dead, revived the dying, and produced a more tolerant, rational, and scholarly literature, and although it did not effect an immediate reformation in the East, it prepared the way; but until such reformation had been widely established, no real progress could be made.

The main factors of this new activity were the introduction of printing in Egypt and Syria, the practice of sending promising students from Egypt and Syria to finish their education in Europe, the founding of educational institutions, literary societies, and the publication of scientific, political, and literary journals in great centres. All these factors prepared the way for a general intellectual awakening and made possible a new conception of life.

After some years of slow progress, books on various modern subjects were either translated from European languages or compiled in Arabic by native authors who had received a Western education. The goal of their efforts was to introduce into the Arabic language what was needed of Western modern culture. Simultaneously with these efforts important educational work was being carried on by

Orientalists. Most of the literature of the golden age of Islam, though fortunately preserved from destruction, had been relegated to oblivion for many centuries. This literature, which attests a marvellous activity of intellect, and which had preserved and transmitted the learning and priceless treasures of ancient Greece and Rome to modern times, proved to be of inestimable value both to the West and to the East.

When its value had been realized, the study of Arabic was revived in European universities. To facilitate the study of the language and its literature, manuscripts were collected and edited by scholars.

The printing presses of Europe, Syria, and Egypt gave publicity to a great number of linguistic, historical, philosophical, geographical, and religious works. A far larger quantity, however, still remains scattered in Western, Eastern, public, and private libraries.

Modern Arabic literature dates from the French expedition to Egypt in 1797. It is greatly influenced by Western civilization and modern thought, which contributed a good deal to its contents, but did not affect its fundamental characteristics. Among the many forces which co-operated in creating such influence was the employment of European teachers in educational institutions in Egypt and Syria especially during the reign of Mohammed Ali Pasha.

With all his illiteracy and vices he had a genuine desire to improve the condition of his subjects. As there were no books in the Arabic language on modern science, official translating offices were instituted, in which European and native scholars were engaged; and after some years of such work, in addition to individual efforts, books were available, and some sort of modern education was possible for the people. Individual translations and original works were undertaken by many Egyptian and Syrian natives. At the beginning they had many difficulties, the greatest of which was how to render new technical terms in the Arabic language. Old Arabic literature, which might have lessened such difficulties, was not yet studied, and unfortunately many of them were afraid to face criticism by introducing foreign words into Arabic. For there were those who had their ideals only in the past and who condemned all innovations.

Yet there were others whose ideals were in the future, who realized that all progressive languages must borrow from one another. There is a considerable controversial literature in Arabic on this subject of borrowing foreign words. The general tendency had been, and still

is, towards keeping the language pure from foreign vocables, so that practically all such words used in the Arabic language were carefully collected and their equivalents given.

The following are names of some books dealing with this subject :—

(1) الدليل الى مرادف العامى والدخيل
تأليف عطية اللبنانى

(2) كتاب الاشتقاق والتعريب
تأليف عبد القادر المغربى

(3) تهذيب العامى والمحرف
تأليف حسن على البدراوى

(4) تهذيب الألفاظ العامية
تأليف الشيخ محمد على الدسوقى

(5) معجم الألفاظ الحديثة
تأليف محمد بيك دياب

(6) لف القماط على تصحيح ما استعمله العامة من العرب والدخيل والأغلاط، تأليف صديق حسن القنوجى الهندى

(7) اصول الكلمات العامية
تأليف حسن افندى توفيق

In their efforts to supply Arabic equivalents for foreign words, the critics, believing that the Arabic language has the richest vocabulary of all languages, and is therefore capable of expressing all new ideas, had recourse to the rule of derivation from Arabic roots.

Here are some examples of foreign words and their newly coined Arabic equivalents :—

Foreign.	Arabic.	Meaning.
اكسبرس	أَلْعَاجِلَةُ	Express train.
أمنيبوس	أَلْحَافِلَةُ	Omnibus.
أتومبيل	سَيَّارَةٌ	Automobile.
تلفون	مِسَرَّةٌ	Telephone.
تلغراف	إِشَارَة بَرْقِيَةٌ	Telegraph.
بنك	مَصْرَفٌ	Bank.
بسابورت	جَوَازٌ	Passport.
تلسكوب	مِرْقَبٌ	Telescope.
تياترو	مَلْعَبٌ	Theatre.
جوانتى	قُفَّازٌ	Gloves.
اسپتالية	مُسْتَشْفَى	Hospital.
أنتيكخانة	مَتْحَفٌ	Museum.

The efforts of these native scholars were not confined to supplying Arabic words for foreign ones, but they attempted also to supply correct classical forms for all colloquialisms that have crept into the language. It must be stated, however, that there are very few people who know or take the trouble to use a classical form instead of a foreign or colloquial one, and although there are local colloquial differences in North Africa, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, there is no colloquial written literature.

Modern Arabic literature differs from the old both in its form and content. In form, it is free from bombastic and affected style. Most modern writers, especially those who had Western liberal education and knew other languages than Arabic, expressed themselves in words of common use.

They adopted the language in which they could address the largest audience, and gave up imitating the style of old writers; they arranged subjects under sections, chapters, headings, and gave illustrations and indexes. They were aware of the fact that they were writing for the people and not for the learned few.

In content, modern Arabic literature had been enriched by having new and very useful additions from modern European literature. These additions range over all branches of modern science and art.

In science, works were first prepared by European teachers in Egyptian and Syrian educational centres, and were then translated by natives who were specially employed for such work.

The following are some of the earlier translated and composed works in Arabic :—

Medical Works translated from French

(1) القول الصريح فى علم التشريح

This is the first medical work translated into Arabic and was published in 1832.

It was translated by the Syrian يوسف عنجورى

(2) (رسالة فى تطعيم الجدرى)

Translated by an Egyptian (احمد الرشيدى) (died 1865).

(3) (الدرر الغوال فى معالجة امراض الاطفال)

Translated by an Egyptian (محمد بيك الشافعى)

(4) (أصول الفلسفة الطبيعية)

Translated by (ابراهيم النبراوى) (died 1862).

Medical Works composed by Natives

Works by (محمد على باشا البقلى) (died 1876).

(1) روضة النجاح الكبرى فى العمليات الجراحية الصغرى

(2) غرر الفلاح فى اعمال الجراح

(3) غاية الفلاح فى فن الجراح

These works were published in 1259, 1262, and 1281 A.H. respectively.

Works by احمدحسن الرشيدى (died 1865).

(1) بهجه الروساء فى امراض النساء

(2) نزهة الاقبال فى مداواة الأطفال

(3) الروضة البهية فى مداواة الامراض الجلدية

(4) عمدة المحتاج فى علمى الادوية والعلاج

This last work comprises four large volumes, and was published in 1283 A.H.

MATHEMATICAL WORKS

Works by (محمد بيومى) (died 1851).

(1) ثمرة الاكتساب فى علم الحساب

(2) كتاب الجبر والمقابلة

(3) الهندسة الوصفية

Works by (محمود باشا الفلكى) (died 1855).

(1) رسالة فى التقاويم الاسر ائيلية الاسلامية

(2) التقاويم العربية قبل الاسلام

(3) رسالة فى مقياس مصرو مكيا لهاوميزا نهاو مقابلة ذلك بالاقيسة الفرنسية

Translation of Poetical and Literary Works

Translations into Arabic were also made from ancient and modern Aryan literatures.

From the Persian the *Rubā'iyyāt of 'Umar Khayyām* and the *Gulistān of Sa'di* had been translated into Arabic.

The first by وديع البستانى. The second by خليل مخلع الدمشقى.

From the Greek. سليمان البستانى translated Homer's epic poem in very fine Arabic verse.

The following Shakespeare plays have been translated: *Romeo and Juliet*, *Henry V*, *The Tempest*, *Macbeth*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Othello*.

Translations were also made from the French, especially from the works of La Fontaine, Corneille, Racine, Molière, Hugo, and Dumas.

The translation of plays from French and English, and the interest which the acting of such dramatic representations had created in Syria and Egypt, led many zealous natives to write original plays in Arabic, and thus enriched the language by a new literature and long-neglected art.

The history of the Arabic drama begins from about the middle of the nineteenth century. A Syrian native of Sidon, named مارون النقاش (1817–55), wrote the first Arabic play called *The Miser*, which was acted in 1848. He wrote many plays in Arabic, besides those which he had translated from Italian and French, thus creating sufficient interest in this new art for it to be carried on by other writers. In 1878 a notable play in a versified form, the first in the Arabic language, was produced by another Syrian scholar, named خليل اليازجى (1856–89), under the title of المروءة والوفاء, showing the virtues of pre-Islamic Arabs.

As we pass on towards the latter years of the century we meet with more prolific writers, the greatest of whom was نجيب الحداد (1867–99), a writer and translator of many plays. From English he translated (1) *Romeo and Juliet*, under the Arabic title of شهداء الغرام, and (2) *The Talisman*, by Sir Walter Scott, bearing the Arabic title of

صلاح الدين. Among his translations from French are—(1) *Le Cid*, by Corneille, giving it the Arabic name of السيد. (2) *Hernani*, by Victor Hugo, with the name of حمدان. Among his original Arabic plays are—(1) الطبيب المغصوب, (2) ثارات العرب, (3) المهدى السودانى.

It might have been expected that the building of the Cairo Opera House by Ismail Pasha in 1869 would have helped in the development of this new branch in the Arabic literature. But as it was built for the entertainment of a master-jobber and his immediate circle, who knew as much of the language of the people as they cared for their happiness, only foreign language was used in that opera.

Schools and societies entertained the people until theatrical companies were formed in Syria and Egypt, and greater numbers of plays were produced.

Egypt contributed her share for the development of the Arabic drama by producing men who wrote original Arabic plays and translated foreign ones. Among writers of Arabic plays was عبدالله نديم (1844–96). His two plays العرب and الوطن were performed before the Khedive Tawfik, who, after rewarding the author, sent him to exile.

Another noteworthy poet and scholar was عثمان بيك جلال (1829–98), who translated in colloquial Arabic poetry three French plays by Racine, namely, *Esther*, *Iphigénie*, and *Alexandre Le Grand*. It is interesting to note that these plays are the first to be put into modern colloquial Arabic poetry. This same author translated also the *Fables* of La Fontaine into colloquial Arabic poetry under the title of العيون اليواقظ فى الأمثال والمواعظ.

The following are the opening lines of *Alexandre Le Grand* :—

انت نويت انك تحاربه ياترى هوانت لك على اسكندر مقدرة

غلب ملوك اسيا الجميع بقوته واغلب الدنيا بقت فى قبضته

اوعى لعقلك ياأخى وافتكر احسن يقولوا الناس عليك مخك عكر

يامامدن اتعرضت له فى الحراب وصبحت بعد الهزيمة كوم تراب

اياك تنقص فى الكلام والا تزيد لتروح اسير عنده مكبل فى الحديد

Modern Arabic literature has been impregnated with countless romances and historical novels. The greatest modern novel writer was جرجى زيدان (1861–1914). He wrote a series of historical novels, sketching the Arabic history and Moslem dynasties in a clear, simple, and very interesting style. These historical novels created interest to so wide an extent that most of them have been translated into many languages.

Journalism

The introduction of journalism into Arabic literature is associated with the name of Mohammed Ali Pasha, who founded an Arabic official gazette in 1828 under the title of الوقائع المصرية, the only paper that has an unbroken existence to the present day. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the progress of the Arabic press was very rapid; and many daily, weekly, and monthly publications were founded in the great centres of Turkey, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa, besides many more in Europe and America. Many of these publications had an ephemeral existence like most Eastern enterprises. The reasons for this characteristic are only known to those who understand the psychology of the East.

The following works should be consulted for a complete history of the Arabic press :—

(1) جامع التصانيف المصريه الحديثة من سنة ١٣٠١ الى ١٤١٠ هجرية. This work was compiled by an Egyptian scholar named عبد الله الأنصاري, and was printed by the Government Press of Bulaq in 1312 A.H.; one section of the work deals with journalism.

(2) The Arabic Press of Egypt by Martin Hartmann, printed by Luzac & Co. in 1899.

(3) The last chapter in *Littérature Arabe*, by Clément Huart.

(4) تاريخ الصحافة العربية، يحتوى على اخبار كل جريدة ومجلة عربية ظهرت فى العالم شرقاوغربا مع رسوم اصحابها والمحررين فيها وتراجم مشاهيرهم بقلم الفيكونت فيليب دى طرازى

From its title this Arabic work claims to give the history of every Arabic paper in the world, with photographs of proprietors and editors and their biographies. Other sources of information on the Arabic press are given on pages 20 to 28 of this last work.

ARABIC POETRY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Heredity, spiritual and intellectual environments are the creators of a poet's imagination in all ages and in all nations. Poetry is a natural gift to Arabs, and its quality is determined by, and subject to, the intellectual environment in which they live. Arabic poetry of the nineteenth century is the product of many races, with natural characteristics and degrees of education, and is not therefore the same in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Arabia, and North Africa. In some of these countries where modern civilization is either despised by the inhabitants or not within their reach, Arabic poetry is still primitive in its form and content. In others, where works of European poets had been studied and comparison in form and content made, new diction and ideas were introduced into modern Arabic literature. A wider range of subjects occupied the attention of modern poets. The modern Arabic muse is struggling to adjust itself to the new world by assimilating its new ideas when and where it is possible to have access to such ideas. It is sad to reflect that modern education in all Arabic speaking nations has been either neglected or purposely denied to the people. Those who were fortunate enough to have access to education, and to raise themselves a little higher in the scale of humanity, were self-educated men. The quantity and quality of modern Arabic poetry would undoubtedly have been greater had there been facilities for modern education.

Modern Arabic poetry is not all expressed in that specialized kind of diction used by old poets. Many poets of the century disregarded the use of روي, just as many writers disregarded

rhymed prose. They also employed new metres which do not come within the sixteen classical forms with all their difficult technicalities. Again, to many modern poets it is no longer a mark of erudition to adorn their versification with a hundred and one verbal niceties, such as exordium, paronomasia, peroration, etc.

SOME EGYPTIAN POETS AND PROSE WRITERS OF THE PERIOD

(1) الشيخ محمد المهدى (1737–1815).

He was born of Christian parents and later in life became a Muslim, studying for some years at Al-Azhar University at Cairo, and finally becoming its rector in 1812. His work, which bears the title of تحفة المستيقظ الآنس فى نزهة المستنيم الناعس, was written in imitation of *Arabian Nights*. It was translated into French by Jean-Josef Marcel under the title of *Contes du Cheykh El Mahdi*.

(2) السيد على درويش (died 1853).

He was educated at Al-Azhar and became a court poet to Abbas I. His work was collected by one of his pupils and lithographed in 482 pages, under the title of الاشعار بحميد الأشعار.

Examples of his poetry: –

From an eulogy.

سررت بنيل القصد من غير موعد ولا شيئ أشهى من سرور مجدد

سررت بنعماه ولكن حزنت من قصورى بحق الشكر فى فضل سيدى

Of the two great pyramids.

انظر الى الهرمين واعلم انني فيما اراه منهما مبهوت

رسخا على صدر الزمان وقلبه لم ينهضا حتى الزمان يموت

His prose belongs to the old style, as the following lines on virtue and vice show: –

وفقك الله لما يرضاه وعصمك من موجب الذم ومن لا يتحاشاه

ان الفضيلة والرذيلة صفتان متضادتان ونوع الانسان مجبول على الاولى

والفرار من الاخرى.

(3) الشيخ محمد شهاب الدين (1803–57).

He was educated at Al-Azhar and became the editor of the government gazette الوقائع المصرية. He left a work under the title of سفينة الملك ونفيسة الفلك, a very interesting book on music and Arabic songs, to which he contributed a great deal of his own composition in the new metres known as موشحات، اهازيج، موالى، زجليات. He also left a diwan of poetry, of 380 pages, which was published in 1277 A.H. These two lines describe a sundial in the mosque of Mohammed Ali :—

ومظهرة للوقت ظهرا وغيره وللبرج أيضا فهى واحدة العصر
سَلَامَةُ منشى رسمها وحسابها لجامع خيرات تفرد فى مصر

An eulogy of the Pope :—

بابا النصارى مربى روح ملتهم حامى حمى كل شماس وقسيس
شخص ولكن هيولى روحه ملك وجسمه صورة فى شكل قديس
اقام وهو وحيد العصر مفرده دين النصارى بتثليث وتغطيس
تسعى الملول ألَى تقبيل راحته فى البحر والبر فوق الفلك والعيس
احيا الكنائس جسما بعد مادرست وشيد الروح تشييدا بتأسيس
فعظموا الرب فيها بالصلاة له ومجدوه بتسبيح وتقديس

(4) السيد على ابو النصر المنفلوطى (died 1881).

He was a native of a town in Upper Egypt, and had the usual education of his time. His genius brought him to the notice of Ismail Pasha, who made him his court poet. His diwan was published in 1300 A.H.

The following are the opening lines of a poem on wine :—

بنت كرم دونها بنت الكرام وهى بنت زفها ساقى المدام
شمس راح فى اصطباح اشرقت فى سماء الكأس كالبدر التمام
كم تجلى كأسها عن لؤلؤ من حباب كالدرارى فى انتظام

(5) السيده عائشة التيمورية (1840-1902).

This poetess had the fortune to study Persian, Turkish, and Arabic literatures, and to compose songs in the three languages. She left a collection of poems in a diwan called حلية الطراز, which was published more than once.

She wrote the following lines on her literary achievement as a woman :—

بيد العفاف اصون عزحجابى وبعصمتى اسمو على اترابى
وبفكرة وقادة وقريحة نقادة قد كملت آدابى
ما ضرنى أدبى وحسن تعلمى الا بكونى زهرة الألباب
ما عاقنى خجلى عن العلياولا سدل الخمار بامتى ونقابى

(6) محمود باشا سامى البارودى (1840-1904).

Although of Turkish descent and educated for the army, he cultivated a very high literary taste in Arabic. He held high offices, culminating in that of Prime Minister during Arabi's revolt. He wrote many poems, the longest of which runs into 600 verses, written in imitation of the بُرْدة.

These are the opening lines of a poem on ambition—

سواى بتحنان الأغاريد يطرب وغيرى باللذات يلهو ويلعب
وما أنا ممن تأمر الخمر لبه ويملك سمعيه اليراع المشقب
ولكن أخوهم اذاما ترجحت بهسورة نحو العلا راح يدأب

Linguistic Works of the Period

The educational ideals of the century demanded new subjects and new methods of teaching. To meet this demand works on the history, literature, grammar, and practical study of the Arabic language were composed during the second half of the century. On the development of the language as a living medium for expressing ideas in all its history, and its relationship with Semitic and Aryan languages, the best work is that written by the prolific author جرجى زيدان. The work has the Arabic title :—

تاريخ اللغة العربية باعتبارها كائن حي خاضع لقانون الارتقاء

Many works have been written on the literature of the language, but the most complete is that by the same author, which deals with the whole history of Arabic literature. It comprises four volumes, and has the Arabic title :—

تاريخ اداب اللغة العربية، يشتمل على تاريخ آداب اللغة العربية وعلومها وماحوته من العلوم والأداب على اختلاف مواضيعها وتراجم العلماء والأدباء والشعراء وسائر ارباب القرائح ووصف مولفاتهم واماكن وجودها أوطبعها من اقدم ازمنة التاريخ الى الأن.

The following other works deal with special periods :—

(1) آداب اللغة العربية فى العصر العباسى
تأليف الشيخ الاسكندرى

(2) تاريخ علم الأدب
لحفنى بيك ناصف

(3) آداب اللغة العربيه
لمحمد المرصفى

(4) تاريخ الأداب العربية فى القرن التاسع عشر
للأب شيخو

(5) أعيان البيان من صبح القرن الثالث عشر الهجرى الى اليوم
تاليف حسن السندوبى

(6) مجانى الأدب
للاب لويس شيخو

(7) ادبيات اللغة العربية، لنظارة المعارف المصرية

In addition to many commentaries on old standard grammars, the following are some of the new works on this branch of study :—

(*a*) *Grammars*

(1) فصل الخطاب فى النحو والصرف

(2) الجمانة فى علم الصرف — تاليف الشيخ ناصيف اليازجى

(3) الجمان فى علم البيان

(4) غنية الطالب فى الصرف والنحو تاليف أحمد فارس

(5) فك التقليد فى علم الصرف

(6) الخواطر الحسان فى المعانى والبيان — تأليف جورج ضومط

(7) فلسفة البلاغة

(8) الخواطر العراب فى النحو والأعراب

(*b*) *Lexicons*

(1) المنجد فى اللغة العربية
تأليف الأب لويس شيخو

الجاسوس على القاموس	تأليف أحمد	(2)
سر الليال فى القلب والأبدال	فارس	(3)
محيط المحيط	تأليف بطرس	(4)
دائرة المعارف	البستانى	(5)

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL WORKS OF THE PERIOD

Interest was not lacking in the study of ancient and modern history, and many works were composed to meet the consequent demand. These new works deal with general, national, and local histories. Some were written by conservative authors who worship the past as regards style and record and collection of facts, and others were written by men who had some knowledge of literary criticism.

SOME EGYPTIAN HISTORIANS

(1) الشيخ عبد الله الشرقاوى (died 1812).

Like his contemporaries, he studied at the only educational centre, Al-Azhar, of which he was a rector. Besides his many religious works he left—

(*a*) تحفة الناظرين فى من ولى مصر من السلاطين

(*b*) التحفة البهية فى طبقات الشافعية

(2) عبد الرحمن الجبرتى (1754–1825).

His fame brought him to the notice of the French during their short occupation of Egypt, and he was employed in the Arabic office which was then established.

His well-known history عجائب الآثار فى التراجم والأخبار is a completion of Ibn Iyas's work on the history of Egypt. It has been translated into French. He left us another history, called مظهر التقديس بذهاب دولة الفرنسيس, which has been translated into French and Turkish.

(3) رفاعة بيك رافع (1801-73).

He was a native of Upper Egypt, and after he spent some years at Al-Azhar, he was sent to France with the First Egyptian Educational Mission in 1825. On his return to Egypt he was engaged as translator in the School of Medicine, from which he was promoted to be director of the School of Languages. He has left us eighteen works, consisting of translations and original treatises on various subjects.

His geographical works are :—

(*a*) جغرافيه ملطبرن

(*b*) التعريفات الشافية لمريد الجغرافية

His historical works are :—

(*a*) قلائد المفاخر فى غريب الأوائل والأواخر

(*b*) بداية القدماء وهداية الحكماء فى تاريخ قدماء اليونان

(*c*) انوار توفيق الجليل فى أخبار مصر وتوثيق بنى اسماعيل

(*d*) نهاية الايجاز فى سيرة ساكن الحجاز

(*To be continued.*)

THE LOTUKO LANGUAGE

By the Lord RAGLAN

	PAGE
Distribution, etc.	267
Alphabet	268
Prefixes and Suffixes	269
Grammatical Notes	270
Roots and Derivatives	273
Vocabulary	277
Appendix :—	
1. Numerals	291
2. Parts of the Body	291
3. The Village and House	292
4. Food and Cookery	292
5. Ornaments	293
6. Ceremonies and Superstitions	293
7. Calendar	294
8. Animals	294
9. Birds	295
10. Insects	295
11. Trees and Plants	296

The Lotuko language as here set forth is spoken by about 40,000 people, all of whom, with the exception of a few hundreds in the Opari district of Mongalla Province and the Chua District of Uganda, live in the district of that name.

Of other dialects spoken in the district the principal are those spoken round Íkoto and in Northern Lopīt. These are near enough to the Lotuko for ordinary conversation, but for hearing cases a local interpreter is required.

The dialect of Lēriai (Lokoia) has not been studied. It appears to be more or less intermediate between Lotuko and Bari. Lotuko is generally understood.

Bari has many roots in common with Lotuko, but the two languages are too far apart to render possible any degree of mutual intelligibility.

The Acholi speak an absolutely different language, akin to

Shilluk. Lotuko has affinities with Masai, and other East African languages.

Development

The following account is purely hypothetical, but it accounts for the facts and seems probable in itself.

The language was originally monosyllablic and perhaps tonic, and was spoken by a people dwelling as isolated families in dense forest, and living chiefly on carrion and on what they could shoot with their bows.

Then, for reasons which can only be surmised, they migrated to a country of steep rocky hills, and long distance conversation became a necessity.

A monosyllabic language is unsuited to this purpose, and vowels were prefixed and suffixed, at first merely to make the voice carry; but as a developing social life increased the range of ideas, these vowel sounds, at first purely arbitrary, were stereotyped to convey different shades of meaning.

The consonantal prefixes and suffixes appear to have originated in two ways; by the combination of pronouns, etc., with the verbal roots, and by the introduction of consonants to guard or emphasize important vowels. Whether or no the foregoing is correct, Lotuko can be unhesitatingly described as a "shouting language".

The mouth is kept open when speaking, and barely closed sufficiently to form the consonants. The consonants most used in inflexion are the guttural *ng* (ŋ) and *t*. *B* and *m* are confined to the roots.

In words two consonants never occur in juxtaposition, and except that a nasal, so to speak, slips into a following guttural, a "helping vowel" is always inserted between final and initial consonants.

Unaccented vowels tend to conform to accented ones.

The language has probably been fixed in its present form for a very long period. It does not seem to have been affected by the infusion of Galla or other non-negroid blood which the Lotuko appear at some time to have received. The people of Ímatong, Imūrok, etc., who show no signs of such cross, and whose customs differ considerably from those of the Lotuko proper, speak the same language with only a few trifling differences.

Alphabet

The language being unwritten, by letters must be understood the sounds which they represent.

Vowels

a, ā, e, ē, i, ī, o, ō, u, ū as usual.
aw as in law (ɔ)
ö as *ur* in murder (ə:).
ai, oi, au.

Note 1.—*e, i* and *o, u* are often difficult to distinguish and sometimes alternative.

Note 2.—It is doubtful whether *ai, oi* are true diphthongs. The final *i* usually indicates a plural meaning, and in the middle of a word it is usually merely a euphonic. e.g. *náijok* for *nájok, nóinyek* for *nōnyek.*

Consonants

b, d, j (*dʒ*), *l, m, n, p, r, s, t, w, y, ch* (tʃ), as usual.
n͡g (ŋ) is one sound, as in " singer ".
ñ (ɲ) = *ny.*
The guttural.

Note 1.—The guttural is pronounced as *g, gh,* (g) or *k* according to its position.

With *e, i,* or when emphasized it is usually *k.*
,, *a, o* ,, ,, *gh.*
,, *ō, ū,* or before *r* ,, ,, *g.*

Note 2.—*ch, j* (tʃ, dʒ) appear sometimes to be root consonants, but often stand for *ty, dy* (c, ɟ).

Note 3.—*w, y* are sometimes root consonants, but are often introduced between the root consonants to vary the vowel sound.

Note 4.—*h, sh* (ʃ), *f, v, z* do not exist.

Note 5.—A double consonant indicates a pause on the preceding vowel.

Prefixes and Suffixes

Prefixes

na- = *ana,* it, the neuter pronoun, prefixed to nearly all nouns, combines with the feminine prefix *i-* into *naki-* and then

nē- and with the masculine prefix *lo-* into *nalo-* and then

nō.

i-. the feminine pronoun, which is obsolete as such, but is prefixed to female names and a few words denoting women.

lo- = *olo,* he, the masculine pronoun. Is prefixed to male names and words denoting males.

k-, gh-, originally probably merely to guard an initial vowel, now usually indicates the oblique case.

éta-, indicates a causal verb, perhaps from "*ta*", an emphatic interjection.

Suffixes

-k, suffixed to verbs and nouns to emphasize final vowel.

-n͡g, -t, suffixed to nouns.

-ani, indicates noun of agent, perhaps connected with *nani*, hand.

-ti, -to, indicate an individual, connected with *aboti*, one.

-i, -ri, -ru, usually plural forms.

-yū, -sō. ?

Grammatical Notes

Nouns

It seems probable that all nouns were originally divided into three genders, and that the neuter gradually absorbed the feminine and most of the masculine.

Nearly all nouns are prefixed with *n-*.

There are two case forms:—

(1) The nominative and objective after transitive verbs.

(2) The possessive, vocative, and objective after prepositions and verbs of motion.

In (1) the *n* is always retained.

In (2) the *n* is nearly always removed and the following changes occur:—

Words beginning with *na-*, cut off the *na-* or substitute *gha-*.

,, ,, *nē-*, substitute *ki-* (sometimes *ku-*).

,, ,, *nō-*, substitute *ko-*.

Examples:—

óyu namāna, the crops are good.
alōne māna, I am going to the crops.
íribok a nēdi, drive away the goats.
natwa kídi, a goat-pen.
obōlo nōlong, the sun is high.
nējek kolóng, the sun's feet (dawn).
óto mīji, at home.
kidōdwok, O Frog (in a song).

With the negative either case can be used, eg. *obéng a namogha, obéng ghamogha* = there are no sandals.

Plural

The commonest form of plural is to accentuate the last vowel and add *-i*.

nēchálok, pl. *nēchalōki*, sparrow.

Other forms are :—

napēre, pl. *nápyara*, spear.
nasyák, pl. *nasyokin*, gourd.
nēlēmi, pl. *nēlēmya*, lion.
námuge, pl. *namugé*, tiang.
nadupáni, pl. *náduput*, sorcerer.

Names

Masc.	*Lorómo*.	Fem.	*Irómo*	from *narómo*, cultivation.
,,	*Lamāna* (= *Lomāna*).	,,	*Imāna*,	,, *namāna*, crops.
,,	*Leju* (= *Lokju*).	,,	*Ikju*,	,, *nēju*, rain.

These prefixes are inseparable.

Sometimes the prefix is omitted as : —

Tapóng, from *natapóng*, guinea-fowl.
Kalōni, from *nātōni*, scorpion.

Such names are usually common to either sex.

Place-names are similar in form to personal names : —

Lōbūle, from *nabúle*, fig-tree.
Íkolong, from *nōlong*, sun.
Tōrít, from *natōrīt*, riverain land.

The meaning of many place-names is lost, and they are probably survivals of a previous race.

Pronouns

áni, *náni*, I.		Plural	*ghóghoi*, *āti*.
īye, thou.		,,	*ētai*.
ólo, he, this man, that man.		,,	*gúlya*.
ána, she, it, this woman, etc.		,,	*ghúna*.

These are placed last : —

náinj'ána, what is this ? what is it ?
lāti gúlya, these people.

ára, he, she, it, in the sense of "the same as", "equal to" :
nakámasa ára kuténg, 5 P.T. is that a cow ?

The relative is expressed by *ólo* (m.), *óno* (f.n.), followed by *-to* :—

nētong on' óbolōto, the cow which is big (*obōlo* = *big*).

The interrogatives are placed last : —

itūye tai, where do you come from ?

Verbs

The verbs have one tense and an imperative :—

arómoné, I cultivate.	*abákené*, I strike.
iromōye, thou cultivatest.	*ibakīye*, thou strikest.
arómo, he, she, it cultivates.	*ábak*. he, etc., strikes.
ērómogóghe, we cultivate.	*ēbákyugóghe*, we strike.
iromōtetai, you cultivate.	*ibakítetai*, you strike.
iromói, they cultivate.	*abāki*, they strike.
orómo, cultivate (sing.).	*abágha*, strike ! (sing).
óromōto, cultivate (plur.).	*ábaghata*, strike (plur.)

The passive is as follows :—

ēbákināni, I am struck.
ēbakīye, thou art struck.
ēbak, he is struck.
ēbakóghe, we are struck.
ēbaghátatai, you are struck.
abāki, they strike or are struck.

The verbs " to come " and " to go " are irregular :—

atūne, I come.	*alōne*, I go.
itūye, thou comest.	*ilōye*, thou goest.
átu, he comes.	*álo*, he goes.
ēpúnni, we come.	*ēpwoghoi*, we go.
īwénata, you come.	*iwétatai*, you go.
apúnai, they come.	*opwī*, they go.
wung, come ! (sing.).	*ílo*, go ! (sing.).
īwuna, come (plur.).	*éweta*, go (plur.).

(1) After the negative the preposition and verb are inverted :—

obéng an' álo, I am not going.
obéng īy' irómo ? are you not cultivating ?

A sentence is, however, always put in a positive form when possible, and such expressions as " It is not far ", " not bad ", are not used, while the number of verbs having a negative meaning, such as :—

atīmo, not to know.
íbogo, not to work.
orīsa, not to interfere.

renders the frequent use of the negative unnecessary.

(2) All adjectives are really verbs, and are conjugated accordingly :

ungwé, to be ill.	*ungwāni*, I am ill.
orógho, to be bad.	*iroghōye*, you are bad.
omōta, to be small.	*omotāri*, they are small or few.

When they are used purely as adjectives they are placed after the noun : —

obōlo nēni, the goat is big.
ēyángune nēni obōlo, bring me a big goat.

There is no comparative. For " he is bigger than you ", say " he is big, you are small ! "

The superlative is expressed by *asai*, simply, and *bebé*, strongly.

ílaman asai, very beautiful.
ungwé bebé, very ill.

(3) There are no auxiliary verbs.

The verb " to be " is understood where necessary.

" May," " might " are expressed by *kwiya*, perhaps.

" Can," " ought," " must " have no corresponding expressions.

" To be unable " is expressed by a rhetorical question, a common idiom. For " I cannot do ", " I cannot find ", say " How do I do ? " " Where do I find ? "

(4) Unless otherwise indicated, the verbs " to come " and " to go " are understood in a future sense. To express the past the sense is slightly altered : —

For " I have been to Mongalla " say " I see Mongalla ".
For " He has come " say " He is present " (*adīya*).
For " He has not come " say " He stays where he is " (*arása*).

A List of Some Probable Roots and Derivatives

bak (strike).	*ábak*, to strike.
	ēbak, to be struck, killed in battle.
	nēbák, a flat rock.
	nēbákit, mallet.
	nēbákyu, sneeze.
bal (comfort).	*abāla*, to sit at one's ease.
	nábāli, shade.
	nábalu, beer.
	nábala͡ng, salt.
bang (fear).	*ába͡ng*, to fear.
	nába͡ng, fear.
	etabá͡ngyu, to frighten.

bol (big).	*obōlo*, big.
	labōloni, chief, rich man.
	ibūlyu, flood.
	nabūle, *naŋ̄gabōli*, wild fig-trees.
	obūlo, take the omens.
do (red, ripe).	*ódō*, red, ripe.
	nēdō, clouds.
	nēdotái, syphilis.
	nodōti, marriageable girl.
dok (go up).	*odógho*, to rise, climb, ferment.
	ēdoghu, to pick up.
	nēdókit, ladder.
	odūgo, *ōdukote*, to build.
dong (sound of drum).	*nēdoŋ̄g*, pl. *nadóŋ̄gi*, drum.
	nadóŋ̄ge, hill.
	idwongo, work as blacksmith.
	lēdwóŋ̄goni, blacksmith.
	nēdwoŋ̄gita, blacksmith's implements.
ghut (bare, visible).	*aghuta*, to blow.
	oghóto, bald.
	aghútani, brother-in-law.
	étaghuta, to aim.
	etághutak, to show.
	etaghúcho, to teach.
	naghōtyu, bone.
	ísughōte, to laugh (produce bones).
	nasughōtita, front teeth.
kar (still, remaining).	*kára*, still, yet.
	nēkar, carrion.
	ēkar, be putrid.
	nēgára, green.
	aghára, to share.
	aghárañ, rough, unfinished.
	ēkáruāki, be confused.
kil (shine).	*nakíl*, noon.
	nákilai, lightning.
	nákilang, end of rains.
	nókiling, calf of leg.
	nōgílek, pied wagtail.
	igíli, *nēgíli*, winnow, winnowing.

	nakéle, chrystal bead.
	nakēli, axe.
kit (clear, clean).	*nagíti*, hunting by burning grass.
	nákitai, feast given by owner of cultivation to helpers.
	nēgita, head pad.
	nōgítet, razor.
	ogíchu, to shave.
	nakítu, spell (magical).
	nōgitir, wall.
kud (block).	*ókudu*, to head, get in front of.
	nēkūdo, hockey stick.
	nēkúdik, armpit.
	etákudiyā, to tickle.
	nolōgudu, niche in mud wall.
mir (annoy).	*omíra*, to annoy, bore.
	ēmír, be annoyed, bored.
	namīrok, enemy.
mok (cover).	*námok*, an edible plant.
	ímoghak, to cover.
	ēmok, to fall when wounded.
	namóke, pl. *námogha*, sandal.
	nēmóghi, covering.
	etamōgu, to adopt.
	amók, an adopted child.
	ómoghōta, close the fist.
	namōgwo, horn (instrument).
	namūgu, granary.
ngo (split).	*ongóto*, to cut.
	nongótoji, paralysis.
	ongūto, to divide.
	nangōte, pl. *nangoru*, woman.
[1] *per* (be flattened).	*náper*, wire.
	napēre, pl. *nápyara*, spear.
	náperik, valley.
	ōperyi, to lie down.
	napwerá, dancing-place.
	ōpwerak, cook vegetables.
	nōpyaro, custom, arrangement.
[1] *pir* (stir)	*ípira*, stir food.

[1] Perhaps these two roots are connected.

	nēpíri, implement for do.
	nēpyére, ladle.
	ipirua, *nēpírua*, angry, anger.
	nōpir, hair.
pil (make noise with mouth).	*ípilu*, drive by making noises.
	ipílugha, to whistle.
	opípil, sweet.
	napīlu, sorcery.
	apīlani, sorcerer.
	napīlang, barren land.
puk (run away).	*ápūko*, run away.
	ípughak, expel.
	ēpuk, be expelled.
	etopúk, to defeat.
	napóghor, other side of river.
	īpoki, to cook meat.
	ípipoghē, clap the hands.
	nēpūgita, bellows.
	napūkér, cultivation near house.
rek (double).	*arégu*, two.
	nēriak, double rafter.
	oriágha, be friendly.
	narége, grey.
	nērígo, guinea pigeon.
	nērērégi, fish-hook.
	narírik, chain.
su (produce).	*īsui*, give birth.
	īsyu, give.
	nēsyu, honey.
	isūa, thresh.
	isūru, sprout.
	nasūti, pl. *násuru*, mosquito.
tar (gather).	*nátar*, horn (instrument).
	atāra, tie growing millet in bunches.
	natāri, night.
	atárika, mourn.
	natárukwāni, vulture.
tim (unknown).	*natím*, thicket.
	natímōre, forest.
	atīmo, not to know.

	natimóŋ̃gai, unknown thing.
tob (exchange)	*otóbu*, to exchange.
	etōbit, instead of.
	nátobok, earthenware pot.
	nētobok, tortoise.
	nokītobok, lady-bird.
wak (want).	*awák* (want).
	nawke (stomach)
	náwagha, black, treeless soil.
	étawagha, light (adj.).
	iwágha, warn.
	lēwághani, one who is warned, a fatigue man.
	telēwakit, speaker of assembly.
wo (bleed).	*owó*, to bleed.
	nuúwo, arrow.
	náwto, blood.
mij (know).	*ímijak*, to know, learn.
	namīji, dwelling.
	náimaji, place.
	namijō, look-out.
[1] *ruk* (answer).	*irúk*, answer, agree.
	írugo, hear.
	irūgita, echo.
	ērúk, hump-backed.
	ōrugo, thread beads.
	nērūgi, needle.

Vocabulary

A

Abandon, *ábusak*.
about (nearly), *kwīya* (prop. perhaps).
above, *tókede*, *íkede*.
absent, *obéng adiīya* (lit. not present).
abuse, n., *namōryu*.
abuse, v.a., *imōrýu*, pass. *ēmōr*.
accidentally, injure, *iriápu*.
across, *tóle*.
across, n. (the other side), *napóghor*.
adjacent, be, *oinyéga*.
admire, *etakwīyu*.
adolescent, *lēto rūanga* (m.), *nodōti* (f.).
adopt (a child), *etamōgu*.
adopted child, *amók*.
adorn oneself, *angáta*.
adultery, commit, *oróto*.
affair, *nēre*.
afraid, be, *ábang*.

[1] Perhaps this root is connected with '*rek*' (*v. supra*).

afternoon, *notorīya*.
afterwards, *íjipak*.
afterwards, to speak, *íriama*.
again, *etékalo*.
aggrieved, be, *ilongó*.
agree, *irúk* (prop. answer).
aim, to, *étaghuta*.
air, *noyamī*.
alike, be, *īyalarái*.
all, *dang*.
all right, *alyatī*.
alliance, seek, *oyē*.
alone, *ghamá*.
altogether, *tung*.
always, *mōtye mōtye* (lit. to-morrow, to-morrow).
ambush, *náraya*.
and, *ka*.
anger, *nēpírua*.
angry, be, *ipírua*.
another (additional), *lóbo* (m.), *nóbo* (f.n.).
another (different), *lé* (m.), *nyá* (f.n.).
answer, to, *irúk*.
ant-heap, *nēyū*.
arrangement, *nōpyaro*.
arrival, *nátira*.
arrow, *nauwō*.
artizan, *aiyáni*.
as (like), *ógwo*.
ascend, *odógho*.
ashes, wood, *nēnwera*.
,, dung, *napūla*.
ask, to, *ípya*.
assembly, *nēlólong*.
at, *óto*.
avaricious, be, *oriáma*.
axe, small, *natōlu*.
,, large, *nakēli*.

B

Baby, *lódole* (m.), *lēdole* (f.).
bachelor *nolobīlong*.
back, *nōrong*.
backwards (n.), *náwar*.
bad, *orógho*, pl. *-ji*.
bag, *nēdé*.
baggage, *nāsong* (property).
bald, *oghóto*.
ball, *nēlók*.
bamboo, *náguro*.
,, a *nagurōti*.
bank (river), *nōtípur*.
bark (dog), *ongómo*.
barren (female), *ighólopi*.
,, (land), *napīlang*.
basin, *nakós*.
basket, large, *nēbéte*.
,, small, *napé*.
bathe, *agwīyuro*.
beat, *ábak*.
,, (drum), *íribe*.
beaten, be, *ēbak*.
beautiful, *ílaman*.
beauty, *nēlaman*.
because of, *tá*.
beer, *nábalu*.
before (noun), *nōsyare*.
beg (ask for food), *otilíngita*.
behind, *eghālu*.
bell, cow, *nēgōlo*.
,, small, *namulúngari*, *nēmēri*.
bellows, *nēpāgita*.
belonging to, *kunó-* (prefixed to pronouns).
below (noun), *nēpō*.
belt, *nakáma*, *namugúnya* (leather).
bend, to, *adánga*.
beneath (noun), *nēwóyo*.
beside, *legér*.

between, *nēkiji*.
beware, to, *ighuma mījó* (lit. do a look-out).
beyond, *eghālu* (behind).
big, *obōlo*, pl. *-ri*.
bind, *ípita*.
bird, *nakényi*, pl. *nákeñ*.
birth, give, *īsui*.
birth, woman who has just given, *atómwonāni*.
bite, *aghóinyu*.
bitter, *ōduā*, *tékitek*.
black, *iriok*, *nēmólli*.
blacksmith, *lēdwóŋgoni*.
,, work as a, *idwóngo*.
bleat, *awāla*.
bleed, v.a., *itítógho*.
,, v.n., *owō*.
blind, *oŋgódo*.
blood, *náwto*.
blow, to, *aghúta*.
blue, *nēgára*, *nēmólli*.
blunt, *orī*.
bone, *naghōtyu*.
bore (worry), *omíra*.
bored, be, *ēmir*.
both, *daŋg aréga* (all the two).
bottom (of hill), *nēpō*.
boundary, *nēkóri*.
bow (weapon), *náraŋg*.
boy, *lētō*.
brass, *nakyanōti*.
brave, *ingēre*.
bread, *nangíria*.
break, to, *abwāra*.
breathe, *eyírita*.
bring me ! *ēyángune*.
broad, *alát*.
broom, *nádyani*.
brother, *ilá*.
brother-in-law (wife's brother), *ilēsi*.
brother-in-law (husband's brother), *aghútani*.
brown, *anamūgo*.
build, *odūgo*, *ōdukote*.
bull, *ábusak kiténg* (male of cow).
bullet, *nálolor*, pl. *-ōri*.
burn, to, *osūogha*.
bury, to, *onōgha*.
butt, to (man = person), *íbur*.
,, (animal), *ogō*.
buy, *aghála*.

C

Calf, *nátawu*.
call, to, *ilóngo*.
captain, *labóloni pērc* (spear chief) or *nátulo nōpyaro* (arrangement person).
captive, *nēnyapáta*.
carcase, *nadúma*.
carrier, *lēwághani*, pl. *lēwok* (one who is warned).
carrion, *nēkar*.
carry, *ákaba* (prop. lift).
castrated animal, *atámut*.
catch hold of, *iniápa*.
cattle, *nēsung*.
cave, *nēnóm*, pl. *nonōmi*.
chain, *narírik*.
charcoal, *naghūk*.
chicken, *naghoghóro*, pl. *-i*.
chief (rain-maker), *kōbu*.
,, (head of village), *labóloni*.
child, *nēto*, pl. *ngairiok*.
choke, *ogóro*.
claim, *achōro*.
clan, *kang*, *nalagháng*.
clap the hands, *ipípoghē*.
clay, *nēpwòto*.

clean, *olībo.*
clitoris, *nétōle.*
cloth, bark, *nakérai.*
cloud, *nēdó, nákede.*
cold, n., *náchuro.*
,, (person), *gháchuro.*
,, (thing), *ílik.*
come, *átu.*
complete, to, *orēmik.*
complexion, man of dark, *lēriok,* pl. *lēriagha,* or *lomólli,* pl. *-ka.*
,, ,, ,, ruddy, *lodō.*
,, ,, ,, fair, *lōryet,* pl. *-i.*
,, ,, ,, not so fair, *lámalang.*
confused, be, *ekáruāki.*
copulate, to, *íngo.*
corn, *nēma.*
,, go out to buy, *orīgo.*
cough, to, *ayála.*
count, to, *eghyána.*
country (uninhabited), *nēdīyapo.*
court (woo), to, *isánga.*
courtship, *nēsánga.*
cousin (first), *sōni.*
cover, to, *ímoghok.*
covering, *nēmoghi.*
cow, *ábutur kiténg* (female of cow).
crawl, creep, *orīya.*
crest (tuft of hair, etc.), *nasigét.*
crooked, be, *ogūlo.*
cry, to (all meanings), *oyō, olūogha.*
cultivate, to, *arómo.*
,, again after failure, *lilágha.*
cultivation (act of), *narómo.*
,, (place of), *namāna.*
,, (close to house), *napūker.*
curdled milk, *nētura.*
custom, *nōpyaro* (prop. arrangement).
cut, *ongóto.*
,, grass, etc., *angyēra.*

D

Dam, to, *útigok.*
dance, n., *nákia.*
,, to, *ókia.*
dark, *íriok.*
darkness, *nēriok.*
,, black, *nēdūmele.*
daughter, *nēto, ŋgairi.*
dawn, *neijek kolóng, natongáti mōtye.*
day, *nóngidik.*
daylight, *nápang.*
deaf, be, *otūko.*
dear, too, *omyána.*
death, *nayé.*
,, not to fear, *adikē nayé.*
deceive, to, *inyúba.*
deceiver, *inyūbyu.*
decide, to, *ongūto nēre* (divide the talk).
deep, *awūdo.*
defeat, to, *etopúk.*
defendant, one against whom there is a claim, *naghóros.*
deficient, be, *angara mákini.*
deny, to, *ōlía.*
destroy, to, *etatúr.*
destroys, one who wilfully, *achámudang.*
dew, *nēghóyo.*
diarrhoea, to have, *oyórot.*
die, to, *ayé.*
different, be, *ólupa.*
difficult, *ógol.*
dig, to, *obwágha.*
dirt, *nēbót.*
dirty, *íbot.*
,, face, *omūdek.*
disease, *nungwé.*
disembowel, *odúngo, opūlo.*

disentangle, *ágho, áwalagha.*
disobedient, *omēsyu.*
divide (share), *aghára.*
,, (send in different directions), *ongūto.*
divorce, to (husband), *ábusak* (abandon).
divorce, to (wife), *ipíagha* (quarrel with).
do, to, *íghuma.*
dodge, to, *egér.*
dream, to, *arigyé.*
drink, to, *amāta.*
drive, with stick, *íribok.*
,, with noises, *ípilu.*
,, birds from crops, *ichīya nákeñ.*
,, away, to, *ípughak.*
,, drive off someone else's sheep, *isyáta.*
drop, to, *odō.*
drowned, be, *oworōro.*
drum, *nēdong*, pl. *nadóngi.*
drunk, be, *orūma.*
dry, *aiyógho.*
dung, *nēnó.*
dust-devil, *loyēle.*
dwarf, little person, *longyí*, f. *ingyí.*
dwelling, *namīji.*

E

Ear (of corn), *nāgha* (head).
early, *berīn.*
earth, *náboro.*
east, *nákede* (above).
eat, *ongīyu.*
echo, *irūgita.*
edge (of tool, etc.), *námari.*
egg, *nátelyu*, pl. *nátel.*
either . . . or, *kwiya . . . kwiya.*
elephantiasis of testicles, *nátot.*
emaciated, be, *ányima.*
empty, *obéng inyó.*
enclosure, interior, *nátwa.*
end of rains, *nákilang.*
,, dry season, *nasusū.*
enemy, *namīrok.*
enough, *olwāji.*
enter, to, *ujínga.*
entrails, *namóinyit.*
equal, *orijōri.*
escape, to, *apūko.*
evening, *nákika.*
exceed, excel, to, *agālik.*
exchange, to, *otóbu.*
expedition for war, *nērum.*
,, ,, to make, *irūmi.*
expel, to, *ípughak.*
expelled, be, *ēpuk.*

F

Fail (not to do), *ēlak.*
fall, to, *okwaghāru.*
,, as rain, *asá.*
,, down when wounded, *ēmók.*
,, ,, one who does so, *lēmók.*
family, *nawáiya.*
famine, *ímutak.*
far, *alāma.*
fasten, to, *ípita.*
fat, *obír.*
fate, *nájok* (god).
father, *móinye.*
father-in-law, *lamóne.*
fault, commit, *osíla.*
fear, to, *ábang.*
,, n., *nábang.*
feast made to helpers with cultivation, *nákitai.*
feather (ostrich), *nētak.*

feel (touch), *adáda*.
female, *ábutur*.
fence round crops, *nalíyu*.
fertile, be, *irúk a nēma* (agree with corn).
few, *omotāri*.
fight, *orém*.
,, with sticks, *iribo*.
fill, to, *ētoputak*.
,, have eaten one's, *ipóng*.
fin, *nangásiwa*.
find, to, *íramak*, *ányurak*.
,, out, *ímojak* (know).
fine (of flour, etc.), *ongítāi*.
finish, *otúba*, *átuko*, *itogwi*.
fire, *nēmá*.
,, make with two sticks, *opopóyo*.
first, *akōsyare*.
fish, *núghami*, pl. *núghain*.
fish-hook, *nērerégi*.
fish-trap, *nakék*.
fist, close one's, *ómoghōta*.
fit, to, *orēmik* (complete).
flog, *ulúmu*.
flood, *ibūlyu*.
flour, *nēpwa*.
flow, *ongér* (run).
flute, horn, *natélelu*.
,, bamboo, *náchuwāli*.
,, clay, *nēlíre*.
fly (bird), *idára*.
follow, *atipōru*.
forbid, *ēgha* (refuse).
ford, *nēlangi*.
forest, *natimōre*.
forget, to, *agwóro*.
formerly, *berīn*.
found, be, *alēyo*, *ērumak*.
fragrant, *ūngwin ōyu*.
frankincense, *notógong*.
fraternize after peace, *ímwara*, *áiyamo*.
fresh, *kēteki*.
friend, *ilyá*.
friendly, be, *oriágha*.
frighten, to, *etabanggu*.
from, *tó*.
front, *nōsyare*.
frown, to, *ikukūpu*.
fuel, *nēyik*.
full, *ipút*.

G

game (animals), *nacháng*.
,, played with stones, *namwangá*.
gather, *útubak*.
generous, *oghōryu*.
girl, *ngáiri*, *nodōti*.
give, to, *ēsyu* (imp. *isīra*).
,, me ! *ādí*.
go, *álo*.
go in or out, *ajínga*.
goat, *nēni*, pl. *nēdi*.
god, *náijok* (fate, fortune).
good, *óyu*, pl. *oyégi*.
gossip, to, *imwánga*.
gradually, *kai kai*, *mīnong mīnong* (little by little).
grandfather, *aghóinye*.
grandmother, *aghánye*.
grass, *námēang*, *nējūti*.
gratis, *aghánya* (also means empty-handed).
grave, n., *neilūmi*.
grease, *néyāli*.
great, *alitók*, f.n. *anitók*.
,, man, *lelētok*, f.n. *négitok*.
greedy, be, *ingawúru*.
green, *nēgāra*.
greet, to, *imaláiyo*.

greeting, *ogólo*, pl. *ogóto*.
,, answer to, *mong*.
grey, *narége*.
grind, to, *ēryéyo*.
grindstone, *nēriai*.
ground, *nāpa*.
,, cleared but not yet sown, *nasába*.
ground-nuts, *napúl* (*fūl*).
guest, *ōtilínguno*, pl. *-nye*.
gum, *nangalái*.
gun, *náguchol*.

H

Hail, *napálanga*.
hair, *nōpir*.
halt, to, *ōtua*.
hammer, *nainyúl*.
hand over (to third party), *ítubotok*.
happiness, *namūno*.
happy, *amūno*.
hard, *ógol*.
harvest, *nadiángo*.
hasten, to, *orōgha*.
he, *ólo*, *ára*.
head, *nāghu*.
,, to (turn aside), *ókudu*.
headache, *ītor*.
hear, *etaníngyu*, *írugo*.
heavy, *ōding*.
help, to, *olwágha*, *irūyo* (in cultivation).
here, *íni*, *táni*.
hiccough, *nolóijok*.
hide, to, *ídimak*.
,, cow-, *nayōni*.
high, *anitók*, *obōlo*.
hill, *nadónge*.
his, *-gōsi* (suffix).
hit, *ábak*.
hit, with fist, *olūgo*.
hoe, iron, *nēbū*, *nákiabu*, pl. *-bwa*.
,, wooden, *náguta*, *nēdwét*.
,, small pointed, *násopo*.
hole (in ground), *nēwúre*.
,, (to have, vessel), *otūlo*.
home, *namīji*.
honey, *nēsyu*.
hook, *napóchughōtu*.
horn (animal), *namwérak*.
,, (instrument), *namōgwo*, *nátar*.
horns bent forward, *ungwét*.
,, backward, *itód*.
hospitable, be, *imórok*.
house, *náiji*, pl. *nasík*.
housemaid's knee, *nēghong*.
hot, *ónok*.
how, *angái*, *yangái*.
,, many ? *omúkaja*.
howl (dog), *omólo*.
human being, *nátulo*, pl. *lāti*.
hump-backed, *ēwúk*.
hunger, *nághōre*.
hungry, be, *iyamāni*.
hunter, successful, *lokíri*.
hunting, *naléka*.
,, by burning grass, *nagíti*.
hurt, *odiágha*.
husband, *ghábe*, *nalē*.

I

I, *áni*, *náni*.
idiot, *usīta*.
idle, to (not to work), *iboyo*.
,, (lazy), *iloichang*, *ílik* (cold).
ill, *ungwé*.
illness, *nungwé*.
infant, *iyapók*.
inform, *íramak*, *ánguruk* (prop. find).
inhabitants, *móinye mīji*.

inside, *lītwa, lí.*
instead of, *etōbit.*
iron, *nainyágu.*
„ piece of, *nainyagūto.*
ivory, *nāla* (*natome*).

J

Jar, earthenware, *natóbok.*
jealous, be, *agháni.*
jump, to, *alōta.*

K

Kick, to, *idyánga.*
kid, half-grown, *nēlóti.*
„ new-born, *nabarói.*
kill, to, *orēmi, oríamo.*
killed, be, in battle, *ēbak* (stricken).
kind (family), *nawaíyo.*
„ (what kind of ?), *ányuring.*
kneel, to, *orīgong.*
knife, *nadēmi.*
know, to, *ímijak.*
„ not to, *atīmo, étalik.*

L

Ladder, *nēdókit.*
lame, be, *ongōra.*
late, be, *ilínya.*
lately, *kētek.*
laugh, to, *ísughōti.*
leaf, *nábene.*
„ millet, *naparaúwa.*
leak, of vessel, *otūlo.*
„ of sack, *opūlo.*
learn, *ímijak* (know).
leather, *námugúnyu.*
leave alone, *ídegi, wóre.*
left, *nēghórong.*
left-handed, *lólorong.*
let go, to, *ábusak.*
liar, *ighútuk* (mouth).
lick, to, *idáiyo.*
lie (deceive), *ogésem.*
„ (recline), *ojōto.*
„ down, *ōperyi.*
life, *ákaba.*
light (not heavy), *étawagha.*
„ (kindle), *inák, etáwulo.*
„ bring a, *ōkwadu nēmá.*
lightning, *nakélau.*
like, be, *orīyama.*
„ to, *óyu jigōne* (it is nice to me, etc.).
lime, *nēlēlo, nēróyo.*
line up, *ápara, ílyuro.*
„ cause to, *etápar.*
little, *mīnong.*
live (dwell), *amáinya.*
„ (be alive) no word, say *ōwún* = is there ?
loan, *nēnyágu.*
log, *nētói.*
loiter, to, *ēchúl.*
look for, to, *atípia, tákita.*
look-out, n., *namījá.*
lost, be, *olīto.*
loud, *twer twer, wong wong.*
love, to, *awák* (desire).
low, to (cattle), *ongwí.*

M

Mad, be, *isīta.*
maize, *nōsērí* (sherīf).
male, *abusúk.*
mallet, *nēbákit.*
man, *nalē, lalē,* pl. *nályawa.*
manufacture, to, *oyēyo.*
many, *arīya.*
mark, to, *agyūro.*
marriage, *nayáma* (payment for bride).

marriage, without payment, *nēdlitá.*
marry, *eyáma.*
marsh, *nadós.*
matter (pus), *nēmik.*
meat, *nēringu.*
medicine, *náyani.*
meet, *ēruong.*
menses, *náijok* (fate).
middle, *nēkiji.*
milk, *nāli.*
millet, *nēma.*
,, spiked, *nomēti.*
,, second crop, *nabáso.*
mine, my, *kūnóng, -gong* (suffix).
miscarry, *ibwoto.*
mist, *nērere.*
mistake, make, *osíla.*
month, moon, *nayápa.*
morning, *mōlye.*
mother, *ghónye.*
mother-in-law, *namóne.*
mourn, *atárika.*
move (dwelling), *ēwút.*
much (strongly), *bebé.*
mud (on road), *namwadágha.*
my, *-gong* (suffix).
myself, *nátwagong* (my inside).

N

Name, *nápurē.*
nature, relieve, n., *nalér.*
near, *ilyágha, onyíga.*
needle, *nērūgi.*
net (bag) *nēmútuk.*
,, (game), *nátipa.*
,, (fishing), *nábwī.*
new, *ángējuk.*
news, I have, *ēyángane nētúk* (a mouth brings me).
nice, *óyu.*
night, *natāri.*
night, dead of, *naúrwī.*
no, not, *ōbeng.*
noise (of quarrelling), *nangalāpa, nolorīsa.*
noon, *napánni, nakíl.*
no reason, for, *asái.*
north, *namarí.*
now, *agwána.*

O

Obedient, *oníngyu*, pl. *-ye.*
obey, *etaningyu* (hear).
obstinate, *ogól a nētuk* (hard mouth).
ochre, red, *namēryi.*
oil, *nēyali.*
old, be, *amáurwok.*
old person, *lamáurwen.*
once, at, *tanīya tanīya.*
one by one, *géle, géle.*
only, *arēmik* (complete).
open, to, *ánga.*
open a boil, etc., *aróbo.*
ophthalmia, *nachámidok.*
opinion, what is your? *ojōri kunóghe 'ngai* (how is your say?).
our, *-góghe* (suffix).
outside, *nalét.*
owner, *móinye.*

P

Pad for head, *nēkita.*
pain, *odiágha.*
paralysis, *nongótoji* (cutting off).
path, *nēkoi* (road).
paunch, contents of, *nayá.*
payment for wife, *nayáma.*
payment for wife, additional on daughter's marriage, *nághada.*
peace, *nayomó.*

peace for cultivation, *nēdwér*.
people, *lāti*.
perhaps, *kwīya*, *kíriapa*.
person, *nátulo*.
perspire, to. *opūla* (leak).
pick up, *ēdoghu*.
pillow, *nēlūrit*.
pinch, to, *kékod*, *kerod*.
pipe, tobacco, *nomōti*.
pitfall, *nákome*.
place, *namáji*.
placenta, *námudong*.
plain, *nawágha*.
play, *ísughoti* (laugh), *abāla* (be at one's ease).
play (wind instrument), *oghúta* (blow).
pleased, be, *amūno* (happy).
plenty (of food), *nongóroñ*.
point, *nētuk* (mouth).
poison (snake), *nēyēri*.
popular man, *nologwō*.
pot, *nátobok*.
pour out (water), *ídolok*.
,, (corn, etc.), *íjughok*.
precipice, *náwelang*.
pregnant, be, *otómon*.
present, be, *adīya*.
previous article, *nodū*.
properly (completely), *íghum . . . na*.
property, *nāsong*.
prostitute, *nēsómo*.
pull, to, *onīto*, *ipīgo*.
purse, *nákulo*.
push, to, *asolāra*.
put, to, *íghumak*.
,, on, to. *īyapak*.
,, down, to, *ētai*.
putrid, *ēkar*.
pygmy, *ngádule*.

Q

Quarrel, to. *olíwi*.
,, n., at sacrifice. *nóloghot*.
quarrelsome. *ilīrere*.
quickly. *kolwák*.
quiet person. *anyálam*.

R

Rain, *nēju*, *nákede*.
rainbow, *natáwurak*.
rape, to. *obúcho*.
raw, *ghóbo*.
razor, *nōgítet*.
really, *aghóde*.
reap, *idúngo*.
rear (bring up), *eghúmo*.
reason, for what ? *tó nēre nyó*.
rebellious, be, *ējōria*.
receive, *ímōju*.
red, *ódo*.
refuse, to, *ēgha*.
relieve, to, *étangata*.
remain (where one is), *arása*.
,, aloof, keep out of, *orīsa*.
remove, to, *ēyaru*.
repair, to, *áripak*.
repeatedly. *liū*.
rest, to, *ghái'yiri*.
rest-house, *nábōre* (prop. an isolated cattle pen, etc.).
restore, to, *ēnyak*.
retire, to, *íngada*
return (go back), *achaghāru*, *achúghuno*.
rheumatism, *nawúl*.
rich (much stock), *abāra*.
right (correct), *ángida*.
,, (not left), *nengét*.
ripe, *ódo* (red), *apíli*.
rise (get up), *ótte*.

rise (river), *ongēru.*
river, *lowōre.*
riverain land, *natórīt.*
road, *nēkoi.*
,, junction, *nēlóre.*
roar (lion), *ítir* (also used of rain).
,, (leopard), *īgor.*
rob, to, *oghōro.*
rock, flat, *nēbák.*
room, make, *kētek.*
rope, *nēpóto.*
,, a, *nēpotōti.*
rough, *aghárañ.*
ruin, *achímudang.*
ruined, be (house), *okyáta.*
run, to, *oñgér* (imp. *inyēro*).
,, away, to, *ápūko.*

S

Salt, *nábalang, nokīdoi.*
,, earth containing, *nábŏli.*
sandal, *namóke,* pl. *námogha*
said, what I said was, *ajōne jō.*
,, there is no more to be, *obéng omúk ēre.*
say, to, *ajō.*
scar, on head, *napwēya.*
,, elsewhere, *naporói.*
scratch, to, *oghójo.*
see, to, *egōnyu.*
seed, corn, *nēnyumo.*
,, other plants, *nánger.*
seize, to, *iniápa bebé.*
,, property of defaulter, etc., *obyála.*
sell, to, *aghála.*
send, to, *ēpak.*
sexual intercourse, *nángo.*
shade (clouds), *nēdís.*
,, (tree, etc.), *nábāli.*
shaft (hoe), *natīlo.*
,, (spear), *námorok.*
shake, to (corn or ore), *opyáta.*
,, hands, *ipōnyu.*
share, to, *aghára.*
sharp, *opī.*
shave, *ogíchu.*
sheep, *nakér,* pl. *nakyūro.*
,, drive off, *isyáta.*
shield, *nábūgū,* pl. *nabughō.*
,, for stick fighting, *noróngolit,* pl. *-i.*
shiver, to, *ikíkiro.*
shoot, to, *ongóro.*
show, to, *etághutak.*
shower (of rain), *ilelím.*
shut, *igyénak.*
sick, be (vomit), *osēta.*
,, after over-eating, *alyágha.*
silent, be, *okwē.*
sing, *idōlyu.*
sister, *ghányang.*
sister-in-law (husband's sister), *nangaráinye.*
sister-in-law (wife's sister), *nághutáni.*
sit down, *ōnia.*
sit with hands holding neck, *atóno.*
skin, to, *odúngo.*
,, of sheep and small animals, *nēnápi.*
,, lions, cats, etc., *nagús.*
,, cattle, antelope, etc., *nayōni.*
slap, to, *ananga.*
sleep, n., *nējō.*
,, to, *ojōto, opīro.*
sleepy, be, *ijóngita.*
slovenly (slattern), be, *opwáta.*
slovenliness, *nēpwáta.*
slowly, *kai kai.*

slow to learn, *ílik* (cold).
smack, to, *ēsiak*.
small, *omōta*, pl. *-ri*.
smallpox, *nēpára*.
smell, to (v.a.), *ingwéda*.
smoke, *nápuro*.
,, to (tobacco), *amāta* (drink).
smooth, *tīla tīla*.
sneeze, n., *nabákyu*.
snore, to, *igóroto*.
so (thus), *agwánya*.
so (therefore), *bái, bū*.
so and so, *íngani*.
soft, *ójon*.
soil, black (barren), *náwagha*.
,, red, *namúr*.
some, *omúk*.
son, *lōnyi, lēto*.
son-in-law, *lamóne*.
son of, *móinye*.
song, *nápurē* (name).
soon, n., *ilyágha* (near).
sore, n., *natóngosa*.
soup, *nábalang* (salt).
south, *napóghor* (across).
sow, to, *óyeki*.
speak, to, *ikyéna*.
speaker (of assembly), *lelēwakit* (warning man).
spear, *napēre*, pl. *nápyara*.
,, with long head and short shaft, *nábēru*.
,, all of iron, *nábēru anyaghūto*.
,, barbed, *nanyérewa*.
speech, *nákyena, nēre*.
spit, to, *omēta*.
spittle, *námilak*.
spotted, *nēmēni*.
sprinkle, *ōrwésa*.
,, with water, *íroki*.
sprout, to, *isūru*.
squint, to, *ipalāra*.
stab, to, *orēmi*.
stalk (millet), *nábaghála*.
stand up, *ótte*.
standing water, *nátapar*.
star, *nēlēlíp*, pl. *-i*.
stay (where one is), *arása*.
steal, *ighoghōlya*.
,, (by night), *orīya* (creep).
,, sheep, *ainyáu*.
stick, knobbed, *nēlúk*.
,, thin, *nachōl*.
,, used for support, *nētegi*.
,, broken, *napadágha*.
,, hockey, *nēkūdo*.
still, *kára*.
sting, to, *ongóro* (shoot).
stingy, be, *oruáma*.
stoical, be, *ōdik*.
stomach, *náwke*.
,, adult with large, *iganūso*.
,, child with large, *igúlyanga*.
stone, *namōru*.
stones used by blacksmith, *nēdwóngita*.
,, used for play, *namwangá*.
stool, *nasagér*.
stop, v., *ōtia*.
straight, *ōbis*.
stranger, *natómonōni*, pl. *-monok*.
strongly built, man, *ghosók*.
,, woman, *ighosók*.
stumble (put foot in hole), *ēyarusō*.
,, over stump or stone, *ēbwösi*.
stumbling block, *nébwösi*.
stupid, *oding a náyapa* (heavy heart).
suck, to, *adúsa*.
suckle, to, *étadása*.

suit, to, *orēmik* (complete).
summer (wet season), *nátaghas*.
sun, *nōlong*.
surround (by running), *aranga*.
swamp, *nadós* (marsh).
swear, to, *oghómo náboro* (eat earth).
sweep, to, *ōpia*.
sweet, *opípil*.
swell, to, *óye*.
swim, to, *éringéta*.
sword, *nápala*.
syphilis, *nēdotái*.

T

Tail, *nálisa*.
take, to, *ímōju*.
,, to (from speaker), *ibyē*.
take hold of, *inúpa*.
,, off, *áwalagha*.
talk, to, *íkyena*.
,, n., *nákyena, nērám*.
talkative, *ighútuk* (mouth).
tall, *oghódo*.
tattoo (scar for ornament), *ingyása*.
teach, to, *etaghúcho*.
tear, n., *nēyo*.
,, to, *ogwása*.
there, *dī*.
,, is, is there ? *ōwun*.
thick, *irōsi*.
thicket, *natím*.
thief, *lóghogho*.
,, (night), *náiriyani*.
thin, *ēghaiñ*.
thing, *nāring*.
think (be of opinion), *ajō* (say).
,, (meditate), *īyu*.
thirst, *nēbwöto*.
thirsty, be, *ibwöto*.
this, *ólo*, pl. *gūlya* (m.), *ana*, pl. *ghuna* (f.n.).
thorn, *nēkwá*, pl. *-i*.
thread (beads), *ōrugo*.
thresh (millet), *igísa*.
,, (sesame), *isūa*.
throw, to, *íruongo*.
,, down a person, *orūongo*.
,, mud, *aráta*.
thus, *agwánya, álya*.
tickle, to, *etákudīya*.
tie, to, *ípita*.
,, growing millet, *atāra*.
,, two things together, *otódo*.
tired, be, *atoghóro, amégino*.
tobacco, *natába*.
to-day, *aghána*.
together, *dang* (all).
to-morrow, *mōtye*.
,, day after, *talyélong*.
touch, to, *adáda*.
tramp, n., *lēsyéba*.
trap (animal), n., *nēyéni*.
,, (bird), *nopídik*.
tree, *náyani*, pl. *nayáni*.
true, *aghóde*.
trumpet, to (elephant), *ogómo*.
trust (thing entrusted), *namágha*.
turn round or over, *ilōwito*.

U

Ulcer, *nachagúr*.
uncle, paternal, *imaínyi*.
,, maternal, *ilēyang*.
understand, to, *etáyiru*.
undo, untie, *ógho, áwalagha*.
unripe, *kepóle*.
upright, *ōbís* (straight).
urine, *nághula*.

V

Valley (of river), *nádyel*.
„ (gap between hills), *náperik*.
very, *asái*.

W

Wage war, *iliwāri*.
wait, to, *ōtia*.
wait for, *itīlai*.
wait, lie in, *ará*.
walk, to, *adágha*.
walk slowly, to, *olyéba*.
wallet, *najurón*, *nakwē*.
wander, to, *isyébita*.
want, to, *awák*.
war, *nalíwa*, *ijōria*.
warn, to, *iwágha*.
wash, to, *ilēla*.
water, *nāri*.
watercourse, *nátwa lowōre*.
waterfall, *nēchūri*.
way, *nēkoi* (road).
way, make, *wóre nēkoi*.
we, *āti*, *ghóghoi*.
weak, *ónyima*, pl. *-i*.
welcome, *mōto*.
well (water), *nakírri*.
well (all right), *ángida*.
west, *náwar*.
wet, *ōpu*.
wetness, *napáu*.
what ? *náinyu*.
what is this for ? *óno nyó*, pl. *aghóno nyó*.
when ? *nyabáya*.
where ? *ája*, *tāne*, *taghwai*.
which is, *óno . . . to*.
whip, *nabichūti*.
whisper, to, *aghughóya*.
whistle, *ipílugha*.
white, *obúr*.
who ? *ngai*, *ngáso*.
who is ? *ólo . . . to*.
whose ? *anangái*.
why ? *nyó*.
widow, -er, *nolobīlong*.
wife, *ngōru*, *nangōte*.
wind, *noyamī* (air).
„ break, *nagwok*.
winnow, *igíli*.
winnowing, *nēgíli*.
winter (dry season), *námēyu* (ob. *gha-*).
wire, *náper*.
woman, *nangōte*, pl. *nángōru*.
wood (log, stump), *nētói*.
„ (fuel), *nēyik* (ob. *kēyik*).
work to, *ígyama*.
wounded, be *áyara*.
wrestle, to, *okyéma*.
write to, *agyūro* (mark).

Y

Year, *nénga*, pl. *nangási*.
„ last, *tong a línga*.
yes, *āpe*.
yesterday, *nolóngolī*.
„ day before, *tīnyalong*.
yet, not, *ghákun*.
you, *īye*, pl. *ētai*.
young of animal, male, *loinyū*.
„ female or doubtful, *nángari*.
your, *-koi*, *-gata* (suffixes).
yours, *kūnoghe*.

Appendix 1.—*Numerals*

1. *abōti.*
2. *aréga.*
3. *kunīyo.*
4. *ángwan.*
5. *mīyat.*
6. *ílle.*
7. *ghótarek.*
8. *ghotókunik.*
9. *ghótongwan.*
10. *táman.*
11. *táman k' abōti.*
12. *táman k' aréga.*
13. *táman ka kunīgo.*
20. *átaman aréga.*
21. *átaman aréga k' abōti.*
30. *átaman a kunīgo.*
100. *átaman a táman, nasík, nēsíga.*

Appendix 2.—*Parts of the Body*

Body, *nawán.*
head, *nāghu.*
face, *rámom.*
eye, *nóinyek.*
nose, *nēmó.*
mouth, *nētuk.*
lips, *nabélelyu* (skin).
chin, jaw, *najóghom.*
cheek, *nakákamīya.*
ear, *nēyok*, pl. *náyagha.*
eyelid, *nēmōto.*
eyebrow, *namūmuk.*
brain, *netōlo.*
hair, *nōpir.*
beard, *namusōla.*
throat, *nagólok.*
neck, *námurut.*
chest, *násuke.*
breast (woman), *nēná*, pl. *nāke.*
shoulder, *nológho.*
armpit, *nēkúdik.*
elbow, *nologúle.*
forearm, *nobilāta.*
hand, *nāni*, pl. *nághas.*
palm, *natīpa.*
finger, *nápyelai*, pl. *-la.*
thumb, *nápyelai alitokón.*
nail, *nábuge.*
tooth, *nāla*, pl. *nālái.*
teeth, front, *nasughōtita* (laughing teeth).
,, dog, *náinyigita.*
,, back, *nasilái.*
tongue, *nángadyip.*
heart, *náyapa.*
stomach, *náwke.*
navel, *napúle.*
penis, *naghōru.*
testicles, *nátawūla.*
vagina, *nainyádo.*
womb, *nángāli.*
back, *nōrong.*
,, broad of, *nagígir.*
,, small of, *nabōle.*
,, lower part of, *nēghúluk.*
buttocks, *nawói.*
hip, *nangetēli.*
thigh, *nogwīya, nápata.*
knee, *nágunyi.*
calf, *nókiling*, pl. *-i.*
shin, *nētilēti.*
ankle, *nangérigesi.*
foot, *nēju*, pl. *nējek.*
toes, *nápyela kejék.*

heel, *namójong.*
skin, *nabélelyu.*
bone, *naghōtyu.*
vein, *napwī.*
blood, *náwto.*

Appendix 3.—*The Village and House*

Village, *namīji, nasík*, pl. *namisíki.*
quarter, *nángati*, pl. *nangachū.*
men's meeting-place, *namangát*, pl. *-i*
platform for sitting on, *nóbele.*
watch-tower, *nolóbele.*
dancing-place, *napwerá.*
poles in centre of do., *nálōre.*
drum house, *nádupa.*
drum, *nēdong*, pl. *nadóngi.*
house, roof, *náiji*, pl. *nasík.*
house with premises, *nagháng.*
stockade of ebony posts, *nēlyāti.*
fence of stakes and thorns, *námaring.*
fence of sticks, etc., *nēwóros.*
grain store, *námūgū.*
wall, *nōgitir.*
forked post, *nalaláí*, pl. *nálala.*
clay for building, *nēpwoto.*
fascine for roof, *nokéter.*
rafter, single, *nētábek.*
rafter, double, *nēriak.*
,, small at top, *nákengi*
threshold, *nēlongwōni.*
doorway, *nēkaghájo.*
door, *nēka.*
floor, interior, *nátwaghájo.*
fireplace, *nēyálo.*
shelf, *nērábak.*
niche for tobacco, *nolōgudu.*
stand for pots, *nōsúdum.*
corner behind -do-, *namoichére.*
mud seat, *nēsugái.*
build, to, *odūgo, ōdukote.*
thatch, to, *olīyu.*
grass for roof, *nējūti* (ob., *kú-*).
cattle-pen, *nátwa kúsung.*
sheep and goat pen, *natwa kidi, natwa bongit.*
shelter for sheep, *nabóngit.*
gate-post, *nákol.*

Appendix 4.—*Food and Cookery*

Cooking-pot, *nátobok.*
basin, *nakós.*
bottle, gourd, *nēghúllo.*
gourd, large split, *nasyák*, pl. *-yokin*
,, small split, dish, *namyólo.*
ladle, *nēpyére.*
plate, *naghállai.*
flour, *nēpwa.*
meat (inc. fish), *nēringu.*
relish, *nemulōto.*
bread, *nangíria.*
cook bread, *ēma.*
,, meat, *īpoki.*
cook relish, *ōpwerak.*
,, meat on embers, *ómodak.*
boil, *ógulen.*
take pot, etc., from fire, *ōkwadu.*
stir bread, *ipíra.*
implement for stirring, *nēpíri.*
eat (bread), *ongīya.*
,, (meat), *oghóinya.*
,, (raw grain, etc.), *aghómo.*
,, (bread without relish), *ilóngo.*
eat white ants, *alōta.*
remains kept for breakfast, *noghóyo, nēbēle.*

beer, *nábalu.*
malt, *néngwok.*
brew, *igúro.*
ferment, *áyapūta, odógho.*

Appendix 5.—*Ornaments*

Helmet, Lotuko, *natámu.*
,, to put on, *ímoghok.*
brass ornament for, *natwélo.*
plume for, *nōmudak.*
grass hat, *naghúluk.*
headdress of Acholi, etc., *nachémedek.*
necklace of twisted wire, *nagwéliji.*
ivory armlet, *nákul.*
to put on, do., *ómoronyok.*
bracelet, iron or brass, *nabilātu.*
anklet, ,, ,, ,,
leather apron, *nēnápi.*
strings for do., *nōpi, nēnura.*
waist fringe (women), *nēkíbi.*
,, (girls), *nakusáng.*
do. of small chains, *nachaliwai.*
mouth ornament (wood), *nāring kutúk.*
mouth ornament (glass), *nalodēre.*
beads, *nērugo.*
,, to thread, *ōrugo.*
,, blue, *najwóngjwong.*
,, big crystal, *nakéle.*
,, small red, *nanōro.*
,, ,, black, *namūle.*
,, ,, lead, *natágha.*
,, snail-shell, *násoge.*
,, ostrich-eggshell, *násoge, náwagha.*
,, scented wood, *nogōre, nongédēyo.*
red ochre, *namēryi.*

Appendix 6.—*Ceremonies and Superstitions*

god, *náijok.*
sacrifice for sickness, *nēghumi jok.*
,, for new village, *nēghumi mīji.*
,, before ripening of corn, *nēghumi kíma.*
,, before cultivation, *nērímit māna.*
ceremonial sprinkling, *nērwésit mīji.*
,, fire-lighting, *nongópira.*
new year dance, *nakánga.*
,, hunt, *nalám.*
detection of sorcery by hunting, *nēlám.*
take the omens, *obūlo.*
bad omen, *napāra.*
ceremony after birth, *nēpipári.*
funeral dance, morning, *nabūryu.*
,, ,, evening, *nēlánga.*
bier, *nēwági.*
dummy corpse, *nametére.*
medicine man, *ibwóni*, fem. *nēbwoni.*
charm obtained from do., *naminyánga.*
spell obtained from do., *nemimóli.*
spell, ordinary, *nakítu.*
sorcery, *napīlu, odámyu.*
sorcerer, *apīlani*, pl. *-lak.*
,, *adyémani*, pl. *-mak.*
,, *nadupáni*, pl. *-pak.*
take form of animal, *olū.*

Appendix 7.—*Calendar*

Reckoning from the new year dance, the date of which is fixed by the wise men, the year is divided into two seasons of six lunar months each, beginning in October :—

	Month.	*Meaning.*	*Approx. English month.*
námēyu = winter.	*Lōlong*	sun	November.
	Ipipyu.	clean (grass burnt)	December.
	Sīr'imainyekāri	give your uncle water	January.
	Chámidok	ophthalmia	February.
	Kirómo	beginning of cultivation	March.
	Láinyim	sesame	April.
nátaghas = summer.	*Látaghas*	summer	May.
	Lōwes	?	June.
	Longóroñ	plenty	July.
	Awéte	?	August.
	Apílimá	corn ripe	September.
	Lómomo	?	October

Appendix 8.—*Animals*

Animals with hoofs, *nachâng*, sing. *-i.*
,, ,, toes, *nachang agūta.*
Antelopes :—
Bushbuck, *nābo*, pl. *nābojin.*
Cob, *namugyála*, pl. *-līya.*
Duiker, *namōring*, pl. *-ō.*
Dikdik, *nēkobe*, pl. *-byu.*
Eland, *nabéreget*, pl. *-i.*
Gazelle, *nárabolo*, pl. *-i.*
Hartebeeste, *nábor*, pl. *nabōnni.*
Kudu, *nawūl*, pl. *-i.*
,, lesser, *namíricha*, pl. *-chá.*
Oribi, *naliawa*, pl. *-jin.*
Reedbuck, *nangōne*, pl. *-nīya.*
Roan, *nabūre*, pl. *-rīya.*
Tiang, *námuge*, pl. *namugé.*
Waterbuck, *nabobīt*, pl. *-ō.*
baboon, *namolóng*, pl. *-ō.*
bat, *nēna.*
buffalo, *nasūani*, pl. *nasuáni.*
cat, wild, *néngaiyo*, pl. *-yó.*
,, civet, *námini*, pl. *-nyá.*
chameleon, *nēlaúrwi.*
coney, *nēdyēgu*, pl. *-lō.*
cow, *nēteng*, pl. *nēsung.*
crocodile, *nēnyang*, pl. *-i.*
dog, *nēngok*, pl. *nangóke.*
donkey, *nasígira*, pl. *-rá.*
elephant, *natóme*, pl. *natomī.*
frog, *nēdōdwok*, pl. *-ōki.*
giraffe, *nákōri*, pl. *-ryū.*
goat, *nēni*, pl. *nēdi.*
hare, *nētōjo*, pl. *nátoje.*
hippopotamus, *nabólorong*, pl. *-i* (= big-back, none in district).
hunting dog, *nēlēwo*, pl. *-wó.*
hyaena, *nēbó*, pl. *nēbógwo.*
jackal, *nolobēyok*, pl. *nobēyóki.*

leopard, *náwuru*, pl. *-go*, ob. = *gha-*.
lion, *nēlémi*, pl. *-myu*.
lizard, green, *nakudīyapek*, pl. *-i*.
,, black and yellow, *nēlibong*.
monkey, grey, *nangidóiñ*, pl. *-nyu*.
,, colobus, *náram*, pl. *narāmi*, ob. *gha-*.
mouse, *nēdí*, pl. *nádyaro*.
pig, wild, *napotír*, pl. *-ak*.
porcupine, *néyēya*, pl. *náyaya*.
rat, *nátulugu*, pl. *-kin*.
rat (another kind), *nēmńge*, pl. *-gyu*.
,, water, *natalūwi*.
rhinoceros, *nēmwé*, pl. *nēmwógho*.
shrew, *nēkwong*.
sheep, *náker*, pl. *nakyūro*.
snake, *námūnū*, pl. *namūnók*.
,, kinds of, *námaláwa*, *noloijási*.
squirrel, *nelákwa*, pl. *-kwá*.
zebra, *nētígo*, pl. *ōlo*.
lynx, *nosúsu*, pl. *-kin*.

Appendix 9.—*Birds*

Crane, crowned, *nárwek*, pl. *-i*.
dove, *náwalo*, pl. *-sín*.
eagle, *nasolír*, *nobúgha*.
goose, comb-, *nēkámo*.
guinea-fowl, *natapéng*, pl. *-pyóngo*.
hawk, *nōwera*.
hornbill, ground, *nobīluk*, pl. *-ūki*.
kite, *nakilír*, pl. *-i*.
ostrich, *nētak*, pl. *-i*.
owl, horned, *nasúsum*, pl. *-ūmi*.
partridge, two kinds, *nángara*, *nōsilik*.
cutthroat, *nólodil*, pl. *nōdíli*.
marabout, *nolokwám*.
hoopoe, *nájujut*.
pelican, *nádad*.
pigeon, guinea, *nērige*, pl. *-gyó*.
plover, *náyik*.
quail, *nolopúr*.
raven, *nághurak*.
sandpiper, *nēlík*.
sparrow, *nēchálok*, pl. *-ōki*.
stork, *namálokwong*.
swallow, *napadápade*.
wagtail, *nokílek*.
woodpecker, *nokírrik*.
weaver-bird, red, *nōmudak*, pl. *-āki*.
,, yellow, *nērńti*, pl. *nēru*.
vulture, *natarukwāni*, pl. *natárukwa*.

Appendix 10.—*Insects*

Ant, kinds, *nomikidi*, *nēmugwínyi*, *nēkelyū*.
bee, common, *nawatōro*.
,, other kinds, *naburūwi*, *natobyé*, *netórobok*.
beetle, boring, *natatúr*.
,, other kinds, *nōgírring*, *nēgúru*, *moinye bōre*.
butterfly, *nēdápi*, pl. *-pīko*.
centipede, *nēróbogwok*.
earwig, *nokimókima*.
flies, *nájanga*, sing. *-āti*.
hornet, *natíri*.
locust, *namá*, *nayú*.
midges, *namíling*.
mosquito, *nasūti*, pl. *násuru*.
moth, *nedápi*.
scorpion, *nētóni*, pl. *natóne*.
snail, *nakólolong*.
spider, *nagágar*, pl. *-āri*.
tapeworm, *nárudye*.
tsetse fly, *nalolír*, pl. *nōliriká*.
worm, which eats the growing corn, *nagūti*, *namórogho*.

Appendix 11.—*Trees and Plants*

Ardeba, *nawái.*
„ fruit of, *naghatái.*
„ kernel of, *naméne.*
wild fig, *nabūle.*
„ another kind, *nangabōli.*
doleib palm, *nasoghōti*, pl. *násoghot.*
dom palm, *napōre.*
ebony, *nápati*, pl. *nápatyu.*
euphorbia, *napopóngi.*
nabak, *nēlángi.*
heshab, *nangáiria.*
banana, *nárabōlo.*
cotton, *nawāru.*
castor-oil, *nēlúgong.*
plant used for making rope, *nághurak.*
rush, *nosigōlo.*
„ another kind, *natorūwe.*
gebein, *natulélyu.*
wild thyme, *nongōtia.*
birds' tongue grass, *noruényeng.*
wild mustard ? *námok.*
marrow, large kind, *nēsese.*
„ small kind, *naghúlli.*
climbing potato, *námalwa.*
sweet potato, *nawái.*
edible root, *nēyō.*
yam, *nadapōni.*
beans, *namodōro, namoröru.*

UTENDI WA AYUBU

Translated by Miss ALICE WERNER

(*Continued from p. 115*)

207. Ule mtu kumuuza :
"Mumeo wako neleza
Mno yamenishangaza
Nimetaka kumuyua.

That man (began) to ask her :
"Tell me about your husband,
(What I have heard of him) has greatly astonished me :
I have wished to know him.

208. "Neleza nimefahamu,
Niyue yake qaumu,
Na baba wake na umu,
Watu wamezomzaa."

"Explain to me so that I may understand (about) him,
So that I may know his nation
And his father and mother,
The people who brought him into the world."

209. Rehema akamjibu,
"Ina lake ni Ayubu,
Mtume wake Wahabu,
Mfadhala rasua."

Rehema answered him :
"His name is Job,
The Apostle of the Giver,
The excellent Messenger."

210. Ibilisi katamka,
"Ewe, Rehema, pulika ;
Na mtu raha hutaka
La mashaka huloondoa.

Iblis said :
"O you, Rehema, listen !
Man wants peace
Which trouble is wont to take away.

211. "Niwata mimi rijali,
Mwenye utisho wa kweli.
Usultani na mali
Na wake kuniwania.

"Leave your husband (for) me,
(He is) truly one to terrify (you),
(Whereas) a kingdom and wealth
And wives are bestowed on me.

212. "Na mke nimuoao
Hutumia atakao,
Na ule aniizao
Ni mtu wa uwi na baa.

"And the wife whom I marry,
She spends whatever she likes,
And she who refuses me
Is an evil person and (doomed to) disaster.

213. "Ayubu ni mtu gani ?
Wewe humtendeani ?
Nitwaa mimi sultani.
'Ezi upate kuyua."

"What sort of man is Job ?
"As for you, what are you doing for him ?
Take me (who am) a king,
That you may be able to know supreme power."

214. Kumtayake Ayubu
Katika ile jawabu
Rehema asimjibu
Kiya kainyamalia.

(To) his mentioning Job by name
In that answer,
Rehema did not reply,
Going, she kept silence towards it.

215. Kenenda Mwana Rehema
Asizungukie nyuma
Kwa Ayubu akima
Salamu akatongoa.

She went, (did) the Lady Rehema,
Without turning (to look) back,
In Job's house she stood (still)
And uttered a salutation.

216. Kwamba, "nizuze sha'ari
Kwa mkate wa sha'iri
Kisa kaona khabari
Bora isiyo mithaa.

Saying, "I have sold my hair
For (some) barley-bread,
And after that I saw a matter so great
That there is nothing like it.

217. "Kurudi kwangu ndiani
Kamkuta insani,
Naye umo sakarani
Sura alokiyongea.

"In my returning along the road
I met a man
And he was there, a blasphemer
(In) appearance, who approached.

218. "Akanambia, 'Mumeo
Hana mali, hana cheo,
Umeikosa upeo
Mtume' takuua.

"And he said to me: 'Your husband
He has no wealth, he has no rank.
You have made a great mistake;
The Apostle will be the death of you."

219. Ayubu akamambia,
"Amba nalikuziwia,
Shaitani kikuelea
Mtukuzi kama mia,

And Job said to her,
"Though I forbade you,
When Satan appeared to you (plainly),
A tempter (who alone is) equal to a hundred,—

220. "Yangu usiyasikie,
Yeo ukuelee
Usambe 'nisahawie',
Pulika, takuusia.

"You did not listen to my (words);
To-day he has appeared to you.
Do not say, 'I forgot,'
(But) attend, I will give you instructions.

221. "Nipowapo mimi mja,
Kwako usiweke huja,
Sina shaka takupija,
Mngu kinipa afia.

"If I, the slave, recover—
It is no use your making any objections—
I have no doubt that I will beat you,
If God gives me health.

222. "Ambapo wataradadi,
Nipoapo sina budi
Nenda kukupija hadi:
Labuda nimekwambia."

"If you do it again,
Should I recover, I have no choice,
(But) I (must) go to punish you,—
Perhaps I have (already) told you so."

223. Mwana Rehema kanena :
" Marhaba, Saidana !
Ambapo natenda tena,
Unipije bate mia.

And the Lady Rehema said,
" It is well, my lord,
If I do it again,
You may strike me a hundred blows.

224. " Moyo sitende kiizi
Wala sifanye simazi :
Saidi, tule khubuzi,
Mkate twalonunua."

" Let not your heart refuse,
Nor do you give way to grief,
(But), my lord, let us eat bread,
The bread which we have bought."

225. Akatulia Ayubu,
Ikamuata ghadhabu,
Alipoona jawabu,
Maneno yakumtua.

And Job calmed himself,
And his wrath left him,
When he perceived the answer,
The words which soothed him.

226. Wakala mkate wao,
Ule atukuzieo,
Wakatengeneza makao,
Kisa wakailalia.

And they ate their bread,
Which she had brought,
And they prepared (their) couch,
And then they lay down on it.

227. Hatta kukipambauka,
Asubuhi wachamka,
Na Rehema akatoka
Illi kuomba Jalia.

Until it dawned,
(In) the morning, and they awoke,
And Rehema went out
In order to pray to the Mighty One.

228. Akenda kisa maneno,
Yale yao mawagano.
" Ni kweli ao ni ngano ?
Nipate kupambanua."

She went to finish the words,
Those (words of) their agreement,
" Is it true or is it a fable ?
Let me be able to distinguish ! "

229. Kendake Rehema Mwana,
Yale walipowagana
Wote wamedirikana,
Rehema humngojea.

As the Lady Rehema went her way
Those things which they had agreed on,
All (the women) were able (to fulfil)—
(For) Rehema they were waiting.

230. Wakamambiato, " Ee,
Mkate tutukuzie.
Nyee zetu tukatie,
Twataka kuyondokea.

They called out to her, " You there !
Let us give (you) the bread to carry.
Cut off our hair for us,
We want to go away.

231. " Tukatie kwa haraka,
Nyee zetu twazitaka,
Na mkate wako shika."
Rehema akapokea.

" Cut it off for us in haste,
Our hair, we want it,
And (here is) your bread, take (it)."
And Rehema received it.

[231*a*. Akawanga labibu
Khamsini kwa hesabu,
Kazitinda taratibu,
Akawapa, wakatwaa.]

[And she counted (did) the intelligent one
Fifty, by the reckoning.
And she cut them carefully
And gave to them, and they took (them).]

232. Karudi asina dhiki,
Utukuzii riziki,
Hatta katika tariki
Kifua mato changalia

She returned, having no distress,
She was (in the act of) carrying the subsistence,
Until, upon the beaten track,
When she opened her eyes and looked.

233. Uwene zenee nuri
Nyingi mada 'lbasari.
Rehema akashukuri
Na kuhimidi Jalia.

She saw lights spreading,
Many, as far as the eye could reach.
And Rehema thanked
And praised the Mighty One.

[233*a*. Akitukuza maninga (?)
Aone mingi mianga;
Akili ikitanga,
Rehema akatushia.]

[When she . . . (?)
She saw many lights:
Her mind was bewildered.
And Rehema was amazed.]

234. Ikizidi kufunuka
Uwene mtu kishuka,
Mbinguni akitoka
Fumo kimsimamia.

And when she (had) opened (them) still more,
She saw a man descending,
And he came forth from the sky,
A chief, and stood before her.

235. Akamba, "Ewe Rehema,
Nitumiwe na Karima.
Nina masemo tasema,
Nitumiwe na Jalia.

And he said, "You, Rehema,
I have been sent by the Bountiful,
I have words to say to you.
I have been sent by the Mighty One.

236. "Nitumiwe na Mola wako
Kukwambia matamko
Unayo ghadhabu yako,
Mno mekughadhibikia.

"I have been sent by your Lord
To tell you (certain) sayings:
He has anger against you,
He is very angry with you (indeed).

237. "Kwakowe una khasira
Za kweli, si masihara
Zimuwelee bora
Ndipo nami kakwambia.

"Against you He has wrath
Truly, and not in delusion
(These things) are clear to Him, the Excellent:
That is what I too have told you.

238. "Kanambia, 'mshukie
Rehema, unene naye,
Nisimghadhibikie,
Rehemani kumtoa.

"And he said to me: 'Descend to her,
Rehema, and speak with her
Lest I be angry with her
And shut her out of my mercy.

239. "'Na katika malaika
Twaona una shifaka
Ndipomi kakupeeka
Upate kumuongoa.'

"'And among the angels
We see that there is solicitude for her
And here am I, and I send thee
That thou mightest be able to lead her
(in the right way).'

240. "Jalilu Mola Jabbaru
Mimi akaniamru
Akazambia na nuru;
'Fuatanani pamoya.'

"The Blessed Lord, the Mighty,
Has ordered me, for my part,
And also said to these lights:
'Do ye accompany each other together.'

241. "Nuru hizo uwenezo
Sambe zalikuya zizo
Ziye ni hejabuzo
Illi kukuziwia.

"Those lights which you saw,
Do not say they came for nothing,
They have come; they are your coverings,
In order to restrain you.

242. "Nitumiwe na Manani
Kumondoa Shaitani
Asikungie moyoni
Ukazidi kupotea.

"I have been sent by the Beneficent,
To drive away Satan,
That he may not enter your heart
And you be lost utterly.

243. "Ibilisi asipate
Ulipo asikupate
Kwambiayo yafuate:
Nimetumwa kukwambia.

"Let not Iblis succeed,
Where you are let him not prevail over you,
Follow what I tell you;
I have been sent to tell you.

244. "Nijile kukunasihi,
Rehema utanabahi,
Umfuate Ilahi
Muombae kiomboa.

"I have come to counsel you,
Rehema, (and do you) pay heed;
Follow after God
(And) pray to Him when you are in sorrow.

245. "Mahaba yake Latifu
Kwako siwezi kusifu
Kwa jiha ya Yusufu,
Mtume wake rasuwa.

"The love of the All-kind
I cannot (sufficiently) praise to you.
By the honour of Joseph
The Apostle of the Messenger.

246. "Mapendi akupendao
Ni mangi tuyayuao,
Kwa sababu ya bibiyo
Yusufu mursaa.

"The love with which He loves you
Is much, we know it,
Because of your grandfather,
Joseph the Messenger.

247. "Lakini kikukadiri
Shaitani mekughuri,
Mola usimkasiri,
Apate kukutukia.

"But if (he) gains power over you,
Satan, (if) he has deceived you,
Do not provoke the anger of the Lord.
So that He may come to hate you.

248. "Iziwilie, Rehema,
Umfuate Karima:
Shaitani ni rajima
Siandame yake ndia.

"Restrain yourself, Rehema,
Follow the Bountiful,
Satan is the Pelted One,
Do not follow his way.

249. "Newe siwe makusudi
Na Mola wako Wadudi:
Hima nipa la muradi,
Nipate kuirudia.

"And you, be not obstinate,
Against your Lord, the Loving One,
Quickly give me (word) of your intention
That I may be able to return with it.

250. "Nende ibadani mwangu,
Kae abudie Mungu,
Kwani hapo ndimi tangu
Uwingu, wanisikia.

"That I may go to my worship
(That I) may stay and worship God,
For here I am, (having come) from Heaven: hear me.

251. "Uwingu wanipulika,
Ndimi mwenye mamlaka,
Katika ya malaika,
Wote wamenikiria.

"Heaven hears me:
It is I am the owner of dominion
Among the angels,—
All of them have acknowledged me.

252. "Twaa neno la Wahabu
Alisemelo Yarabu,
Nawe unipe jawabu
Taka mrudia Jalia.

"Take a word from the Giver,
Which the Lord has said
And you give me an answer,—
I want to return to the Blessed One.

253. "Hukwambiawe Jalali
'Ayubu ni mursali,
Kampa wana na mali
Kamwingiza na afia.

"The Mighty One says to you:
'Job is a Messenger.
I gave him children and wealth
And also caused health to enter into him.

254. "Kupatake mambo hayo
Akabadilika moyo
Kayondoa kwa yaliyo
Yote kayamondokea.

"'When these things came upon him
He was changed (as to his) heart
I took (health) away from him by all
(Things) which went away from him. (?)

255. "Mali pia kayapisha
Na wanawe kawafisha
Na afia kairusha
Muilini kayondoa.

"'All his wealth I caused to pass away,
And his children I caused to die,
And his health I put to flight—
And from his body I took it away.

256. "Ewe Rehema pulika
Usende kwa ka bubika (?)
Utume nimempoka
Si nawe, si rasuwa.

"'You, Rehema, listen,
Do not go in haste,(?)
I have snatched his Apostleship from him,
He is not with you, he is not a Messenger.

257. "Nimemtolea radhi,
Muradi wake hakidhi,
Nimempa na maradhi
Ya juzamu kumuua.

"'I have taken away my blessing from him:
His purpose is not broken.
I have also given him a disease
Incurable, to kill him.

258. "Na wewe simfuate,
Alipo pote sipite
Pisi wakamkukute
Na mashumra na bawa.

"'And as for you, do not follow him,
Wherever he is, do not pass;
And let hyenas eat him,
And striped hyenas, and wild dogs.

259. "Nimekukomesha, koma,
Senende tena, Rehema—
Ayubu si mtu mwema,
Singalikuziwilia.

"I have stopped you—stop!
Do not go again, Rehema;
Job is not a good man.
I should not (be able to) protect you.

260 "Uyapoenenda tena
Kwa Ayubu kakuona
Sitokuruzuku jana
Na motoni takutia."

"If you go again
To Job, and I see you,
I will not assign you your position in Paradise
And I will put you into the fire."

261. Rehema mwenye saburi
Kusikiake khabari
Mno katafakari
Akapeka na kupowa.

Rehema the patient,
When she heard (this) news
Pondered deeply
And she gave and received. (?)

262. Kitafakari kiwaza,
Mno yakamshangaza.
Yakamwelea kiza;
Rehema kapambaniwa.

She pondered (these things), being in doubt,
They astonished her exceedingly,
And they became clear to her (in) the darkness.
Rehema was confounded.

[262*a*. Akipisa akilini:
"Haya, ndugu, mambo gani?
Hilami nitezeni
Malaika kuwetea?]

[She caused (these things) to pass through her mind:
"Brother, what sort of things are these?
What sort of trick are you playing on me,
To bring down the angels?]

263. "Na mimi siyapulika,
Na ya kwamba malaika
Siku moya alishuka
Illa kwenda kwa rasua

"And have I never yet heard
That an angel
Came down one day
In order to go to the Messenger.

264. "Moyo nimetia shaka :
Hoyo si malaika.
Tamhubiri : Epuka,
Unipise nami ndia."

"I felt a doubt in my heart ;
This is not an angel.
I will say to him, 'Go away
And let me pass along the road !' "

265. Mwana Rehema kakuli :
"Epuka, ewe rijali !
Siniwasi mashughuli,—
Moyo una mshangao.

And the Lady Rehema said,
"Depart (from me), thou man
Do not confuse my business
My heart is (overwhelmed) with astonishment.

266. "Jamii yako, ghulamu,
Yote nimeyafahamu.
Ya kwamba Mola Karimu
Ndiye aliyokwambia."

"The whole of your [words], O youth,
I have understood them all
That the Lord, the Bountiful
It is He who has told you."

267. Mwana Rehema kapita,
Khatua kafutafuta,
Kwa Ayubu akipata,
Nyayoni kaangukia.

And the Lady Rehema passed on,
She hastened her steps,
And when she reached Job's house
She fell down at his feet.

268. Akamwambia : "Pulika !
Yeo ndiani kifika
Nimuwene malaika—
Nuru ikimzagaa.

And she said to him : "Listen !
To-day, when I had got on to the road,
I saw an angel,
Light shone forth from him.

269. "Akashuka uwinguni,
Akasimama ndiani,
Akanambia Manani
Nitumie Jalia.

"He came down from the sky
And stood in the road
And said to me (that) The Most High,
The Mighty One had sent (him to) me.

270 "Akanambia maneno
Jinsize kama ngano,
Hatta yakazidi mno,
Nisiweze kusikia.

"And he said to me words,
The manner of them was like a tale,
Till they greatly exceeded,
So that I could not (endure to) hear them.

271. "Moyo katindwa matungu
Kamuata kiya zangu,
Uwa radhi, bwana wangu,
Haya si makusudia !"

"And my heart was cut (in two) with bitterness,
And I left him and came my way.
Forgive me, O my master ! (since)
These (things) were not done on purpose."

272. Ayubu akatamka,
" Amba nimezopulika,
Sina budi, sina shaka,
Takujalidi kipoa.

And Job (answered and) said :
"According to what I have heard
I have no choice, I have no hesitation.
I will lash you if I get well.

273. " Kusimama na mpuzi
Umefanya ndiyo kazi
Sina shaka takujazi
Mungu kinipa afia.

" To stand (talking) with a chatterer,
That is the work you have done.
I have no hesitation, I will repay you
If God gives me health.

274. " Akanipoza Wadudi,
Siha yangu ikarudi,
Shati nikupije hadi—
Labuda nimekwambia."

" And (if) the Loving One heals me
And my humble petition returns to me
(answered),
It is necessary that I should beat you
as a punishment—
Perhaps I have told you so (already)."

275. Rehema kwa mida huo
Akawa tini mwa nyao
Kamambia, " Ni mjao,
Mtumwa wakununuwa.

Rehema, during this interval,
Was (lying) at his feet ;
And she said to him, " I am your
handmaid,
A bought slave.

276. " Yarabi atakupoza
Afia takurejeza,
Nami kiwa na majaza
Unijaze taridhia.

" (If only) the Lord will heal you,
And will restore you to health,
Let me receive my retribution,
If you repay me, I will be satisfied.

277. 'Hukuombea kwa Mngu,
Sikasirike bwanangu,
Wala sione utungu
Kunipija ukipoa.

" I will pray for you to God,—
Do not be angry, my master !
Neither feel any bitterness (remorse),
At beating me, when you are cured.

278. " Sidhani takasirika,
Na nadhiri nimeweka,
Upoapo ukinuka
Kunipija bate mia.

" Do not think that I shall be angry ;
(For) a vow, too, I have made,
If you recover, and (are able to) stand
up straight
(You are) to beat me with a hundred
strokes.

279. " Ukitonipija wewe
Tamtaka mginewe
Nadhiri yangu niue—
Niwia radhi, niwia !

" If you do not beat me yourself
I will ask another person (to do it),
That I may fulfil my vow,
Forgive me,—Oh ! forgive me !

280. " Lolote nikufuate
Ili radhi niipate ;
Bwana, pokea mkate.
Usiioze kwa ndaa ! "

" Let me follow you in everything,
That I may get forgiveness :—
O master ! receive the bread,
Do not destroy yourself with hunger ! '

281. Ayubu katakalama,
Akamambia Rehema :
" Nawe ni asili njema,
Dhuriya ya mursaa.

And Job spoke
And said to Rehema :
" You too, (though you) are of noble origin,
The offspring of an Apostle,—

282. " Umeikosa sumbuko,
Umekuza nyee zako,
Wala usiche mateko
Ya wendo kukuzomea.

" You who had (always) been exempt from trouble,
You have sold your hair,
Neither do you fear the laughter
Of your companions deriding you.

283. " Haya, ndoo, tuilie,
Kisa mai tuenee,
Likitwa tuilalie,
Tumuhimidi Jalia."

" Come, then let us cry out for ourselves (in prayer)
And then water may be poured out for us.
When the sun sets, let us lay ourselves down
And praise the Blessed One."

284. Akafurahi mvazi
Akauvunda khubuzi,
Walipata na mtuzi
Siku hiyo takwambia.

And the Beautiful One rejoiced,
And she broke the bread,
And they also got some sauce (with it),
On that day, (as) I will tell you.

285. Wakala wakisa kula,
Na usiku wakalala,
Wakiamba lahaula
Ayubu akatongoa :

And they ate and finished eating,
And at night they lay down,
Saying 'there is no power (save in God)'
And Job uttered (these words) :

286. " Mwenye kutesa hapana
Na mwenye kavu hakuna
Illa yeye Subuhana,
Jalla asiyo mithaa.

" There is no one to afflict us,
Nor any one to be insolent.
(There is) only He, the Glorious One,
The Mighty, who has no equal.

[286*a*. Thamma Ayubu akamba :
" Rabbi mwenye kuumba,
Nami nipo nakuomba,
Ndiyo hini nepulia.]

[Then Job said :
" O Lord, the Creator,
I, too, am here, I pray to Thee,
Set this (affliction) far from me."]

287. " Ilahi mwenye nusura
Kwa irada na kudura
Yamenipita madhara
Yarabahu nepulia."

" God, it is He who brings help
In trouble and distress
Affliction has passed over me—
O Lord, put it far from me."

Qaûluhu Ta'ala, Laisa Ayuba ith nadâ rabbahu annî massaniya dhura Shaitan. (xxxviii, 41.)

The Almighty saith: " Remember Job when he cried to his Lord, ' Satan hath laid on me disease and pain.' " (xxxviii. 41.)

288. Mngu Rabbu kamjibu,
Akamambia Ayubu:
" Imekuwa ni karibu
Kukushushiza afua."

God the Lord answered him
And said to Job,
" It has come, it is near,
To make deliverance to descend upon thee."

289. Rabbi katakalamu,
Jalilu Mola Karimu
" Mateso yamekoma;
Basi, yeo ni afua.

And the Lord said,
The Blessed, the Bountiful Lord,
" (Thy) afflictions have come to an end—
Enough! to-day there is deliverance.

[289*a*. " Haya kosa mateso:
Ayubu, hunu ni mwiso.
Taka mai [nawe] uso
Pamwe na muwili pia.]

[Come, do without the afflictions,
Job, this is the end!
Ask for water, wash thy face,
Together with thy whole body.]

290. " Na mai nikwambiao
Ya papo tini mwa nyao.
Hayo ndiyo itakayo
Kukupoza ukapoa.

"And the water (of) which I tell thee,
It is just here, beneath thy feet.
This is what it needs
To heal thee, and thou shalt be healed.

291. " Hiyo [ndiyo] dawa yako:
Rukudhu maguu yako,
Wala pasina sumbuko,—
Mai hapo yatakuya.

" This is thy medicine:
Stamp thy feet,
And there will be no trouble,
Water will come in that (same) place.

Qaûluhu Ta'ala: Urkudh bi rijlika hatha mughtasilun bâridun wa sharâbun. (xxxviii, 42.)

The Highest saith: " Stamp with thy foot. This is a place to wash in, cool, and a beverage." (xxxviii, 42.)

292. " Guu lako lisukume,
Mtangani lisimame
Hasha haba, kiume—
Mai yatakuelea.

"As to thy foot, do thou push it,
On the ground let it stand
By no means a little (but) firmly;
(And) the water will be manifest to thee.

293. "Guu lako ulipeke
Mtangani ulizike
Bonde ulisukesuke
Mtume wangu nabia.

"Do thou bring thy foot (forward).
In the earth do thou bury it
So that thou mayest keep on shaking the ground.
My Messenger, O Prophet!

294. "Guu ukilisukuma
Yatatoka mai mema
Yasokuwa ya zisima
Ya bahari na maziwa.

"If thou push (in) thy foot
There will issue forth good water,
That will not be of wells,—
Of the sea or of lakes.

295. "Yatatoka manukato
Yasiyokuwa ya mwitu
Mai yasio tototo
Ladha mno yakunwiwa.

"There will come forth sweet scents,
Which are not of the forest,
Water which is not muddy,
Very delightful to be drunk.

296. "Yalio ladha kanwani
Ya baridi muilini
Yapozao kwa yakini
Mwenye maradhi kapoa."

"Which is delightful in the mouth,
Cool to the body
Which heals truly,
And the sick person recovers."

297. Kwambiwa kwake pulika,
Guu lake kaliweka,
Mtangani kalizika,
Nti ikawiawia.

(Job) listened to what was said to him
And placed his foot
On the earth and buried it,
And the ground boiled and bubbled up.

298. Yakitoka kwa mishindo
Mai yakenda mikondo
Yakamkoma maondo.
Ayubu kayangalia.

And (it) came out with a noise,
The water flowing (in) channels,
And his knees gave way.
Job looked at it.

299. Ayubu akaivika
Mai yakamfunika
Hatta alipotoka
Nuru imemzagaa.

And Job clothed himself (in the spring, i.e. plunged into it).
And the water covered him,
Until, when he came out (of it),
Light shone forth (on) him.

300. Akatoka akima,
Ayubu ali mzima
Mekuwa na sura jema
Zaidi kama hakuwa.

And he came out and stood,
Job,—he was whole,
And he had become of a goodly countenance,
More so than he was (before).

301. Jibrili akashuka
Na libasi kamvika
Za peponi ziso shaka
Ile aliyoetea.

And Gabriel came down,
With garments and clothed him,
(Garments) of Paradise without doubt,
Those which he had brought.

302. Akapokea Ayubu
Aloetewa thiabu
Kazivaa taratibu
Mavao yakatolewa.

And Job received
The garments which were brought to him,
And put them on carefully,
And the clothes (he had previously worn) were taken away.

303. Ali papo Jiburili
Akatawadha Rasuli
Kamshukuru Jalali
Sijidani akangia.

Gabriel was on the spot;
And the Messenger performed his ablutions
And thanked the Mighty One,
(And) entered on (the performance of his) worship.

304. Akitoka sijidani
Kamuhamadi Manani,
Kamlaani Shaitani
Na jamaaze pamoya.

When he came out from his worship
He praised the Beneficent
And cursed Satan
And all his kin at the same time.

305. Mbwene katika kitabu
Kuteswa kwake Ayubu
Sikuze nimehasibu:
Adadiye tawambia.

I have seen in the Book
The affliction of Job,
I have counted the days of it
I will tell you the number (of it).

[305*a*. Kutesa kwake hakika
Hunu mbwa sabaa mwaka
Tii hiyo kumshika
Umoya kutopungua.]

[(As to) his affliction, truly,
This was the seventh year,
That this trouble (?) had seized upon him:
Not one was wanting (to the number).]

306. Tena niwape khabari
Ni sabaa shuhuri
Hadithini madhukuri
Ndipo twalipoambiwa.

Then let me give you the account:
It was seven months.
In the aforesaid story
That is where we were told it.

307. Na sabaati ayamu
Zaidi mezifahamu
Wa nane haukutimu
Hayo tumeyasikia.

And seven days
Over and above, (you) have understood,
The eighth (month) was not completed
Those (are the matters) we have heard.

[307*a*. Yanani niwahubiri:
Wakati wa athuluri
Kwa kunduwazo qahari
Kampoza akapoa.]

[Come, that I may inform you:
At the time of noon
By Thy guidance, O Disposer,
(Thou) didst heal him, and he recovered.]

308. Kupoa kwake, yuani,
Akangia ibadani
Akaabudu Manani
Kama yake mazoea.

Know that, (on) his recovery,
He entered upon worship
And he worshipped the Beneficent
As (was) his custom.

309. Ali katika kusoma,
Akaya Mwana Rehema,
Kuyake akasimama,
Kizunguka akilia.

He was at (his) reading,
And the Lady Rehema came,
At her coming she stood still
And (then) walked round and round weeping

310. Kizinga kizunguka
Kitunda na kumunika
Matozi yakamtoka
Kisikitika chomboa.

She walked about and round him
Catching (her breath) and looking (?)
The tears started (from) her (eyes),
As she grieved and mourned.

311. Kizinga kitaajabu
Nyumenyume: "U wapi Ayubu,
Tumwa ya Mola Wahabu,
Mfadhali Murisaa?"

She walked about in astonishment
Backwards and forwards: "Where art thou, Job?
The Apostle of the Lord, the Giver,
The generous Messenger?"

312. Ayubu kamuuliza:
"Ewe Rehema, neleza,
Matozi yake hutoza,
Huzunguka ukilia.

And Job asked her:
"You, Rehema, make clear to me,
(Why) you are shedding tears
And walking about crying.

313. "Neleza likulizalo,
Nami niyue kwalo
Yambo uzengealo·
Neleza nami niyue.

"Make clear to me (the matter) which makes you weep,
That I too may know by means of it,
The matter which you are seeking.
Explain to me, that I may know.

314. "Taka kulifahamu
Kwakwelezawe huramu—
Ukapungulia hamu,
Kulia ukanyamaa."

"I want to understand it
Through your explanation, O woman.
And do thou diminish thy grief
And silence thy weeping."

315. Ayubu akatamka:
"Ewe, Rehema, pulika!
Mbona umebadilika,
Upetwe na kushangaa?"

Job uttered (these words):
"You, Rehema, listen!
Why are you (so) changed,
And seized upon by astonishment?"

316. Akamba : " Hapa mahali
Palina wangu rijali,
Tumwa Ayubu Rasuli,
Mtume wake Jalia.

She said : "In this place
There was my husband,
The Apostle Job, the Messenger,
The Apostle of the Mighty.

317. " Ali akiye hapa,
Nami kizinga kipapa,
Niyapopata mfupa
Kaya nao kautoa.

"He had come here
And I was wandering about destitute ;
Even if I could only get one bone
I would come with it and hand it over (to him).

318. " Tukala tukahimidi
Tukimuomba Wadudi
Ile kazi ya abadi
Wala nisikutukiwa.

"We ate, and we praised,
And we prayed to the Loving One.
That work of worship—
And I was not hated (?).

319. " Kihudumu kwa furaha
Na kumuombea siha
Mola mpoza jeraha
Umpe yake afia.

"I served him with joy,
And I prayed (for) strength for him,
The Lord, the Healer of wounds,
That he might give him his health.

320. " Yeo natoka ndiani
Kuzengea zaifani,—
Kuya kwangu simuoni
Siyui nimezokuwa."

"To-day I come out on the road.
To seek for money
And when I come home I do not see him,
I do not know how (this) has happened.

321. Hapo nyuma atamke,
Amwambie mke wake :
" Tulia, sisikitike !
Ni mimi, mumeo, tua !

There behind (her) he uttered (words)
And spoke to his wife :
"Calm yourself, do not grieve.
It is I, your husband, be calm.

322. " Mimi, mama, mume wako
Siitie papatiko :—
Nalikome sikitiko
Na jitimai uondoa.

"(It is) I, mother, your husband,
Do not be startled,
I have come to the end of grief,
And, as for (your) sorrow, take (it) away.

323. " Nikwambiao sadiki
Moyo sitie dhiki,—
Jalilu Mola Khalaki
Mawi amenondolea.

"What I say to you, do you believe :
Do not admit trouble into your heart,
The Blessed Lord, the Creator,
Has taken away from me the evil.

324. " Na afua imeshuka :
Moyo sitie shaka.
Ni mumeo, pulika !
Siche kumikurubia.

"And deliverance has come down,—
Admit no doubt into your heart :—
I am your husband, listen !
Do not be afraid to come near me.

325. "Na ukitaka khabari,
Pulika, nikukhubiri;
Tangu mwando na akhiri
Kisa chalichoniwia.

"If you wish to have the account,
Listen that I may tell you
From the beginning, with the end,
The story (of that) which came upon me.

326. "'Twaa khabari, khalili
Alikuja, Jiburili;
Akanambia: 'Jalali
Akusalimu Taala.

"Take this account; a friend—
Came—(namely), Gabriel,
And said to me, 'The Mighty One,
The Highest, saluteth thee.

327. "'Mependa kukurihamu
Jalla wa'alla karimu
'Ahadiyo imetimu,
Mateso kukwepukia.

"'It has pleased Him to have mercy on thee,
The Mighty and Bountiful One,
He has fulfilled His promise,
That (thy) afflictions should depart from thee.

328. "'Liinue guu lako
Hukwambia Mola wako.
Hukoma mateso yako,
Hiyao ukisa kuwa.

"'Lift up thy foot
He says to thee, thy Lord,
Thy afflictions are ending,
Thou hast finished being like this.

329. "'Na mai yapo karibu
Tini mwa nyao, Ayubu,
Uwakisa usharibu,
Hiyo ndiyo yako dawa.'

"'And there is water near
Under (thy) feet, O Job!
When thou hast finished drinking,
This it is (which is) thy medicine'

330. "Kunambiake kalima
Guu langu kusukuma,
Kati mato kitazama
Mbwene guu likiyia,

"When he had said his words to me,
My foot I pushed (down),
In the midst, when eyes looked, (?)
I saw when my foot came.

331. "Mai yalipotibuka,
Kufura na kuomoka,
Maini nalikifika
Kana kae singakuwa.

"Where the water burst forth,
Swelling and flowing out,
In the water when I arrived
I could not be as (I was) formerly.

332. "Nalitamani mjuli
Kuutazama muili,
Niwene kama asili,
Ao punde kuzidia.

"I wished for one who knows
To look at my body,
I saw (that it was) as in the beginning
Or (in fact) somewhat better.

333. "Kisake kuwa khalili
Chepuka kikaa mbali,
Nimuwene Jiburili
Nguo akinetea.

"The matter of (my) being poor
Departed and remained afar.
I saw Gabriel
(Who) was bringing me clothes.

334. "Akamba: 'Twaa, Ayubu,
Nimekwetea thiabu,
Nalipowa na Wahabu,
Ni libasi yakuvaa.'

"And he said, 'Take, O Job,
I have brought a garment to thee,
I was given (it) by the Giver,
It is a garment (for you) to wear.'

335. "Kazipokea libasi,
Rehema, kailabisi:—
Siitie wasiwasi,
Ni mimi, nikurubia.

"And I received the clothes,
O Rehema, and clothed myself,
Do not be in any perplexity—
It is I—approach me."

336. "Keti, tumhimidie
Mola, tuishukurie,
Na mipisi yapisie (?)
Kheri ni kuyaliwaa."

"Sit down and let us praise
The Lord and give thanks for ourselves
And the things which are past, let them pass: (?)
It is better to forget them."

337. Rehema akatamka
Kwa furaha na kuteka:
"Ndiyo naliyokitaka
Mume wangu kupoa.

And Rehema spoke,
With joy and laughter,
"This is what I wished for,
That my husband should recover.

338. "Nimhimidie Mngu
Mwenye kutandika mbingu:
Ameondoa utungu
Moyoni, haukusaa.

"Let me praise God for him,
(God) who spread out the heavens,—
He has taken away bitterness
From my heart,—there is none remaining.

339. "Sasa taka yambo moya,
Tafadhali nitendea;
Kuliko bate mia
Nadhiri yangu kiua.

"Now I want one thing,
I pray you, do (it) for me.
There are a hundred strokes
If I (am to) fulfil my vow.

340. "Maneno yangu, Saidi,
Tafadhali siyarudi.
Bwanangu nipija hadi,
Bate mia kwa 'ajaa!

"My words, my lord,
I pray you, do not refuse them.
My master, (I pray you) to punish me
(With) a hundred strokes, with crying out (I entreat you).

341. "Tumwa Ayubu Rasuli,
Nipija, yastahili!
Moyo sitie shughuli
Moya lilipate kuwa.

"O Apostle Job, O Messenger,
Strike me as is fitting,
Do not have any anxiety in your heart,
Let there not be even one (such thought).

342. "Kifa, nende fili jana,
Kipona, niishe sana.
Neno lako, Saidina.
Lipate kukutimia.

"If I die, I shall go at once to Paradise.
If I escape, I shall live long:
Your word, O our lord,
May it get to be complete for you.

343. "Nipo, mke wako, nipo.
Mbee zako hapo ndipo:
Timiza chako kiapo.
Ayubu, walotongoa.

"I am here, your wife, I am here.
Before you here, that is where (I am).
Fulfil your oath,
O Job, which you uttered.

344. "Wala siwe na huzuni,
Wata simanzi moyoni,
Jalilu Mola Manani
Haya ndiyo mezokowa."

"And do not have any sorrow
Or grief in your heart,
The Majestic, the Lord, the Beneficent,
These (things) are what he has ordained."

345. Asinyamae kusema
Kunena akasikoma,
Akamshika huruma
Ayubu, akashangaa.

She was not silent (from) speaking,
And she did not cease her utterance,
Pity seized upon him
(On) Job, and he was astonished.

346. Ayubu kisikitika
Neno asiyatamka
Amuone akishuka
Jiburili kitongoa.

While Job was grieving, (but)
Before he had yet said a word,
He saw him coming down,
(Even) Gabriel, and speaking.

347. Jiburili akanena:
"Ayubu, sikae sana
Mwenye ezi Subuhana
Akusallimu Jalia.

And Gabriel said:
"Job, do not delay long—
The All-Powerful, the Glorious,
Salutes thee, the Mighty One.

348. "Hukwambia Mola wako:
'Timiza kiapo chako
Ya nadhiri mke wako
Ipate kumondokea.'

"Thy Lord says to thee:
'Fulfil thy oath
That thy wife's vow
May be redeemed.

349. "Kurudi nia sitende;
Pulikiza nikufunde,
Twaa kaa la mtende
Ambalo lapata mia.

"As for reversing thy purpose—do it not.
Listen that I may teach thee.
Take the branch of a date-palm
Which has a hundred (fronds).

350. "Likate nawe, Ayubu,
Kaa, nta zihasibu,
Zitimie kwa hesabu,
Moya kutopungua.

"Cut it, even thou, O Job,
A branch (and) count the fronds.
(To see) whether they are complete in the enumeration,
Not falling short (even) by one.

351. "Wakuamru Wadudi
Kaa mia zi'idadi
Upije ile hadi
Moya kutopungua."

"The Loving One commands thee—
Count a hundred fronds.
Strike her (by way of) that punishment.
Without falling short by one (stroke)."

352. Kusikiake Rasuli
Maneno ya Jiburili
Kaondoka tasihili
Akenda kulizengea.

When the Messenger heard
The words of Gabriel.
He rose up compliantly
And went to look for it.

[352*a*. Akenda kulitwaalo
Kaa alizengealo
Tenda ulipete lilo
Alilo kusudia.]

[He went to take it.
The branch which he sought,
(To) do (when) he had obtained that,
That which he had purposed.]

353. Akangia katikati
Makaa ya mtendeti
Kalitunda lenye bati
Ambazo zatimu mia

And he went in among
The branches of the date tree,
And picked one having fronds
Which made up (the number of) a hundred.

354. Kaa akalitukua.
Kwa Rehema akangia
Akamba: "Naamruwa
Kwa hili kukujalidia.

He took the branch
And entered Rehema's (apartment)
And said, "I have been commanded
To whip you with this.

355. "Unabiriye Wahabu
Kwa hili kukudhurubu
Moyo wako atiabu
Shaka nafusi ondoa."

"The Giver has made it plain to me (that)
(I have) to strike you with this;
That He may soothe your heart,—
(So) take away doubt from your soul."

356. Akatamka Rehema,
Uso ukitabasama:
"Amri yako, Karima,
Sina shaka taridhia."

And Rehema said
Her face smiling—:
"(As to) Thy command, O Generous One—
I have no hesitation. I will acquiesce (in it)."

357. Kainua mara moya
Kampija zote mia.
Nadhiri ikatimia
Yake Ayubu nabiya.

He lifted up (the branch) once,
And struck her all the hundred strokes,
And the vow was fulfilled,
Of him, Job the Prophet.

358. Ilahi kamrejeza
Kama kwanda na kuongeza
Kwa amri ya Muweza
Na watunga wote pia.

And God brought him back
As (he was) at the beginning, with addition.
By command of Him who has the power—
And all of the herdsmen too.

359. Yakarejea mazizi
Ngamia, ng'ombe na mbuzi
Kazibariki Azizi
Zaidi ya asiliya.

And the cattle-folds came back,
The camels, the cattle, and the goats,
And the Mighty One blessed them,
More than in the beginning.

360. Wakarejea na wana
Wanaume na manana
Kukasitawi mno sana
Baraka ikaongea.

There returned, too, his children,
The men and the ladies,
And there was (a state of) exceeding prosperity,
And blessing increased.

361. Na majumba yakazidi
Na wana wakashitadi
Wakawa kama asadi
Haiba na zihi pia.

And his houses were more (in number),
And his children became strong;
They were like lions
In beauty and splendour altogether.

362. Ukiwaona rijali
Ni kama simba kamili
Nyaka wakatakamali
Wakaketi kwa afia.

If you had seen them, the men,
They were like lions, perfect,
(As to their) years, they were complete,
And they lived in health.

363. Kwa furaha wakaketi
Wakisitarehe kwa kuti
Na Ilahi Jabaruti
Auni kawatilia.

And in joy they lived,
They lived in comfort and satisfaction,
And God, the Mighty,
Bestowed help on them.

364. Wakapowa mu'awana
Na Ilahi Subuhana,
Wakafurahika sana
Rabi alowatendea.

And they were given assistance
By God the Glorious,
And they rejoiced greatly
(In) the Lord, who did (good) to them.

365. Ayubu akarejea
Akiabudu Jalia
Akazidi kuetea
Ibada yake Jalia.

And Job returned
Worshipping the Mighty
And he (even) exceeded in bringing
Worship to the Mighty.

366. Kisa cha Tumwa Ayubu
Nimekoma kukutibu
Kwa auni ya Wahabu;
Rabi amenisahilia.

The story of the Apostle Job
I have come to an end of writing (it),
By the help of the Giver;
The Lord has made (it) easy for me.

367. Ameyafanya sahali
Ilahi Rabi Jalili,
Kiarabu kubadili
Kwa Kisawahilia.

He has made them easy,
God, the Lord, the Majestic,
(From) the Arabic to turn
Into Swahili.

368. Tumeyaona zuoni
Haya, na Kuruanini
Na nyinyi angaliani
Sikusaza neno moya.

We have found them in books,
These (matters) and in the Koran,
And, as for you, (you may) look
I have not left out one word.

369. Mateso yalipokoma
Kwa amri ya Karima
Aliipata salama
Na mali yakarejea.

When (his) afflictions had ceased,
By command of the Bountiful,
He attained peace,
And his wealth returned.

370. Ikarudi hathi yake
Kapoa maradhi yake
Zaidi asili yake
Karejea marra moya.

And his good fortune came back,
And he recovered from his disease,
(And was) better (than in) his former state,
(In fact) he returned at once.

371. Yambo katika dayana
Huwa kunfa yakunu
Rabi ndiye makununu
La ilahi illa huwa.

A matter (decided) in the judgment
(Of) Him, who was and will be,—
The Lord, it is He, the Strong One,
There is no God but He.

372. Rabi Mola atakalo
Ni sharuti huwa lilo
Bwana yeye afanyalo
Hawezi mtu mmoya.

The Lord, whatever He wants,
That must of necessity come to pass,
That which He, the Master, does
Not one man can (do).

373. Rabi Ilahi Manani
Ututie hifudhini
Asomao muumini
Na ambao tasikia.

Lord God, Beneficent,
Put us under thy guardianship,
(Both) the Believer who reads (this poem),
And those who will hear it.

374. Ndicho kisa cha Ayubu
Kisomeni, Waarabu,
Mtaajabu ajabu
Kisa chalomuelea.

This is the story of Job—
Read it, O ye Arabs,
And wonder (with a) wonderment
(At) the story which is plain to you.

375. Nimekoma, wasalamu,
Kwandika nimekhitimu
Kwa amri ya Karimu
Kwa afua na afia.

I have ended it—and greeting!
I have completed the writing,
By command of the Bountiful,
In safety and health.

376. Nimekoma, kisomeni,
Mupumbae majumbani
Tumeyaona zuoni
Haya yaliyotokea.

I have ended—read it,
May you rest in (comfort in your) houses.
We have found them in books,
These (matters) which appear (here).

377. Ya Rabi, tupe afia
Maradhi ngwatepulia
Dha[mbi] ngwatuondolea
Tughufiriye Jalia.

O Lord, give us health,
May He put sickness far away from us,
Sin may He take away from us;—
Pardon us, O Mighty One!

378. Zighufiri dhambi zetu
Ya Ilahi, Mola wetu
Utubarikie kwa zitu
Nguo na cha kutumia.

Pardon our sins,
O God, our Lord,
Bless us with things (such as)
Clothes and (necessaries) to use.

379. Tupe baraka, Wadudi,
Subuhana, ya kuzidi
Utupe nasi zawadi
Duniani kutumia.

Give us blessing, O Loving One,
Glorious One, (even) more (than before)!
Give to us also gifts
To use in this world.

380. Ukiteswa na Jabari
Uwe mtu kusubiri
Subiri huvuta kheri—
Sina shaka hukwambia.

If you are afflicted by the All-Powerful,
Be a patient man,
Patience (at last) brings prosperity,
I have no hesitation in telling you (so).

381. Asubiriyo hunəli
Hapana shaka, ni kweli
Shati hutakamali
Ikatimu yako nia.

He who is patient obtains (his desire).
There is no doubt, it is true,
It cannot be but that you will be made perfect,
And your purpose be fulfilled.

382. Subuhana amenena,
Rabi ma'a sabirina
Mara nyingi tumeona
Kusubiri kheri huya.

The Glorious One has said,
The Lord, with patience,
Many times we have seen (that),
With patience good fortune comes.

383. Kwa kula asubiriyo
Huyapata atakayo
Huwa safi yake moyo
Baada adhabu pia.

For every one who is patient
Is wont to get (those) things which he wants,
His heart is pure
After the punishment, also.

384. Usubiri kwa yakini
Ilahi takuawini.
Kutaataa n'nini?
Hupati illa khatia.

Be patient, (and) truly,
God will help you,
What is the good of fretting yourself?
You will not get (anything) except crime.

385. Mtu kiiziwilia
Ziumbe kutowambia
Mola akamuwatia
Mwisowe hukutendea.

If a man restrains himself
(So as) not to tell the creatures
(That) the Lord has left him,—
In the end he is wont to do you good.

386. Illa ukitaataa
Mwiso wake huwa baa
Walau hayatufaa
Ni uyinga kuitia.

But, if you keep on fretting,
The end of it is apt to be disaster,
Neither will (such matters) profit us.
It is folly to put ourselves (into such a position). (?)

387. Wasalama wasalamu
Ndiyo tamati hatimu
Na dhambi zetu Athimu
Tusamehe na khatia.

Greeting and peace!
This is the end and the completion;
And our sins, O Exalted One,
Forgive us, and our crimes.

388. Tupe nasi samahani
Tungie sote peponi
Na mahuru'l-aini
Tupate kuwangalia.

And give us forgiveness
That we may all enter Paradise,
And the Maids of Paradise—
That we may attain to look on them.

389. Na ladhati lisharibina
Utunweshe, Subuhana;
Ni haqqi, taha amina,
Utunweshe kwa umoya.

And pleasant things (to) drink,
Give us to drink, O Glorious One!
It is (only) just, O Faithful Prophet,
That thou shouldst give us to drink in unity.

390. Usomeni waungwana
La makosa ukiona
Tengezani ndiyo sana
Ndiyo nimezowambia.

Read, ye nobles—
If ye find any (matter) of mistakes,
Put them right (I entreat you), this is it indeed,
That is how I have told you (to do).

391. Someni hini nuthuma
Ndio mwiso, nimekoma,
Rabi metupa khatima
Mangine tatutendea.

Read ye this poem.—
This is the end; I have finished.
The Lord has granted us to complete it,
He will do other (good things) to us.

Wa salaam, wa katabahu 'l haqîr Illahi taala Muhamadi bin Abubakari bin 'Umari Kijuma 'l Bakriyyi, bi tarîkh 2 fî 'sh-Shawwal 'l Mubârak sanah 1331.

And greeting. And he who wrote this is the lowly (servant) of God, Most High, Muhamadi bin Abubakari bin 'Omari (Kijuma), of the Bakriyyi clan; on the date of 2nd Shawwal the Blessed, in the year 1331.

Note.—The variant stanzas of MS. C., from 356 onwards, are reserved for an appendix.

Errata

Text

PAGE	STANZA	LINE	LEG.
90	22	(*c*)	kuzitaya.
	23	(*b*)	[wanaume].
91	26	(*c*)	pakainuka.
	29	(*c*)	angali kipapa.
93	71	(*b*)	unyata unyata.
94	84	(*a*)	asezepo.
95	103	(*d*)	kimoya.
95	104	(*b*)	niagia for ni afia.
	105	(*a*)	kiwa subiri.

Translation

102	15	(*c*)	(we are) Thy servants.
103	33	(*b*)	To get (at) him is impossible.
105	64	(*a*)	" To-day he has taken away everything."
106	76	(*d*)	" If Thou dost give his heart a shock."
	82	(*d*)	" And the house fell down upon them."
107	96		" Job, it does not befit you To fix your abode here any longer ! Depart . . . (?) As the people have been buried."
	98	(*a*)	" Job was utterly perplexed."
	101	(*c*)	" He returned, all amazed."
108	103	(*d*)	" (Of) all. not one has any power (over him).
	126	(*a*)	" Rehema did not provoke (him) to anger."
	130	(*b*)	" If I pick up what has fallen."
	150	(*d*)	" You (too) must live together."

(The notes to this poem will appear in the next number.)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A History of the Mahrattas. By James Cuninghame Grant Duff, Captain in the First, or Grenadier, Regiment of Bombay Infantry, and late Political Resident at Satara. Revised annotated edition, with an introduction by S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O., late of the Indian Civil Service. Two vols. Oxford University Press. 36*s*. net.

The authorities of the Oxford University Press are to be congratulated upon the issue of this new edition of Grant Duff's classic so soon after the appearance of Mr. Crooke's scholarly revision of Tod's "Rajasthan". It is the supreme merit of both these works that they still command unqualified praise from all who are competent to bestow it. That circle, we may hope, is larger to-day than it was when Grant Duff submitted his manuscript in 1825 to the John Murray of the time and was met with the discouraging words: "Who knows anything about the Marathas, and who cares to know? A 'History of the Marathas'! That will never sell!" The risk of publication was eventually undertaken by the firm of Longman, upon the recommendation of Sir James Mackintosh; but the book cost Grant Duff upwards of £2,000 before it went to Press. The Court of Directors conceived that they had treated him with rare liberality when they subscribed for forty copies, and proposals for a second edition in 1846 did not survive the stage of discussion. The present edition, it need hardly be said, is a vast improvement upon the Calcutta reprint of 1912 in three volumes, which has hitherto been the latest available. But while recognizing to the utmost the efficient manner in which Mr. Edwardes has discharged his duties, it is impossible not to regret the absence of the delightful woodcuts of Bijapur, Raigarh, and Satara which adorn the original work.

Grant Duff, like Tod, was admirably equipped for his task. As an officer in the Bombay army he was an active participator in the final struggle which overthrew the Maratha power, and while Resident at Satara from 1818 to 1822, devoted himself with untiring energy to the collection of materials. In common with Tod he possessed a happy combination of literary skill with aptitude for historical research.

He enjoyed, in addition, the faculty of appreciating the characteristics of the Maratha people, and utilized to the full the opportunities which came in his way of cultivating the friendship and obtaining the confidence of the chiefs. "The name of Grant Sahib," says Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis in his book on Mahableshwar, "is still familiar as a household word in the Satara district." His candour may not always be palatable to the ardent Maratha nationalist; but his book has achieved a pride of place which has in no way been challenged by the supplementary investigations of later students. The record may here and there be biassed, but it is tempered throughout by the kindliness and courtesy which are to be expected from a disciple of Mountstuart Elphinstone; and it amply fulfils his declared purpose of supplying a complete history of the Marathas from the creation of their nation by Sivaji in the seventeenth century until the extinction in 1818 of their pretensions to dominate India.

Such a story cannot fail to fascinate, and over none is that fascination more potently exercised than over the Marathas themselves. "The Marathas are a nation, and from the Brahman to the peasant they glory in the fact." It is they, and not the Mughals, who are the predecessors in conquest of the British. The career of Sivaji, like that of Ranjit Singh, was Napoleonic in the suddenness of its rise and the brilliancy of its success. But whereas Ranjit Singh failed to found a lasting dynasty, the conquests of Sivaji achieved an element of permanence owing to the weakness of the Mughals. Akbar had rested his rule on the co-operation of his Hindu subjects: the austere fanaticism of Aurangzeb undid his work, although he was able to maintain the system more or less in running order for fifty years. The tottering sceptre fell into the hands of the "mountain-rats of the Deccan" like an over-ripe pear. For at least a century the orders of the Maratha confederacy were obeyed from Dwarka on the west to Jagannath in Orissa on the east, and from Hardwar in the north to Rameshwar in the far south. Three hard-fought campaigns were needed to wrest from them that supremacy which, Maratha historians are careful to insist, was the fruit of a genuine effort on the part of a Hindu nationality inspired by a common patriotism. It was the outcome of an upheaval in which all classes co-operated, and which was not only political but religious. No experiment in federalism upon so large a scale had previously been witnessed in India. Why, then, did this mighty enterprise meet disaster?

There was already a community of language, creed, and life among the Marathas when Sivaji arose and conferred political unity upon them. To-day the use of the Maratha tongue in its different dialects extends nearly across the peninsula. It is spoken by nine millions in the Bombay Presidency, by four and a half millions in the Central Provinces and Berar, and by three and a half millions in the Nizam's Dominions. Maratha colonies are to be found in many of the districts of the Madras Presidency. The Raja of Sandur in the Bellary district comes of Maratha stock, and as recently as 1845 the descendants of Sivaji's half-brother, Vyankoji, reigned in empty state at Tanjore. Maratha chiefs rule at Gwalior, Indore, Dhar, and Dewas, in Central India, and at Baroda, in Gujarat. But the cradle of the Maratha kingdom must be sought in the tract on the western edge of the Deccan plateau, immediately east of the Ghats, that long towering wall which runs from north to south. It shelters a manly and hardy race, bred in poverty, simplicity, and love of equality. Their democratic temper is shown by the universal use of "thee" and "thou". There is among them none of that caste exclusiveness which exists in Southern India, where the lower castes are not allowed to pollute Brahman streets with their presence. On the contrary, the Brahman monopoly was directly challenged by the religious revival which shook the Deccan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and which was largely led by men, and even women, of humble social origin—tailors, carpenters, potters, gardeners, shopkeepers, barbers, and even outcaste Mahars (scavengers). Khandoba and Bhavani, the two principal deities of the Maratha people, are frankly aboriginal in character, and their cult is primarily non-Brahmanical and non-Aryan. The main body of the population are Kunbis, or cultivators, and according to a memorandum presented in 1919 by the All-India Maratha League to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Government of India Bill "the terms 'Maratha' or 'Kunbi' are synonymous: the educated and well-to-do portion of the community styles itself Maratha, while the ignorant and rural passes under the name of Kunbi, though the former are akin to the latter as members of the same caste." There is undoubtedly a distinct aboriginal strain in both, and the claim of the upper class to a Rajput origin cannot be sustained, although Sivaji found it necessary, in order to invest his assumption of sovereignty in 1674 with validity, to be "made a Kshatriya", and to hide his Kunbi birth in a tale of descent from the great Rajput house of Udaipur. Outside the Kunbis are Prabhus or writers, Dhangars

or shepherds (to which caste the Maharaja Holkar belongs), Gaulis or cowherds, Koli and Mavali hillmen, and Ramosis or "forest dwellers", whose traditional occupation is robbery, and who are still classed as a criminal tribe. But all are Sudras, whatever their fissure into castes may be, and they rose into fame under a Sudra chief.

Sivaji was unquestionably a devout Hindu, and he did not neglect his duty towards the sacerdotal caste. It is recorded that he handed over his kingdom to his *guru*, the famous Ramdas Swami, and was bidden to take it back and administer it as a trust. But he was never allowed to forget that he was a despised Sudra, and he took care in return that the Brahmans should not exercise undue ascendancy. The backbone of his army was furnished by Kolis and Mavalis. Outcastes such as Mangs and Mahars garrisoned his hill-forts, which were placed under the joint charge of Marathas and Brahmans. The military commanders who attained to eminence under him and his grandson Shahu (the "Sow Roger" of the Factory Records) were, in the main, Marathas, and the influence of the Brahman element was chiefly manifested at the council table, where its presence was indispensable for the simple reason that the ordinary Maratha was illiterate.

Much has been written upon the subject of Sivaji's civil administration; and while it is not necessary to endorse the extravagant language of Mr. Kincaid, who speaks of him in his *History of the Maratha People* as "the greatest man who ever lived", the more sober judgment recorded by Professor Jadunath Sarkar in his admirable book on *Shivaji and His Times* can be accepted. The limitations of Sivaji were many, but these were shared by his successors, for they form part of the Maratha character. He differed from them in that he was the last constructive genius which the Hindu race has produced. He governed by means of a *Raj-mandala* or Council of State, which held frequent *majlasi* or meetings, and was composed of eight ministers. These, in the final arrangement adopted by Sivaji, comprised the *senapati* or commander-in-chief, the *peshwa* or chief executive officer, the *pant amatya*, who was in charge of the revenue and accounts departments; the *pant sachiv*, or *soorais*, who supervised the correspondence and records; the *dabir*, or *samant*, who was minister for foreign affairs; the *mantri*, or head of the household; and the *nyayadhisha* and *nyayashastri*, or *panditrao*, who presided over the judicial and ecclesiastical departments. All were Brahmans except the *senapati*. At a later date a supreme functionary, entitled the

pratinidhi, or " representative of the Raja ", was created. The late Mr. Justice Ranade discerned in this *Raj-mandala* the prototype of the Anglo-Indian system of council government. But in the first place Sivaji's ministers were merely his secretaries; and secondly, the English have in point of fact carried on the methods of factory administration, in evidence whereof it may be mentioned that in the Viceroy's Executive Council the junior member gives his opinion first, as he was accustomed to do in olden days at Surat.

Originally none of these offices was hereditary, but gradually they became the perquisites of certain families, and their holders mere jagirdars. Thus the present chief of Aundh enjoys the title of Pratinidhi, and the chief of Bhor that of Pant Sachiv. In place of the *Raj-mandala* the administration began to be conducted by subordinate civil officials, under the sole control of the Peshwa. This change dates from the time of Balaji Vishvanath, a Chitpavan or Konkanasth Brahman who was appointed to the office in 1714, and in 1727 obtained from Shahu, the grandson of Sivaji, a deed empowering him to manage the entire government, upon condition of perpetuating the name of the Raja.

Shahu, who survived until 1748, was under no illusion as to the nature of the step which he took. When Raja Jai Singh of Amber asked him what he had performed for the Hindu faith, and what charities he had bestowed, he replied, " I have conquered from the Mussulmans the whole country from Rameshwar to Delhi, and have given it to the Brahmans." The descendants of Sivaji reigned as pageant kings at Satara, while the real sovereignty was concentrated in the minister at Poona. The dynasty of mayors of the palace thus established comprised seven persons. But the Peshwas in turn suffered eclipse. Upon the death in 1772 of Madho Rao, the fourth of the line, the control of affairs was transferred to Nana Farnavis, also a Chitpavan Brahman, who for thirty-eight years, until his death in March, 1800, directed the administration. The position was thus similar to that which obtained in Bengal, where the Company's servants persisted in governing in the name of the puppet Nawab at Murshidabad.

The result of this establishment of a permanent Brahman ascendancy at Poona was to alienate the Maratha chiefs, who were one and all of Sudra origin and who had carved out kingdoms for themselves in Malwa and Gujarat, and elsewhere. They followed the Peshwa's model, and created separate autocracies for themselves. The

Maratha power reached its zenith in 1759. Their frontier extended on the north to the Indus and on the south nearly to the extremity of the peninsula. All the territory within these limits which was not their own paid tribute to them: and the directing hand was that of the Peshwa at Poona. But their sun set at the third battle of Panipat in 1761. The Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao never recovered from the shock, and although most of the Maratha conquests were regained at a subsequent date by independent chiefs, the confederacy of the Maratha princes dissolved. Although they might join together upon occasions, as at the battle of Kharda (Khurdla) in 1795, where they united for the last time under the banner of the Peshwa against the Nizam, the old solidarity of interest was gone. Nana Farnavis endeavoured to arrest the process of disintegration by setting up the Raja of Satara as actual head of the confederacy; but it was too late. Caste jealousies had done their work. The organic whole created by Sivaji had been converted into an inorganic mass, and the end came in 1818 with the deposition of Baji Rao II, the last of the Peshwas, and his internment at Bithoor, near Cawnpore. With him vanished his principal ally, the Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur, and the dream of a Maratha empire was finally shattered.

Forty years later, in the dark days of 1857, the ex-Peshwa's adopted son, the infamous Dhundu Pant, or Nana Sahib, endeavoured once more to kindle what he conceived to be the flame of Maratha nationalism. His failure was complete. There was no response to the call by the Maratha chiefs and people. A widespread conspiracy was certainly discovered at Satara to restore the Maratha power with assistance from the north, but the movement was suppressed with only trifling disturbances. The Maratha chiefs who had survived the debacle of 1818—Sindhia, Holkar, and the Gaikwar of Baroda, the Raja of Kolhapur (a descendant of Raja Ram, the younger son of Sivaji), and the jagirdars in the southern Maratha country—remained staunch, in spite of trouble with the contingents at Gwalior and Indore. The mass of the population in the Deccan appeared to Meadows Taylor (who was in a position to know) to have "ceased to be warlike, and under a good system of government to have fairly abandoned old ways and settled down into active farmers". As for the Brahmans, they were (and still are) "well represented in government employ", and even if there was reason for discontent among them, they "have no sympathy among the Maratha people, who do not like them".

The exploits of Sivaji might still be recited by the Gondhali, or

wandering minstrel, to rapt village audiences, but the name of the Brahman Peshwa carried no inspiration. And if the truth must be told, the memories of Maratha rule were not altogether sweet. In the words of Sir Thomas Munro, as recorded in his life by Gleig—

The Mahratta government, from its foundation, has been one of the most destructive that ever existed in India. It never relinquished the predatory spirit of its founder, Sewajee. That spirit grew with its power: and when its empire extended from the Ganges to the Cauvery, this nation was little better than a horde of imperial thieves. All other Hindu states took a pride in the improvement of the country and in the construction of pagodas, tanks, canals, and other public works. The Mahrattas have done nothing of this kind: their work has been chiefly desolation. They did not seek their revenue in the improvement of the country, but in the exactions of the established *chout* from their neighbours, and in predatory incursions to levy more.

A similar picture is painted by Grant Duff himself. "The burden of their exactions," he writes, "became intolerable, and districts before cultivated and populous were fast running to waste and wretchedness." Justice compels the admission that the government of Sivaji is said to have been "popular with the common cultivator", so long, that is to say, as he lived within the area of actual physical control: and it is undoubtedly the case that some of the Peshwas endeavoured to protect the peasantry from illegal exactions. Yet (as Professor Jadunath Sarkar has pointed out) the Maratha state was essentially a *Kriegstaat*. It was bound to wage war periodically, if it was to supplement the resources of the home province, with no industry, little trade, a sterile soil, and an agriculture dependent upon scanty and precarious rainfall. A policy of this description necessarily recoiled upon itself. Sivaji's repeated raids on Surat scared away trade and wealth from that city. The Pindaris who filled Central India and Rajputana with desolation and terror in the early days of the nineteenth century are rightly described as the logical corollary of the Maratha soldier to whom rapine was a normal duty. Gangs of banditti of all lands and religions took to the road in the wake of the Maratha armies. Their incursions were as regular as the periodical returns of the monsoon, and the havoc wrought by them became so insupportable that the work of their suppression, and of those who secretly supported them, grew to be an imperative necessity. From the economic point of view the Maratha state had, then, no stable basis.

Again, the latter-day Marathas trusted too much to diplomatic

trickery and finesse.[1] The casuist, with memories of some of the episodes of Sivaji's career, may argue that stratagem and falsehood were necessary to the birth of the Maratha hegemony; but such weapons could not be indefinitely employed without bringing disaster upon those who resorted to them. No one could rely upon the promise of a Maratha minister or the assurance of a Maratha general. An empire built upon such foundations was bound to crumble.

If we reject these interpretations of the catastrophe and cast about for another we may obtain it from Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who is quoted by Professor Sarkar as saying—

A temporary enthusiasm sweeps over the country, and we imagine that it has been united; but the rents and holes in our body social do their work secretly: we cannot retain any noble idea long. Sivaji aimed at preserving the rents: he wished to save from Mughal attack a Hindu society of which ceremonial distinctions and isolation of castes are the very breath of life. He wanted to make this heterogeneous society triumphant over *all* India! He wove ropes of sand: he attempted the impossible.

In other words, in proportion as Sivaji's ideal of a Hindu *swaraj* was based on orthodoxy, it contained within it the seed of its own death.

H. E. A. Cotton.

Studia Semitica et Orientalia. By Seven Members of Glasgow University Oriental Society. Glasgow, 1920.

Every student of Oriental languages and literatures recognizes the value of those volumes of essays, written by the pupils and admirers of some revered professor and dedicated to his honour, either on his retirement or after he has with distinction occupied his chair for a quarter of a century or more. Such compilations are more common on the Continent than in this country, and the contents of them are in many instances of permanent value: for the contributors always give of their best, in order that the tribute of their respect may be as worthy of acceptance as possible.

Such a volume has recently been presented to Professor James Robertson, in celebration of his eightieth birthday, by seven of his old pupils, some of whom have themselves won distinction in the field of Oriental studies.

[1] The Marathas, however, owned no monopoly of this failing. Aurangzeb is recorded to have said (Sarkar, *Anecdotes*, p. 96) that "one cannot rule without practising deception . . . A government that is joined to cunning lasts and remains firm for ever . . . It is contrary to the Koran to consider stratagem as blameable".

Professor Robertson spent more than twelve years in the East—in Constantinople and Beyrout—and was afterwards for thirty years Professor of Hebrew and Semitic languages in the Glasgow University, from 1877 to 1907. His published works have had reference mainly to the Bible and Hebrew studies, and the experience he gained by his long residence in the Muhammadan East has found expression only in scattered magazine articles and reviews of books.

Of the contributions in this volume of studies, five deal with Hebrew studies, such as "The Synchronisms of the Book of Kings", "The Site of Capernaum", "Jewish Everyday Life, as reflected in the Mishnah treatise Shabbath", and "A Study in Hebrew Synonyms". Professor D. B. Macdonald has not selected a subject from his immense knowledge of Muslim literature, but has written on "The pre-Abrahamic stories of Genesis, as a part of the Wisdom Literature". For students of Arabic, Professor W. B. Stevenson, who has succeeded Professor Robertson in the Chair of Hebrew and Semitic Languages, has given a study of "Some Specimens of Moslem Charms", containing much new information on this obscure and difficult subject, very carefully worked out in detail. Dr. E. Robertson, lecturer on Arabic in the University of Edinburgh, has given a translation of a hitherto unpublished work by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān on Arabic Calligraphy, with an introduction and exhaustive notes.

T. W. ARNOLD.

STUDIES IN HONOR OF MAURICE BLOOMFIELD BY A GROUP OF HIS PUPILS. pp. xxi and 312. Newhaven and Oxford, 1920.

The foreword begins: "These studies are offered to Maurice Bloomfield on the fortieth anniversary of his doctorate." The Introduction contains a biographical sketch (born on 23rd February, 1855, at Bielitz, Austria, but in 1859 his family moved to the States), and a bibliography most carefully tabled, which is a faithful testimony to the splendid activity of M. Bloomfield.

1. Le Roy Carr Barret, Paipplalāda and Rig Veda. (A very meritorious study: "The originality and independence of Ppp. is rather more distinct and important than some of us may have realized hitherto.")

2. H. H. Bender, On the Lithuanian Word-stock as Indo-European material. (Numerous evidences that the Lithuanian *Wortschatz* is to be "revamped".)

3. F. R. Blake, Congeneric assimilation as a cause of the development of new roots in Semitic.

4. G. M. Bolling, The recension of Cānakya used by Galanos. (The true character of the collection translated by Galanos; a successful attempt to reconstruct the original.)

5. G. W. Brown, The sources of Indian philosophical ideas. (An ambitious essay; many brilliant hypotheses; the great difference between Upanisads and Buddhism-Jainism is that these "remained more purely national, that is Dravidian: they would not admit the Vedas or the Vedic gods".)

6. W. N. Brown, Escaping one's fate: a Hindu paradox and its use as a psychic motif in Hindu fiction. (Good reading; full of interesting remarks.)

7. E. W. Burlingame, Buddhist-Zoroastrian legend of seven marvels. (Points out remarkable parallels.)

8. F. Edgerton, The philosophic materials of the Atharvaveda. (Philosophoumena used in Vedic circles, as later in Buddhist Tantrism, as charms; conclusions (p. 133) are just and important.)

9. E. W. Fay, Irradiation and blending. (The author died 1920; he was a learned and promising man; his philology is of the most daring kind.)

10. Helen M. Johnson, Rauhineya's adventures. (Translation of a Jaina story.)

11. H. W. Magoun, Agni Vṛtrahan and the Avestan Verethraghna. (Not perfectly sound, as far as I can see; fanciful etymologies: indrāgnī = in-ra-agni = Fire-of-the-driver.)

12. Ruth Norton, The Life Index, a Hindu fiction-motif. (Good reading, interesting remarks.)

13. S. G. Oliphant, The Vedic Press-stones. (Inquiry into the nature of the *grāvan* and *adri*.)

14. R. S. Radford, Licensed feet in Latin verses. A study of the principles of exceptional shortening, of diæresis, and of short vowels in hiatus.

Complete indices conclude the volume.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST OF EGYPT IN THE YEAR A.H. 922 (A.D. 1516). By Lieut.-Col. W. H. SALMON.

The latest addition to the monographs of the Royal Asiatic Society is entitled "An account of the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt in the year

A.H. 922 (A.D. 1516)". Actually the work consists of a translation of the first hundred pages of the third volume of the well-known history of Egypt by Ibn Iyās, prepared by Lieut.-Col. W. H. Salmon. Ibn Iyās's history has long been known to scholars, and the learned introduction to the translation by Professor Margoliouth tells us what little is known of that author, who was born in A.H. 852 (A.D. 1448), and whose chronicle terminates at the end of the year A.H. 928. The Professor does not allude to the curious gap of fifteen years (A.H. 906 to 921), which occurs between vol. ii and vol. iii of the printed text and apparently in all MS. copies.

The chronicle of Ibn Iyās as far as the important years 922 and 923 which witnessed the defeat of the Mamluk by Sultan Selīm I and the establishment of Ottoman rule in Egypt, is for the most part a purely local diary, and for the year 922 he is not nearly so detailed or full as other native historians. Ibn Iyās in his diary devotes much space to the recording of the exact date of the appearance of the new moon, and still more to the vagaries of the River Nile, neither of which have any special interest for the historian. It is true that the minor events passing in Cairo during the momentous year have considerable interest, but they have not much bearing on the main topic of the monograph, which is the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. The famous battle of Merj Dābiq is dismissed in a few pages, and a far fuller description is to be found of this engagement which practically gave Egypt to the Turks, in von Hammer and in Weil.

The chief impression formed by the reader acquainted with other sources is that Ibn Iyās had very little knowledge of what was passing outside Cairo; for example, he tells us that the body of Sultan Qānsawh Ghawri was "not found amongst the dead, nor was it ever known what became of it". It is surprising that Ibn Iyās should not have heard rumours of the Sultan's body having been found as related by other historians. The narrative as here translated ends with the arrival of Selīm in Cairo on Monday 3 Muharram 923, Tumān Beg being still at large. The last we hear of Tumān Beg is that after an engagement with Selīm's troops he folded up the royal standard and "ran and concealed himself, some say he went towards Tara".

Readers of Ottoman history know that this was by no means the end of Tumān Beg, and that while he remained at large the Ottoman Sultan could not regard himself as absolute master of Egypt. The events which led to his final capture and execution by Selīm are full of incident and interest, and being associated with Cairo itself are fully

and dramatically related by Ibn Iyās: it is therefore much to be regretted that Colonel Salmon should have stopped short exactly where the narrative of Ibn Iyās begins to be most interesting, and it is perhaps a pity that instead of translating the first hundred pages of volume iii, Colonel Salmon did not give us an epitome of the whole volume, confining himself solely to matters dealing with the establishment of Ottoman rule in Cairo.

Professor Margoliouth in his admirable introduction points out that one feature about this history is the style of the language in which it is written, embodying as it does "much of the vernacular of the time, and in consequence is of value for the history of the Arabic language and the development of the Cairene dialect". Unfortunately, this feature of Ibn Iyās's history is not brought out by the translator, who would have rendered a considerable service to students if he had indicated in brackets some of the many peculiar words employed by Ibn Iyās.

A good example of the ignorance displayed by Ibn Iyās regarding matters passing in the outer world is to be found in the rare allusions he makes to what was passing in Jedda and the Red Sea: on p. 55 we read:—

> "News also arrived from Amīr Husein, Deputy of Jeddah, and al-Re'īs Selmān al-'Othmānī, that on proceeding on their way to Hind (along the Arabian coast) with the army before mentioned, and arriving at Kamrān (near Zabīd, in Yemen), a Hind village, they built a fortress with flanking towers, completing it in about five months. Amīr Husein then dispatched a body of troops towards a place called al-Lihyah, and another to Mūrā, whilst he himself with the rest of the army remained at Beit-al-Fityah for about a month. After that Amīr Husein and Re'īs Selmān proceeded with their troops against Zabīd, in the possession of 'Abd al-Malik, brother of Sheikh 'Āmir.
>
> This he besieged, and captured it on Friday morning, the 20th of Jumādā al-Ākhirah, A.H. 922. They found a large population there. The same letter also announced that Husein, after taking Zabīd, attacked the fortress of the town of Aden, and nearly took it. Also that they had appointed to the command of Zabīd one of Ashraf al-Ghūrī's Memlooks, one of the Amīrs of Tens named Bars Bai. The latter had with him some Memlooks and followers, being joined also by a body of about 10,000 Arabs. So when Bars Bai became possessed of Zabīd he governed the place like a Sulṭān, and appointed a Dawādīr, a treasurer, and officials as Sulṭāns do. He and his troops acquired great spoils there."

The number of errors contained in these two paragraphs is quite remarkable. The expedition of Amir Ḥusayn and Salmān was, we know, directed against the Yaman, although the fleet had been originally equipped in Suez for an Indian expedition. "Kamrān," which should, of course, be read "Kamarān", is not a village near Zabīd, but is a well-known island off the coast, and parallel with San'ā, and played a very important part in the history of the Red Sea in the sixteenth century: the original text says that Kamarān was a fief of India, the Arabic word ضيعة does not mean "a village", and, of course, al-Liḥyah should be read Loḥayya, and Beit al-Fityah, Bayt al-Faqīh. How Ibn Iyās came to say that Kamarān was in any way connected with "Hind" must remain a mystery.

On p. 66 we again hear of Amir Ḥusayn, and on p. 82 we are told that on Monday 22nd news came from India

> "that the ships which Sulṭan al-Ghūrī had dispatched had gone down with all guns and arms and other things on board. A quarrel had arisen between the commander, Salmān al-Othmānī, and the local governor, al-Amīr Ḥusein of Jeddah, and that each of them had gone to a different part of India".

Now this is hopelessly wrong, for while Salmān was still attacking Aden, which he never succeeded in taking, Amir Ḥusayn withdrew to Jedda, and neither of them ever went to India again. On p. 124, vol. iii. of the Arabic text Ibn Iyās tells us that Amir Ḥusayn was murdered by Salmān: though this story received currency among the Portuguese, we know from more reliable sources that Ḥusayn, on account of his cruelty to the inhabitants of Jedda, was drowned at sea by the orders of Sultan Selīm, these orders having been conveyed to the Sherif of Mekka through the Sherif's son, who had gone to Cairo to congratulate the Sultan on his succession to the throne of Egypt. It is indeed strange that Ibn Iyās should have failed to hear these details.

Further, with regard to the statement that all the ships, guns, and arms dispatched by Sultan al-Ghawrī had gone down, we learn from Quṭb-ud-Dīn, the historian of the Yaman and of Mekka, that when, in 926, Ḥusayn Beg was appointed Governor of Jedda, he found there a fully equipped fleet, which had set out in A.H. 922 under Amir Ḥusayn, and had been brought back to Jedda.

Colonel Salmon's translation is, on the whole, careful and accurate, but there are some curious omissions. The only fault we have to find

is in the inconsistency of his transcription of proper names. Thus "Ba'lbac" represents no system at all, while on one and the same page we find a common Arabic termination transcribed in two different ways, viz. p. 4 : —

. . . Gharb*ieh* provinces and to Upper Egypt . . .
. . . and went to Raidan*iyyeh* . . .

It is a pity that the correct reading of the name of the last Mamluk Sultán was not discovered by the translator till too late for employment in his text. The beautiful Qur'an in the Khedivial Library at Cairo dedicated to this prince reads quite clearly قانصوه الغوري.

E. Denison Ross.

An English-Punjabi Vocabulary of 5,899 words. By the Rev. T. Grahame Bailey. In 8vo. xvi-159 pp. Calcutta, 1919. Rs. 2-4.

On connaît l'autorité de M. Grahame Bailey en ce qui concerne les parlers, aryens ou non-aryens, du Penjab et des régions avoisinantes de l'Himalaya : l'éloge et l'usage que fait de ses travaux M. Grierson dans son *Linguistic Survey* seraient au besoin la meilleure des recommandations. On doit donc se féliciter que M. Grahame Bailey ait bien voulu ajouter à ses productions antérieures le dictionnaire anglo-penjabi qui manquait jusqu'à présent.

La langue étudiée ici n'est pas la langue du Penjab entier ; ce n'en est même pas le type le plus connu, qui se parle à Amritsar et à Ludhiana. Il s'agit de l'ensemble des parlers employés au Nord et à l'Ouest d'Amritsar ; selon M. Grahame Bailey, dont la classification ne coïncide pas avec celle de M. Grierson, cet ensemble comprend environ les deux-tiers des parlers centraux groupés par M. Grierson sous le nom de *mājhī*, le dialecte du Jammu, enfin la zone frontière entre penjabi et lahndī (que M. Grierson appelle lahndā) : ces parlers sont ceux d'environ cinq millions et demi d'hommes, contre sept millions qui reviennent aux dialectes du Sud et de l'Est du Penjab. Du reste la limite occidentale est fuyante, et pourrait aisément se reculer jusqu'au Chenab et même jusqu'au désert entre Chenab et Indus ; ceci accroîtrait d'autant l'importance géographique et statistique du dialecte étudié par M. Grahame Bailey.

Naturellement les différences entre les deux groupes ne sont pas fondamentales. La plus importante, puisqu'elle concerne la grammaire,

consiste dans l'inégalité d'emploi des suffixes pronominaux ; l'usage développé qui en est fait dans le dialecte de l'Ouest, et d'autres traits moins importants, déjà signalés par M. Grierson (*Ling. Surv.*, ix, i, p. 745) rapprochent franchement ce dialecte du laihndī ; si bien que les dialectes de la zone frontière ne seraient pas, à proprement parler, du "penjabi se fondant dans le lahndā" comme dit M. Grierson, mais du laihndī se teintant de penjabi. C'est par le vocabulaire (*l.l.*, p. 608) que les parlers de l'Ouest se rattachent à ceux de l'Est : et ceci fait, pour le dire en passant, que le lexique de M. Grahame Bailey vaut, à de légères nuances près, pour tout l'ensemble du penjabi.

On voit comme les limites dialectales sont ici fuyantes ; en cette région plus peut-être que partout ailleurs dans l'Inde, il est difficile de marquer l'individualité des groupes linguistiques, parce que le prestige des villes n'a pas réussi à imposer une langue, locale ou empruntée, à la campagne environnante. M. Grahame Bailey insiste en effet sur le fait que le seule unité linguistique au Penjab est le village : " la langue du village est la vraie norme en penjabi." Cette remarque, particulièrement appropriée au Penjab où le morcellement politique est la règle de toute antiquité, a une portée qui s'étend à l'Inde entière, pays de civilisation paysanne et sans centralisation stable : cela surtout si l'on considère l'Inde des périodes qui ont précédé la colonisation anglaise, les chemins de fer, les journaux et l'enseignement public, enfin les différentes forces unificatrices dont l'action se fait sentir actuellement. La difficulté où l'on est de situer exactement le point d'origine de la plupart des langues littéraires de l'Inde ancienne et médiévale tient sans doute pour une grande part à l'étroitesse de leur base géographique en même temps qu'à la multiplicité des influences d'origine sociale. Ces influences sociales aussi, M. Grahame Bailey a été amené à les signaler ; car une étude bien poussée mène aux problèmes les plus généraux. Le vocabulaire subit des variations dont les moins importantes peut-être sont d'origine locale : les principales tiennent à la religion ; d'autres, bien entendu, aux métiers ; d'autres enfin, à l'éducation. Parmi celles-ci, certaines des plus curieuses viennent de ce que les mots du penjabi et de l'ourdou sont souvent très pareils, quoique légèrement dissemblables : la tendance chez les gens qui ont "trop d'éducation" est d'adopter la prononciation de l'ourdou et de gâter leur penjabi ; non seulement le phonétisme, mais parfois la grammaire même en est altérée : voyez p. vi par exemple, ce qui est dit du genre des noms. Tout cela est cause de variantes nombreuses et d'un état fluide du langage, dont la

comparaison éclaire en partie certains aspects des langues littéraires anciennes ou modernes.

Que la norme linguistique varie ainsi de village à village, et à l'intérieur de chaque village, cela n'est pas fait pour simplifier la besogne du lexicographe ; et l'on doit d'autant plus remercier et féliciter M. Grahame Bailey d'avoir mené à bien son projet de donner un lexique à la fois court et suffisant. Qu'on ne pense pas en effet que pour limiter les dimensions de son vocabulaire il se soit borné au strict indispensable et réduit à la sécheresse : il a su au contraire indiquer les tours typiques et l'emploi normal des mots, noter les synonymes et leur répartition sociale ou les nuances de leurs sens : pour cela il a eu recours à divers procédés fort simples, artifices de rédaction, abréviations, renvois, fusion d'articles dans les cas clairs : si bien qu'un format peu ambitieux couvre un livre plutôt riche.

Un autre moyen de gagner de la place a été d'employer exclusivement l'alphabet latin, qui aussi bien doit être nécessairement familier à tous ceux, Européens ou Indous, qui auront à se servir du livre. Le principe adopté est celui de la translittération directe de l'écriture indigène ; mais M. Grahame Bailey a interprété cette translittération dans d'importantes remarques préliminaires sur la prononciation réelle. On appréciera notamment celles qui concernent l'existence des spirantes, ou le passage de *s* à *h* ; ou encore l'accentuation (M. Grahame Bailey a découvert des tons en penjabi ; mais dire que " le penjabi est une langue à tons comme le chinois " est exagérer ; il s'agit pour la majeure partie de faits dépendant de l'assourdissement d'anciennes aspirées) ; enfin certains effets de l'accent (mais les règles mêmes de l'accent ne sont pas données ici, pas plus que dans le petit *Phonetic Reader*, excellent d'ailleurs, du même auteur).

M. Grahame Bailey a profité de l'occasion pour donner en appendice quinze pages d'additions diverses à son manuel penjabi publié antérieurement en collaboration avec M. T. F. Cummings.

JULES BLOCH.

A MANUAL OF CHINESE METAPHOR. By C. A. S. WILLIAMS. Published by the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, Shanghai.

Mr. Williams has been favourably known for some years as a careful and accurate student of things Chinese, more particularly

those pertaining to the language. This new volume places him among the versatile and painstaking writers who contribute so largely and beneficently towards a fuller knowledge of the hidden wealth of China's native literature. Mr. Williams quotes on the front page a saying of the Chinese, which reads "to know ancient and modern times fully, you must understand the contents of five loads of books". Mr. Williams himself has brought into review, and culled wisely from, the Dynastic Histories, the Classics, Philosophy, Poetry, Biography newspapers and magazines, etc., and, whatever the quantity of Mr. Williams's acquisitions may be, one load or ten, his diligent, persistent, and enlightened research into the riches of native works, deserves the highest commendation and the unqualified appreciation of many who desire a fuller knowledge of the great things hidden in so many books, some to be found in little frequented ways. All the results of this investigation and study can only be fully appraised by those who have passed into the higher planes of Chinese study, but every reader will find here innumerable metaphors which will add salt and flavour to his conversations with the people of China. Mr. Williams has chosen with great discretion and tact, and we have here a cluster of fruit without the withering leaves, gold nuggets without dross.

The English Classified Table of Subjects is comprehensive, and the author has taken great pains to collate and allocate the metaphors under appropriate headings, with suitable metaphors attached. There is, also, a Chinese Index, showing the groups in which the metaphors are classed, with their numerical order given in English as well. An English Index on the same plan is provided. Both are prepared with care and accuracy, and furnish a key to unlock the great treasures to be found in the volume. The many cross references give ready guidance in tracking a metaphor and its translation.

We have examined dozens of the metaphors quoted, and their translations, and in each case we have found only aptitude of choice and trustworthy translations, all proving Mr. Williams' skill and learning.

To all serious students of the Chinese language, who have overcome the initial stages of the ascent, and who desire to become 如松之茂, we would urge a careful and enlightened perusal and study of this work. It has been admirably conceived and skilfully executed, and it cannot but add greatly to the felicity of speech, especially with the educated people of China, and will be in truth a finger-post for

all those who are keen on acquainting themselves with the present trend of the secular press.

We give the book our unqualified praise, as it will meet a very real and growing need of the times, as so many foreigners now are giving serious thought to this most fascinating language. The old ideas of English being good enough to deal with the natives, and that all that is necessary is a nodding acquaintance with that vulgar and accursed thing known as "pidgin English", have been exploded, as proved by the existence of several prosperous language schools, and the growing output of books of high standard by westerners in various positions of trust and influence in the land.

瑞

Im Banne des Geisterglaubens. Züge des animistischen Heidentums bei den Wasu in Deutsch-Ostafrika. Beobachtet von J. J. Dannholz. Leipzig: Verlag der Evangelisch-lutherischen Mission, 1916.

The Wasu mountaineers live in the Pare country, which extends some 60 or 70 miles south-eastward from Kilimanjaro, along the left bank of the Rufu (Pangani) River. An excellent grammar of their language (Chasu Ki-asu) was published in 1909 by E. Kotz (*Archiv für das Studium deutscher Kolonialsprachen*, vol. x); it bears a considerable resemblance to that of the Wachaga, though the two tribes seem to differ widely in character and institutions. Herr Dannholz's little monograph is packed with information, much of it new, though the title might suggest a missionary narrative of the conventionally edifying kind. Specially interesting are the sections dealing with the belief in ghosts and the burial customs which are intimately connected with it. The Wasu, like the Taita hill-men, after burying the corpse, leave it in the ground till decomposition has taken place; then they remove the skull, carefully clean it and anoint it with butter, place it in an earthen pot and cover it with a broken piece of another. These pots are kept for some time on the platform under the roof of the deceased's hut, and then removed to certain lonely caves (a photograph of such a charnel-cave appears opposite p. 112). The idea that the shadow represents the impalpable part of a human being which disappears at death is familiar to anthropologists; not so, perhaps, the belief that it is not in the shadow itself, but in the penumbra

(*kiouri*, the "little shadow") that the vital principle resides. The cult of the dead, universal among Bantu peoples, is by the Wasu combined with a species of sun-worship, found also among the Wairamba and some other tribes, and the Barotse of the Zambezi. Many interesting bits of folk-lore are recorded by Herr Dannholz, and we would call particular attention to the story of the Talking Skull (p. 27), which was recorded by the late Mr. Madan as a Wisa tale, and was met with by M. Junod elsewhere in South Africa.

A. WERNER.

AN ELEMENTARY PALAUNG GRAMMAR. By Mrs. LESLIE MILNE, F.R.A.I., M.R.A.S. With an Introduction by C. O. BLAGDEN, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. Price 8*s.* 6*d.*

Palaung is a language spoken by about 150,000 people in the Shan States of Burma. With Wa it forms a somewhat independent group of the Mōn-Khmer family of speech, and may be looked upon as forming a linguistic bridge between the Mōn of Pegu and the Khāsī spoken in Assam. Like other languages of the family, it is monosyllabic in its basis, derivative words being formed with the aid of prefixes and infixes. So, also, it does not possess tones, as do its Tibeto-Chinese neighbours, and, except when disturbing elements are present, sense-relation is indicated by a fixed order of words. Possession is shown by placing the word indicating the possessor after the word indicating the thing possessed, so that an elephant's trunk appears as "trunk elephant". Other case relations are either expressed with the aid of prepositions or are left to be inferred from the context or from the order of the words. It is only in the pronouns, which possess dual forms and a genitive, that we can recognize any traces of what we in Europe should call declension. The adjective follows the noun qualified, and the subject precedes, while the object follows, the verb. Tense-relations are indicated by particles, some of which, as in most Indo-Chinese languages, are really independent verbs. The verb does not change for number or person, these being left to be inferred from the context.

Mrs. Leslie Milne has put all those whose work takes them into the Shan States, as well as students of Indo-Chinese languages, under a heavy obligation by the preparation of a grammar of this interesting language. She has reduced this apparent chaos of root-words and prefixes to order, and her rules are clearly put and are illustrated

by a copious supply of excellent examples. Such examples, indeed, logically grouped as here, form the only possible grammar of a language which, from the European point of view, is destitute alike of declension and of conjugation, and in which every expression of thought is indicated by something like what we should call idiom, and not by change of form in any particular word or words. Not only is the information, so far as one who has never been in the Palaung country can ascertain, very complete, but it is also exhibited in scholarly wise. The pronunciation is carefully described, and a system of spelling in the Roman character has been devised and rigidly adhered to throughout. The grammar proper occupies about 130 pages, and the work concludes with over forty pages of a curious Palaung folk-tale explained by means of both an interlinear and a free translation.

The value of the work is still further enhanced by Mr. Blagden's Introduction, in which, from the point of view of philology, he discusses the relationship between Palaung and the other languages of the Mōn-Khmēr family. Mrs. Milne hopes to publish a vocabulary of the language when opportunity occurs, and I can cordially re-echo Mr. Blagden's hope that its publication will not be long delayed.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.
5th November, 1921.

NOTES AND QUERIES

BROWN'S *DERVISHES*

I

In *The Dervishes or Oriental Spiritualism*, by John P. Brown, London, 1868, the author states that the original *dervish* cap was the *alifī*, from the letter *Alif*, and that it signified the *Khalīfat*. Then he adds: "After this, the cap assumed other forms, peculiar to the four chief *tarecks*, or Orders: one called the *Malikee*, one the *Saifee*, one the *Shurhee*, and one the *Halawee*."

These four terms do not appear to refer to the four schools of Muhammadan Law. The Malikī cap might, no doubt, connote adherence to the Malikite school, but the other three names are puzzling, the more so as the author had no system of transliteration. Hence *saifī* may mean "ensiform", but might be derived from *saifah*, "summer": and *shurhī* may be formed from *shurh*, "interpretation," but might possibly be a hybrid derivation from *shurha*, "a slice or split." But no *dervish* cap appears to be of a shape which would accord with such a derivation. It is equally difficult to think it is connected with *Sharāhīyyan*, "The Eternal One": v. Redhouse, *Turk. Eng. Lex.*, p. 1120. Similarly more than one derivation might be suggested for *Halawī*. Can anyone say what these four terms really mean in the language of the Mystics? The Mevlevis had a *sufi* cap: Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. Ott. Dichtkunst*: II, pp. 12–13.

H. A. R.

II

In the same work Brown uses several words not traceable in the standard Turkish, Persian, and Arabic Dictionaries. Such are *fendee*, "cap," on p. 158: *fignee*, one of "the peculiar instruments used on a journey" by a Bektāsh: *jemjemeh*, "a skin thrown over the shoulder when travelling": *lerenk*, "a long shirt": all these are on p. 159. He also has *liffer*, "a crooked horn," on p. 84: and on pp. 155 and 164 *luffer*, described as a wild goat's horn. Lastly he has *berlām*, "a girdle," used in Egypt; and on the same page (145) *lāmalif*, with the same meaning. On p. 158 he mentions the *Alef-lām-ed*, also apparently "a girdle", but on p. 161 he has *Alif-lām-end*, with *-end* for *-ed*. The meaning of this termination is in neither case explained

and the *end* can hardly mean here "a space between joints", as in Redhouse, *Turk. Eng. Lex.*, p. 216. Moreover, the collocation *alif-lām may* have some unexplained significance. The *Hurūfīs* attribute much mystical meaning to the letters *lām* and *alif* (C. Huart, *Textes Houroufis*, p. 2 f. But the mystical meaning, if any, of *alif-lām* may be different. The second chapter of the *Qurān* is *not* called *lām-alif* as Brown states on p. 113, and no chapter is prefaced by the letters L.A. or A.L., though in Moslem magic *lām-alif* represents the planet Venus. Any information on these words and on the exact significance of the *alif-lām-ed* or *-end* would be welcome. It may be noted that the *lām not* being reduplicated does not suggest any reference to the name of Allāh.

H. A. R.

RICCI AND TUNG CH'I-CH'ANG

In an article entitled "Christian Art in China" contributed to the *Mitteilungen d. Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* in 1910 Dr. Laufer reproduced six drawings of Christian subjects, the last of which is signed *Hsüan-tsai pi-shu*. The Chinese characters are not wholly legible in the reproduction, but they appear to be 玄宰筆述 "Brush-work of Hsüan-tsai". This was the literary name of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang,[1] a great scholar, art-collector, and calligraph, who at the time Ricci was in Peking held the position of President of the Board of Rites.

"In Chinese accounts regarding the career of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang," says Dr. Laufer, "nothing appears to be said as to his being influenced or attracted by European subjects."

This, I think, is true; but in Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's own works there is a reference to Ricci and Christianity. This passage does not appear to have been hitherto noticed by European writers. It will be found in the *Hua Ch'an Shih Sui Pi*[2] (ch. iv, f. 20 recto, Reprint of the *Sao Yeh Shan Fang*, Shanghai). It runs as follows:—

曾孝廉視余以所演西國天主教。首言利瑪竇年五十餘。曰。己無五十餘年矣。此佛家所謂。是日已過命亦隨減。無常義耳。

"Tsēng, the graduate, showed me his exposition of the western, 'Lord of Heaven' religion. At the beginning he says that Li Ma-tou (i.e. Matteo Ricci), when he had passed the age of 50, remarked, 'Now those fifty years have no existence.' This is like the Buddhist

[1] 董其昌. [2] 畫禪室隨筆.

saying 'Each day that passes marks the obliteration of so much destiny'. It is nothing but the doctrine of impermanence." This proves that Tung Ch'i-ch'ang actually studied Christianity; but it does not furnish any fresh evidence with regard to the album which Dr. Laufer reproduces. It is so common to find the names of famous men inscribed quite irresponsibly upon Chinese works of art that one hesitates to accept the drawings as works of Tung till some further evidence has been produced. The fact that Tung mentions Christianity in one of his best-known works would make a dealer all the more likely to affix his name to an album of Christian drawings.

I do not feel very confident that I have quite understood the Chinese passage here quoted, and should be grateful for any suggestions.

ARTHUR WALEY.

THE EVERLASTING WRONG

In the following notes I wish to discuss a few points in Po Chü-i's *Ch'ang Hên Ko* 長恨歌. I found when translating the poem recently that I did not always agree with Professor Giles' version and wish here to explain these differences.

Line 2. 御宇 . . . 求 means "he had sought throughout his *empire*", not "had sought . . . such a treasure for his *palace*".

l. 15. 日高起 "They rose when the sun was high." Professor Giles speaks of their nights being "prolonged till dawn", which sounds very Spartan compared to the original.

l. 18. 夜專夜 has a technical meaning (see Granet's *Polygynie Sororale*, p. 39). To *hui-yeh* was to have a whole night of one's husband's company allotted to one, a thing reserved for the principal wife. Professor Giles: "Chosen for the nightly carouse."

l. 21. 嬌侍夜 means, I would suggest, not "with fair girls to wait upon her", but "she delicately waited upon [the Emperor] at night".

l. 24. There is nothing about "ill-omened glories". This is an allusion to a song popular at the time (vide the *Mirror of History*), in which parents prayed for girls to be born to them in order that their fortunes might be raised as Yang Kuei-fei had raised those of the Yang family. It was a kind of parody on the old song current in the days when the Great Wall was being built. Then parents "rejoiced no longer in the birth of sons", because their sons were taken from them and ground by forced labour.

l. 31. 漁陽鞞鼓 "The drums of Yü-yang," which was a place on the northern frontier, famous since Han times for desperate battles with the Hu. Professor Giles translates "*fish*-skin war drums". Possibly he had another text, but I know of no other reading.

l. 38. 宛轉蛾眉. The first two characters are an adjective meaning "curved" and agreeing with "eyebrows". Cf. another poem by Po Chü-i, the 井底引銀瓶, which has the line 宛轉雙蛾遠山色 "Her two curved moth-eyebrows were like distant mountains in colour". It is shown by Professor Giles's entry under 宛 in his dictionary that he takes the phrase in the present passage in its prose sense of "in the end".

l. 90. 轉教小玉報雙成.

The allusion is to 董雙成 Tung Shuang-ch'ēng, the attendant of Hsi Wang Mu. Professor Giles attempts to translate this proper name "to her mistress fairer still". The little servant "Small Jade" opens the door and takes the message to the more important Tung Shuang-ch'ēng, who in turn carries it to Yang kuei-fei. The identification of Yang kuei-fei with Hsi Wang Mu occurs in complimentary poems written by Li Po in the days of her glory.

Finally, a trivial point in connexion with l. 75. Professor Giles transliterates 臨邛 (the name of a place in Ssechuan) *Lin-ch'iung*. Playfair gives *Lin-chiung*. In his dictionary Professor Giles coincides with Playfair, who is surely right.

ARTHUR WALEY.

THE SURROSH K. R. CAMA PRIZE

THE K. R. Cama Oriental Institute (172 Sukhadwala Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay) invites competitive essays for the Surrosh K. R. Cama Prize of the value of Rs. 225, on the following subject:—

"A lucid and thoroughly intelligible translation in English of the first four chapters of the Ahnuvaiti Gatha in due accordance with grammar and philology with notes and comments wherever necessary, and with the substance of the whole at the end."

The essays should be designated by a motto, and should be accompanied by a sealed cover containing the name of the competitor and his Post Office address, and should reach the Honorary Secretaries of the Institute on or before 15th July, 1922. The competition is open to all.

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC, PERSIAN, URDU, AND HINDI.

With a view to securing uniformity of transcription in all the languages taught in the School of Oriental Studies, a Sub-Committee consisting of the Director, Professor Sir Thomas Arnold, and Dr. T. Grahame Bailey was appointed by the Academic Board to draw up a scheme of transliteration for Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and Hindi, and this has now been adopted. The scheme for the other languages will follow in due course. A complete scheme for a phonetic rendering of the languages of Asia and Africa is also in course of preparation.

	Arabic	Urdu and Persian	Hindi
ث	th	s	—
ج	j	j	j
چ	—	ch	ch
छ	—	chh	chh
ح	h	h	—
خ	kh	kh	—
د	d	d	d
ذ	dh	z	—
ڑ	—	d *and* ڑ = ṛ	d *and* ड़ = ṛ
ڈھ	—	ḍh	ḍh
ز	z	z	—
ژ	—	zh	—
ش	sh	sh	—
श	—	—	ś
ष	—	—	s
ص	s	s	—
ض	d	z	—
ط	t	t	—
ظ	z	z	—

ARABIC		URDU AND PERSIAN	HINDI
ع	‘	‘	—
غ	gh	gh	—
ق	q	q	—
ण	—	—	ṇ
ङ	—	n	ṅ
ञ	—	—	ñ
و	w	v	v
ی	y	y	y
ळ	—	—	ḷ
ـَ [fatḥah] a			
ـِ [kesrah] i			
ـُ [dhammah] u			
ـَی	ay	ay	ai *or* ay
ـَو	aw	aw	au *or* av
ـِی	ī		
ـُو	ū		
ا *or* آ	ā		
ـَّی	ayy		
ـَّو	aww		
ـُّو	uww		
ـَی [alif maqṣūrah] à			
ء [hamzah] ’			
Nasal vowels	—	~	~
Aspirates (1)	bh, kh, etc.	bh, kh, etc.	bh, kh, etc.
(2) In separate syllable	s’h, etc.	s’h, etc.	

BULLETIN

OF THE

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
LONDON INSTITUTION

PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

UTENDI WA AYUBU

Translated by Miss ALICE WERNER

(Continued from p. 320)

NOTES

The following abbreviations have been used: L. = Lamu dialect, Mb. = Mombasa, Z. = Zanzibar, Kr. = Krapf, M. = Madan, T. = Taylor, H. = Howe (this refers to information or suggestions furnished by the Rev. W. G. Howe—formerly of the United Methodist Mission, Ribe—who has rendered valuable help in the preparation of these notes)

The works referred to under the author's name only are: Krapf, Dictionary. Madan, Dictionary. Steere, Handbook. Stigand, C. H., *A Grammar of Dialectical Changes in the Swahili Language* (Cambridge University Press, 1915). Sacleux, Le P. Ch., *Grammaire des Dialectes Swahilis* (Paris, 1909). Taylor, Rev. W. E., *African Aphorisms* (S.P.C.K., 1891).

The lines of each stanza are denoted by the letters (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*).

The classes of Swahili nouns are numbered, for more convenient reference, according to Bleek's scheme, as follows:—

1. m-tu.	6. ma-jina.	11. u-funguo.
2. wa-tu.	7. ki-tu.	15. ku-fa.
3. m-ti.	8. vi-tu.	16. nyumbani (pa).
4. mi-ti.	9. n-dege.	17. nyumbani (kwa).
5. jina.	10. n-dege.	18. nyumbani (mwa).

Stanza 1. (*a*) *B* reads *nduza pani*, *C nduza nipani*. *Nduzangu* contracted from *ndugu zangu*. The reading of *A* seems to be a rare example of a contraction in the possessive of the first person singular, whereas those of the second and third persons are frequently contracted, especially with nouns of relationship (Steere, pp. 111, 112). In the fragment printed by Steere this line reads *Akhi, pani karatasi*: the Arabic *akhi* being evidently regarded as plural, since it is followed by the imperative plural *pani*. (There seems no reason to take *pani* as Kinyume for *nipa*, as is done by Stigand, *Dialects*, p. 71.) The demand for writing materials is a very common conventional opening of a poem.

(*b*) The Zanzibar recipe for ink is given in Madan's *Dictionary*, s.v. *wino*. But European ink is now very often used, and fountain-pens are in great demand.

2. (*a*) *Kikutubu* has *ni* understood before it: the pronoun is frequently suppressed in verse, especially in the *-ki-* and *-ka-* tenses. *Kutubu* and *andika* are, of course, synonymous: it is not uncommon, in poetry, to find the Arabic word followed by its Swahili equivalent or *vice versa*.

(*d*) *rasuwa*, no doubt a Swahilicized form of رسول (though we also find *rasuli*); intervocalic *l* is often dropped, as in the verbal terminations *-ea* (*-ela*), *-ua* (*-ula*), etc. The word seems to be in apposition with *tumwa*—apparently a noun formed from the passive of the verb *tuma* "send", but not so common as its synonyms *tume* and *mtume*. The MSS. have تمو, but this was read as *tumwa* by Ahmad, and و is very often omitted in writing. It is possible that *rasuwa* is here a clerical error: Steere has *Tumwa wa Mola Jalia*. One might possibly read *mtumwa* "slave", but this would more probably be written مٮتم.

3. (*d*) *yasomwelea* has no subject expressed, but *mambo* or *maneno* is understood. Similarly, *jambo* or *neno* (or sometimes *jua*, in referring to celestial phenomena) has to be supplied when the pronoun *li* is found without a subject. The antecedent to the object-pronoun *-mw-* is *mtu*, to be supplied after *pasiwe*. For the Lamu contraction of the relative particle (*yaso-* for *yasiyo-*) see Stigand, pp. 49, 50.

The following stanza 3 (*a*) is not in *A*, but is printed by Steere,

with only three slight differences due to dialect—his scribe must have been a Zanzibar man. *C* has *ikhwani* for *insani* in line (*c*).

4. (*a*) *B* reads *Ndipo yakanipendeza* " and then it pleased me ".

(*c*) *B* reads *Na wenye kuyasikiza* " And those who hear them " (the words) : which seems preferable, as the change from the second person (*mkisikiza*) to the third (*wayafahamia*) is otherwise very awkward. But such changes occur more than once in the course of the poem—probably through mistakes in successive transcriptions.

5. (*a*) The reading of *B* here seems preferable. That of *A* : *Kwa auni ya Yarabu*, is intelligible only on the supposition that the Arabic vocative يَارَبِّ has been treated as one word and taken as an epithet (as if we should say " the help of the O-Lord "). *Nuthumu* (نَظَمَ " join ", " arrange in order ") is used especially of composing verses ; *kikutubu* seems to refer to the actual writing out. On the elision of the pronoun, see note on 2 (*a*).

(*c*) *Kabadili*, the reading of *B*. seems to fit the sense better than the *kibadili* of (*a*) ; but in truth the poets (or their transcribers) do not seem to observe the difference between the *-ki-* and the *-ka-* tense very carefully.

(*d*) Steere gives this line as *Kwa Kiswahili chowa* (probably *chowa* = *kiowa*). " telling it in Swahili." *B* has *Kwa Kisawahili kowa*. *Kowa* = *ku oa*, an old word for " write " (cf. Zulu *loba*), which, by dropping its intervocalic consonant has become assimilated to *oa* " marry " (originally *lola*), and was probably disused for that reason.

6. (*a*) *B* reads *Bismillahi auwali*. The object in *a-ta-i-fanya* agrees with some such word as *kazi* or *habari* (in the sense of " affair ") understood. *Sahali* from سَهُلَ " be smooth or even ".

(*b*) *pweke* now usually heard as *peke* and followed by a possessive pronoun (*peke yangu*, etc.).

(*d*) This seems to represent the Arabic جَلَّ وَعَلَا جَلَالُهُ " Great and exalted is His greatness ". " *Jalia* as a name of God is puzzling. I feel inclined to guess that it is a designation derived from the phrase جَلَّ جَلَالُهُ and not in itself actually an Arabic word." (MS. note kindly furnished by Professor Sir T. Arnold.) It occurs very frequently in this and other poems.

7. (*a*) *B* begins *Ya pili*—a reading, of course, dependent on that of 6 (*a*) (*awali*); it is followed up by *nda tatu* (= *ni ya tatu*) in the next stanza: the three ideas dwelt on in the introductory stanzas being: God the One and Only, God the Creator and Provider, and God the Judge and Chooser (of the elect to salvation). In *Irrahuma arrahimani* the usual order is reversed for metrical reasons.

(*b*) *Muwawazi* from *awaza* "dispose, allot to each his share" (Steere). Krapf has *muawazi* "the disposer, one of the names of God, being the disposer and ruler of all things"; but, s.v. *awaza* "to pity one, etc.", connecting it (I cannot but think erroneously) with Ar. عوز, which does not seem to have the meaning he gives to the Swahili word. But cf. وعز, أوعز, commonly of governing, administering in later Arabic. Cf. *Utenzi wa Shufaka*, 16, (*a*), (*b*):—

Uoe na: rahamani, Muawazi duniani.

Du-ni-ya-ni, pronounced in four syllables, according to Swahili usage; *dunia* (*duniya*), not *dú-nya* as in Arabic.

(*c*) *Ma'asi*, Swahili plural of عصي "rebel". *Wa-umini* is similarly formed as if from a singular of Class 1. *mu-umini* or *mw-umini*, the first syllable of مُؤْمِن being taken as a prefix.

(*d*) *riziki* (from رزق "provide") = "subsistence", "necessities", "daily bread", etc. *Afia*, usually pronounced in three syllables, like *dunia*, though rhymed with *chafya* (Taylor, p. 2, § 5). *Afua* and *afia*, though regarded as synonymous by Krapf, are distinct—cf. below 376 (*d*), *kwa afua na afia*. This may be only a jingle, but the context of the numerous passages where they occur separately seems to justify the rendering "in safety (deliverance) and health".

8. (*a*) *B*'s reading *nda tatu* = *ni* (*jambo*) *la tatu*: *ni la* contracted into *nla* and so becoming *nda* (cf. Taylor, p. 20, § 99, note). This permutation of *l* into *d* after *n* is such a universal rule in Swahili that it is surprising to find at Mombasa a contraction like *nliona* (not *ndiona*) for *niliona* (MSS. dictated by Muhammad bin Ma'alim), and at Lamu the old imperative *nla* (*Utendi wa Mwana Kupona*, st. 60)—but these can be accounted for by the stress on the *n*, which is pronounced as a separate syllable.

(*b*) *Mteuzi* from *teua* (Z. *chagua*) "choose": *z* has come by sound shifting from an original *l* (*teula*)—cf. Meinhof, *Lautlehre*, p. 95.

(*c*) *Kiyamani*, Swahili locative from قيامة "resurrection" (قام). *Kati* meaning "in the midst of" takes the 18th locative concord (*mu-*). In Chinyanja, e.g., it would also have been preceded by *m(u)-*: *mkati mwatu*.

9. (*a*) *Baadaye* = *baada yake* (sc. the foregoing introduction). (*Ni*)-*ta-butadi*: إبْتَدَأَ, 8th form of بدأ "begin". It might, however, mean "declare", "proclaim", (بَدَا 8 "appear"). The reading of *B* (*Baada ya kubutadi*, which Mr. Howe prefers) should be rendered "After having begun (with)"—or "proclaimed"—"the name," etc.

(*b*) *ina*, L. for M. and Z. *jina*.

(*c*) *tahamdi*, 5th or 6th conj. of حَمِدَ "praise". Probably used here instead of the simple verb as more suitable for the metre; a little study of Swahili poetry convinces one that the sense of Arabic "derived forms" must not always be pressed.

(*d*) For *Jalia* see on 6 (*d*).

10. (*b*) A variation (for the sake of the rhyme) of the phrase in 6 (*d*).

(*c*) *Asiyo* as written in MS.: *Asio* or *asiye* would be more correct grammatically—on the omission of *na* (see Taylor, *African Aphorisms*, p. 14, n. 2). *Shabihi* from شبه "compare", used as a noun, equivalent to "one who can be compared with him".

11. (*b*) The concord can be explained either by taking *wasalatu* and *wasalamu* as nouns of the 11th (*u-*) class, whose plurals would be of the 10th, or by writing *na* separately, as the Arabic conjunction = "and", which seems rather forced. *B* has *na mwendee*, either eliding a pronoun or taking the verb as an imperative preceded by object (*mu-*), in which case the two words in the first line might be detached exclamations. The constant use of *Wa salaam* in Swahili letters seems to lend itself to this view.

Mwungamo, from *ungama* "acknowledge", "confess"—an epithet of Muhammad, as shown by the next two lines. Being a personal noun one would expect the termination *-a*, or *-i*. See Krapf, s.v.

(*c*) بنو هشام (the whole phrase being quoted, the Arabic genitive is retained after مِنْ).

(*d*) *Khatimu* = "last," from ختم "seal up" and so "finish".

Stanzas 12-17 commemorate the Prophet and the "Companions" (the Saints of Islam). This section concludes the introductory matter, st. 18 embarking on the story proper.

12. (*a*) *Mustafa*, "the Chosen," passive participle of صفا 8. Both *A* and *B*, by a clerical error, repeat this word at the end of line (*c*). The right reading, *msharafu*, is due to Ahmad.

(*b*) *Sifa* صفة, from وصف "describe". The verb is found in Swahili as *sifu* and usually means "praise".

(*c*) *thi'l jahi* = ذوالجاه "having glory". *Thi* is the genitive, but I doubt whether the writer attached any significance to the termination. There being no such thing as case, properly so called, in the Bantu languages, an imported Arabic word might be used indiscriminately in any of its three forms, according to the connexion in which it was first met with. *Msharafu* is a noun formed by prefixing the personal class-particle to شَرَفَ. (*Sharifu* = شريف is restricted to the special sense of a descendant of the Prophet.) The construction of the whole stanza is somewhat indefinite. The nouns might be taken as objects to *zimwendee* in apposition with *muungamo* 11 (*b*).

(*d*) Evidently in apposition with the preceding line.

13. (*a*) وثُمَّ = "and also". *Abibakari*, another example of the confusion of Arabic cases. The whole of this and the next stanza is governed by *zimwendee*—11 (*b*)- or else by some such expression as "let us commemorate", understood.

(*b*) *Athmani* is the favourite Swahili form of the name عثمان.

(*c*) *Ali Haidari* = Ali the Brave; the word is familiar in Swahili in the form *hodari*.

(*d*) Properly أَزْوَاج, broken plural of زَوْج, here used for "family". The termination *-e* seems to be the enclitic Swahili possessive, as in *baba-ye, baba-e.*

14. (*a*) *Amini* "the faithful One" = the Prophet.

(*b*) *Kurataini* = كُرَّةُ العَيْن "the ball of the eye".

(*d*) *Walosalia*, Lamu dialect for *waliosalia.*

15. (*a*) *hao* = those referred to above.

(*b*) *taya* = *taja* "call by name", sometimes used in the sense of "recount". The Lamu dialect frequently substitutes *y* for *j* (Stigand). *B* reads *tuwata yeye*, which does not make sense; but Ahmad gave the line as *tuwataye yeo* "let us invoke them to-day" = "whom we would invoke": the construction, with no relative expressed, would be quite admissible.

(*c*) *turuzuku*, not 1st p. pl., but imperative, with *tu* for object. *wajao* = *waja wako* "thy servants", not = *waja wao* "their servants", as translated by an oversight (see *Bulletin*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 102). *Mja* (see Krapf, s.v.) from *ja* "come", is not now used in everyday speech, though its derivatives *mjakazi* and *kijakazi* are common. (The termination *-kazi* with an apparently feminine force, as in Zulu, does not seem to have been sufficiently noticed. It is no doubt the word for "woman"—cf. *m-kazi* in Nyanja and *mkazache* in Giryama; but the above words seem to stand alone in Swahili.) *B* reads *dua yao* "(for the sake of) their prayer".

16. (*c*) *sute*, northern pronunciation of Mombasa and Zanzibar *sote.* سُتْ could, of course, be read both ways, but I have followed Ahmad's dictation. *Sitarani* locative of *sitara* (from ستر "cover"), "veil, curtain," and so "covering, protection". Not in Krapf or Madan and probably only poetical.

(*d*) *B* reads *kwa kuwaza* (*waza* "think", "consider"); *A* has كَكُوَاز, which might be read either *kwakuwazo* (of which I can make no sense) or *kwako wazo*, which does not yield a very satisfactory one. But as I have found more than one vowel-point wrongly placed in this MS., it seems more likely that Muhammad has written ُ for ِ. *C* has for this line *Kwa afua na afia*—a tag of frequent occurrence.

قو at the end of the line could be read either *kuwa* or *kowa*; either would make sense: "Owner of Being" or "Owner of Writing" (i.e. decrees); but Ahmad gave me *kuwa*. I do not know, however, whether there is any other example, even in poetry, of *kuwa* being used in so metaphysical a sense.

17. (*a*) *B* has *tayawa* (or possibly *yatawa*) *dibaji*—of which I can make nothing. Ahmad read the first word as *na tuwate* (*wate* for *ate* = Z. *ache*, "let us leave"), which certainly makes sense. دِبَاجِ—Krapf has *dibaji* (*B* also omits the *alif*) "the prefatory greeting" and names of honour in a letter. From دِبَاج "ornament". *C. taufiqi*—probably corrupt.

(*c*) *mpaji* verbal noun, from *pa* "give", on the analogy of *msemaji* "orator", *mlaji* "eater", etc. See Krapf, p. xxii, and Meinhof, *Lautlehre*, pp. 95, 106, 110.

(*d*) One would expect (*m*)*kawataya*, but the *-ki-* and *-ka-* tenses are often interchanged, and, moreover, the former could be justified in this case. *Taya* (= Mb. and Z. *taja*, Pate and Siu *chaya*) seems in the southern dialects to be used only in the sense of "call by name", "mention"; but in the north it is frequently used for "relate", or merely as equivalent to *sema* or (in the applied form) *ambia*.

18. (*a*) *B* has *kwali*—used at Lamu for *kulikuwa—mtume* "there was a prophet". *Kwalina* = *kulikuwa na* would be more correct, but perhaps the *na* has been accidentally omitted. *C* has *yali*, which seems impossible to defend.

(*b*) *alopowa* = *aliyepewa*. *Powa* is used at Lamu as the passive of *pa* (not, as Stigand, p. 54, seems to think, a distinct verb, used instead of *pata*) = M. *pawa*, Z. *pewa*. For the form of the relative, see above, note on 3 (*d*). This verb must not be confused (as in some later stanzas of this poem it is easy to do) with *poa* "recover" (from illness). *Na* is sometimes found introducing the agent after a passive, but the more idiomatic Swahili is the use of the copula *ni*.

(*c*) *B* reads *mali mangi*—the form preferred in L. and Mb. It will be noticed that *mali* is here treated as a plural of the 6th class, its first syllable being taken (see T., p. 19, n. 2) as a prefix, but it is sometimes found as a singular of the 9th (*like mashua*). It is, of course, the Arabic مال, which has penetrated into Karanga, and even into Zulu (*imali*, which some have attempted to derive from Eng. "money").

19. (*a*) *Kwanda* L. = Mb. and Z. *kwanza*.

(*b*) *Yali*: the old verb *li* "be" is still found in the northern dialects, as well as in proverbs and poetry (cf. *mli kule* in Taylor, p. 4, § 17 and note). *Ya* agrees with *maziwi*. The sense seems to require a past tense here, and the frequent use of *kwali, kwalina* as pasts in the Lamu dialect suggests the existence (though I cannot find it mentioned in the grammars) of a past identical in form with the ordinary present in *-a-* (*nafanya*, etc.). Such a past tense exists, e.g., in Nyanja and in Zulu; and the Swahili past tense in *nali-* (*nalipenda*, etc.), though now practically indistinguishable in sense from that in *ali-*, seems originally to have been compounded with the past tense of "to be".

(*d*) *B* and *C* read *mwenye* for *mengi*. *Yasosia*: *sia* appears to be the applied form of *sa* = L. *isa* = Mb. *isha* "come to an end" (Howe). Relatives as above (3 (*d*), etc.).

20. (*a*) *Kifu* = Ar. كفى "suffice".

(*c*) *C* reads *wali*, which would agree with *watunga*; *katika* or some equivalent being supplied after *zizi*. *Yali* (with *na*) understood seems meant to agree with *zizi*: the proper concord, however, would be *lali*. But perhaps *kulla zizi* is taken loosely as if it were *maziwi*—in which case *yali* would be right—or possibly it has been attracted to *maarufu*, though that is an invariable adjective (مَعْرُوْف).

(*d*) *B wakimtungia* (which does not satisfy the ear as metre), *C walowakimtungia*. *Walokimtungia* seems to be a relative formed from the Lamu "Distant Past" (Stigand, p. 41).

21. The contracted possessives are probably used for the sake of the metre.

(*d*) *nimezotaya*. *-zo-* = Mb. and Z. *-vyo-*, used adverbially = "as," "how," but originally agreeing with *zitu* (*vitu*) understood. The perfect in *-me-* is not used with the relative in Mb. and Z. (Stigand, p. 49: Steere, p. 209).

22. (*a*) *anuwa* "distribution", "classification", from ناع 4. The *-e* may be a possessive suffix, or merely added to facilitate pronunciation. *B* has *Na afua'e*.

(*c*) The text (II, i, p. 90) has erroneously *kuzitiya*: it should be *kuzitaya*. Mr. Howe prefers the former, which is the reading of *B*, and would render: "'To separate everything one from another

[i.e. to enumerate them in detail] would mean much space.' This would avoid the repetition of *taya* in the two lines." This would require *mahali* (مَحَلِ) or *muhula* from مُهْلَة instead of *muhali* (مُحَالِ "impossible", see Lane, p. 677, s.v. حول), which is certainly the reading of the MS. Krapf has *muhali* "displeasure, anger", but this is clearly a different word.

23. (*b*) *A* reads *wanawame*—probably a by clerical error for the common contraction *wa(a)naume* (as in *B*).

(*c*) *tume* here "fear, danger" (Krapf)—not the same word as *tume* "messenger". *Mwenye tume*, in this case = inspiring, not experiencing, fear.

(*d*) *marika*, pl. of *rika*, which Kr. translates "an equal" and M. "age, time of life, also a contemporary, one of the same age". But the original sense, I suspect, is that which it has in Giryama and allied languages, viz. that of a "circumcision-cycle" (see Taylor, *Giryama Vocabulary and Collections*, p. 25). The *rika* includes all born within the period (varying in different localities, but usually about eight years), at the end of which tribal initiation takes place; these are said to be *marika mamoja*, but *hirimu* is the expression commonly used in Swahili. In Giryama *hu marika* means "we are of the same age".

24. (*b*) *mbake* = *ni wake* (see Taylor, p. 24, n. 4). Either *ya* or *kama* may be understood before *taa*.

25. (*a*) *u-mu-wekee*, old pref. of *wekea* (applied form of *weka* "put", "place"): lit. "put aside for", and so "dedicate". *u-* is the archaic pronoun, for which *a-* is now generally substituted, though the northern dialects still retain it with the perfect and Mb. (in the form *yu-*) with the present. *B* reads *wamuwekeo* "who (i.e. his children) performed acts of worship towards the Loving One, so that when he excelled through wealth and issue, these should not bring him to confusion". Mr. Howe, whose translation is here quoted, thinks the reading of *B* might be admitted "though it reverses the parts of Job and his children as given in the Bible". It scarcely seems compatible, however, with the subsequent description of the sons as young children attending school.

(*d*) *Shangaa* "stare, be astonished" (Kr.). The *ya* in *ya-si-mpe*, though vaguely in apposition with the whole preceding clause, must be governed by *mambo* or *maneno* understood. It can hardly agree

with *mali* (supposing that to be taken as class 6), on account of the intervening *aulad*i.

26. (*b*) *sarimada*. Ahmad, who read this word as *sermada*, explained it as a synonym for Allah. It seems to be سَرْمَد "eternity", used as = "the Eternal," in apposition to *Mola*, or possibly as an adjective qualifying it.

(*c*), (*d*) These lines are difficult and possibly corrupt. *Pakaitoka* is not a possible reading, and *pa-ka-ituka* (*ituka* = Mb. *jituka* "be startled", "shrink back") will not make sense in the context. Ahmad read *pakainuka*, which is much more satisfactory and should have been adopted in the text, as it has in the translation. *Pakanuka* of *B* is probably intended for this, but as it stands could only mean "There was a smell of envy!" (*nuka* for *inuka*). Line (*d*) if correct could only be rendered "(matters) came to be envied": Ahmad read *Yakwenda kwa husudia*, which does not seem much of an improvement.

27. (*a*) *Mal'uni*, passive participle of لَعَنَ "curse".

(*b*) (*a*)-*ka-sikilia*: L. for Mb. and Z. *fika*. (The doubly applied form in *-ilia* is apparently used at Lamu to the exclusion of the simple verb.) For interchange of *f* and *s* cf. *simbo* = *fimbo*, *sita* = *fita* = *ficha* (Stigand, p. 38). This permutation only seems to take place when *f* is followed by *i*: words like *fa*. *funga*, remain unchanged. *Fisi*, by the by, becomes not *sisi*, but *pisi*, which, however, does not seem to be used in present-day speech. I have only heard *shumra* at Lamu.

(*d*) *tongoa* "speak"; not found in this sense in Kr. or M., but explained by Ahmad as = *kusema*.

28. (*a*) *kukuabudi* = "(the fact that) Job worships Thee," "Job's worshipping Thee," a use of the infinitive which is not uncommon, though I cannot find it mentioned in the grammars. The termination is altered to *i* simply for the sake of the rhyme.

(*b*) *Kamwe* always used with a negative = "not even once." *mwe* "one" is found in Giryama, Kikuyu, and elsewhere: *ka-* is a sporadic survival of the adverbial prefix (cf. Zulu *kanye*, *kabili*, *kakulu*, etc.). *taradadi* from رَدَّ ر د د—the same verb which appears in Swahili as *radi*: the different forms of the Arabic verb seem to be used indiscriminately (cf. note on 9 (*c*)): and the final vowel is subject

to no discoverable law—apparently those in *u* have been borrowed from the imperfect.

29. (*c*) *kipapa*: entered by Kr. as "adjective", but without English equivalent: explained by Ahmad as "destitute". Not in M. *Angali* would be the conditional of the verb *li* "to be": it should have been printed as a separate word: *angali kipapa*.

(*d*) *liraa* "forget"—cf. *Yao lwala* and see Taylor, p. 12, n. 2. Now disused in favour of *sahau*.

30. (*b*) *sukutu* = سكت "be silent".

31. (*a*) *ongoa* "lead", whence *ki-ongozi* "a guide". *makhalaki*, pass. part. of خلق.

(*c*) *hukuwia*, "habitual tense" in *hu-*: commonly and rather loosely used at Lamu. *Wia*, applied form of *wa* "be", having *-ku-* for its object. Nowadays *kuwia* is generally used in the technical sense of "have owing to one": *namwia rupia mbili*, lit. "I am for (upon) him (for) two rupees". "To owe" is expressed by the passive *-wiwa*: *namwiwa rupia mbili* "I owe him Rs. 2". Ahmad read this line as *Ndia hoko yenye dhiki* "the road there (is) full of trouble" (*hoko*, L. = *huko*).

32. (*b*) *Subuhana* seems here to be used as a name of God, probably derived from some such phrase as قَالَ سُبْحَانَهُ ("He said —praise be to Him!"), where it is an accusative governed by a verb understood (Professor Sir T. Arnold).

(*c*) *utamwona*: something like "how he will behave" must be understood after this. There is an ironical implication, with which we may perhaps compare the force of *ona* in threats, e.g. "*Leo utaona wee shetani!*" in the tale of *Sultani na Nduguye* (*Kibaraka*, p. 110).

(*d*) *silisia*, not in Kr. or M., but apparently from سَلْسَلَ "be soft, easy", etc., or سُلِسَ "be foolish"; either might justify the translation adopted, lit. "when I put softness (or 'folly') into him".

33. (*a*) *filihali* = في الحال "immediately", "on the spot". "It is impossible to get at him immediately."

(*d*) Perhaps the words supplied at the end of this line should be

" which are the hindrance " ; but the use of the word *kipande* seems to require those suggested.

34. (*d*) *wayawaya*, acc. to Kr., means " to be ignorant of what one is doing or not to know what to do ", or " to sway [this way and that] like a bough loaded with fruit ".

35. (*d*) So *A*, but I am not certain that *kumtia ndia* can be thus used for *kumtia ndiani*. It might conceivably mean " put into him (i.e suggest to him) an evil way ", but the reading of *B* seems preferable : *Kumtia mboru nia* " to inspire him with an evil intention ".

36. (*a*) *hela*, not in the dictionaries, but apparently an ejaculation—unless we are to read *hila nikuamri(y)e* " I have ordered thee (to use) a stratagem "—archaic perfect, for *ni-me-ku-amria* (or subjunctive " let me . . ."). Kr. gives as an alternative rendering " give permission ", which would fit the sense better here. *B* reads *hali*, which, according to Kr., is an interrogative particle. It might also possibly be a contraction for *nikali*, but this would require either the omission of *ni* (*halikuamria*) or the substitution of *-ki-* for *-ku-* (*hali nikiamria*) (see T., p. 164) ; moreover, the perfect termination could not stand. *C* has *nami* for *hela*.

(*c*) *sura* here seems equivalent to *namna*, or, if we read with *B* and Ahmad *mungalie* (*mwangalie*), we might translate " look at him (as to) all appearances ". *Inglia* applied form of *ingia*, used " especially of entry with a purpose " (M.).

(*d*) *upendayo* : *yo* relative in agreement with *mambo* understood, but *-zo* agreeing with *sura* would have done equally well.

37. (*d*) *waane* = *waanawe*, itself a contraction of *waana wake*, which is seldom or never heard because liable to be confused with *waanawake* " women ". *Amkua* L. is used for *ita* " call " ; elsewhere, usually (along with *amkia*) " salute ", " visit ".

38. (*b*) *diriki* here has its original Arabic meaning of " follow ". For other senses in Swahili see Kr. s.v.

39. (*a*) *Natoka kwake* " I come from his (house) ", i.e. I have just come : almost verbatim : *je sors de chez lui*.

(*b*) *maneno*, often used as if synonymous with *mambo*.

(*c*) *Penda* = *napenda*. *B* has *kumeta* (= *kumweta*) for *kumwetea* " bring to him " (H.). *Kulabu* = كُلَّابٌ " iron flesh-hook with prongs " (Lane). It seems fanciful to see in this a reminiscence of Job xl, 21, especially as there is hardly any other indication that the writer was familiar with the O.T. account. *C* reads *kulabu*.

(*d*) *Shaurile*, contraction of *shauri lake*, or possibly of *shauri lile*. The word *shauri*, no doubt from the primary meaning of شعر "know, understand" (Lane) and thence "consider": *perpendere* (Dozy) seems to have rooted itself in Swahili very early. Like other imported words whose first syllable cannot be taken as a prefix, it fluctuates between the 5th and 9th classes.

40. (*b*) *kutanani* imperative pl., agreeing with *mashhuri* (مَشْهُوْرٌ passive participle of شَهَّرَ "make manifest", treated as a plural in *ma-*. "Everyone who is valorous and strong,—come together, ye notable ones" (H.). On consideration, this rendering appears preferable to the one given in the text, as there is no noun *kutana* - the loc. inf. would have to be *kukutanani*: but the more usual word for "assembly" is *makutano*.

(*c*) *kiri* = قَرَّ, with the primitive meaning of "remain", "continue", but used in Swahili as equivalent to *kubali* (قبل) "accept", "agree", "acknowledge". "'Him' (*nae*) refers to *kulla aliyo hodari*; 'acknowledge it' (or approve of it) refers to the plan" (H.).

(*d*) "'That I may be able to understand (the situation).' The idea is of a council of war for the approval of his plan" (H.).

41. (*a*) *ambelepo*; *ambele*, apparently perfect of *amba*, but the form is unusual and seems as if from *ambala*, for which I can find no evidence. (There certainly is a verbal form in *-ala*—in modern Swahili *-aa*, as in *kat-aa*, *aug-aa*, though the precise function of the suffix is not very clear. Meinhof (*Lautlehre*, p. 44) calls it "neutro-active".) *B* and *C ambalepo* (*ambalipo* ?).

(*b*) *lisani* = لسن—not often used instead of *ulimi*: here only *metri gratia*.

(*c*) *zikwi*, L. plural of the old word *kiku* "thousand", instead of which *alf* (*alfu*, *elfu*) is now generally used.

(*d*) *B* reads *wamezigo* (or *wamezeyo*) *nuelea*, which one might be tempted to render "who had already comprehended him"—but *elea* means "be clear to", "be comprehended by"—not "comprehend".

The reading of *A* is supported by Büttner (*Anthologie*, p. 49), who, in the *Utenzi wa Mi'iraji*, 105 (*b*), reads :—

Ndizo sifa zake umeziye kuzibaini,

which he translates " das ist seine Beschreibung, du hast Alles richtig dargestellt ", explaining *umeziye* as the perfect of *maliza*, which it cannot well be, though *meze* (T., p. 166) is the perfect of the ground-form *mala*. (There is a perfect termination *-iye*, but this would require a present *meza*, which does not seem to exist, except as the Z. form of Mb. *miza* " swallow ".) If we read *wamezeya*, we can take it as the " poetical perfect " (T., p. 165) of *ya* (Mb. *ja*) " come ", " they have already come ", *meze* being used as an infixed auxiliary, lit. " they have finished to come ". The following verb is *welea*, not *elea* ; it is the applied form of *wea* " be good for, be of use " (Kr.). It is true that in all Krapf's examples this word is used of things—*neno hili linanuwea*, etc. ; but there seems no reason to suppose that it cannot be used of persons. If we adopt the reading of *B*, we might take *wameze(y)o* as a relative, finding, as Mr. Howe suggests, " the predicate in the next stanza ; or this stanza may be complete in itself. . . . The Lamu dialect often uses the relative particle at the end, where we should expect a principal finite verb—*niyao* I am coming (I who come)." But I cannot agree with Mr. Howe in taking the verb as *-elea* and rendering " who have at once comprehended him " ; unless, perhaps, the writer meant *elewa* " understand ", not *elea* " be intelligible ", but the word in the MS. is distinctly مِيلِيا.

42. (*a*) *B* reads *mimi* for *mume*—surely a clerical error, as it makes no sense. Ahmad gave it as *mue*, perhaps the obsolete numeral preserved in *kamwe* (see note on 28 (*b*)). (*a*)-*ka-i-sifu* : *-i-* Lamu form of the infixed reflexive pronoun : Mb. and Z. *-ji-*.

(*b*) *tangua*, now more commonly used in the applied form *tangulia*.

(*d*) *tumikia*, applied form of *tumika* (neut. pass. of *tuma*) " be sent ", or rather " be sendable ", and so " be serviceable to ", " serve ". *Zote* refers to *kazi*, pl. Lit. " (As to) all (of them) I will be of use to you ".

43. (*a*) *eta*, L. = *leta* ; we might read *ita*, but it yields a less natural sense.

(*d*) *B* has *ao kuzini na kiwa*, which Ahmad read as *kwiura*. I cannot find any express authority for *iwa* = *iba* (the Lamu dialect uses *jepa*), but it seems to me highly probable. I fail to make any

sense of *A*'s *ao kuzi nikiwa* ; and to take *kwiwa* as = *ku wiwa* "to owe" does not seem to fit the context.

45. (*a*) *Soyo* for *hoyo* (L.) = *hoyu*. "*S* held the place of *h* in old Swahili demonstratives" (T., p. 22). Cf. *Utenzi wa Shufaka*. 32 : *Wanawake sao tamu* ; 58. *na soyu Mikaili* : 80. *waradhi saya yakwa*. etc. The prominence of the aspirate in Swahili, whereas it is entirely absent from some Bantu languages (e.g. Ganda, Nyanja, Yao), may be due to Arabic influences. It is noticeable that when a Muganda or Yao attempts to pronounce the aspirate, he usually turns it into *s* ; thus the Rev. Dr. Hetherwick used to be known at Blantyre as Che Salawichi. Apart from the demonstratives, and the negative particle *ha* (other languages *sa*) most, if not all, of the Swahili words containing *h* appear to be of Arabic origin.

(*c*) *B* reads *muhiti*, of which I can make nothing. Ahmadi gave the line as "*Napenda mcha* (probably = *(ku)mtia*) *kulabu*" ; he sometimes, though not consistently, used forms belonging to his native dialect of Siu, which substitutes *ch* for cerebral *t*, as *mchu* for *mtu*, etc. (see Stigand, pp. 63, 65) : but one would expect *chia* in this case (as Sacleux, p. 15). *C* reads : *nataka mta kulabu* ; possibly *ta* is the obsolete ground-form of *tia*, perhaps it survives in Mb. *ta* "lay eggs" ; cf. T., p. 39, n. 2.

46. (*a*) *B* and *C mazizini*.

(*b*) the *w* in *wandike* is not the object-pronoun, but inserted for orthographical reasons.

(*d*) *B watuwe* for *watu wake* "his folk" (H.). Ahmad read *watungawe* "his herdsmen" (Z. *wachunga*).

47. (*b*) *zijana*, L. substitutes *zi* for *wi* as the 8th prefix.

(*d*) *C sauti wakatoa*.

48. (*b*) *ya moto* is the reading of *B* : *A* has *za*, which has nothing to agree with : *ya*, of course, follows the concord of *mivukutu*.

(*c*) *wasikupata*—see T., p. 43, n. 2 : "a tense not hitherto come into recognition, but common enough in poetry. It is usually of past time, and signifies (he did it) *without* (being, doing something else)." See also Appendix, p. 166, where it is called the "Negative Subordinated Resultant (or Negative Subjunctive)". *C* has *mapito* for *upito*.

49. (*c*) "Doubtful whether *wakapishika* means 'they were made to pass'. Can it be from *kupisha* = to put to the fire ?" (H.). The difficulty with this is the *kwa*, which is used instrumentally of *things* only : when governing a noun (or its equivalent) meaning a *person*,

it has the force of the French *chez*. Now *wote*, grammatically, could refer either to *watunga* or to the subject of all the verbs in the stanza —the sons of Satan. The former is the sense in which I have taken it: the sons of Satan were made to pass to (the abodes of) all the herdsmen. If we give Mr. Howe's meaning to *pisha* (causative of *pika*—not in Kr., but see M.), and if it were legitimate to use *kwa* here in the sense of "by", we should render "they (the herdsmen) were put to the fire by all (the fiends)". In either case, the passive would be more appropriate than the neuter passive: but perhaps grammar has been sacrificed to rhyme.

(*d*) *alosalia*, Lamu relative; as also *yamezokuwa* in last line of next stanza. See note on 21 (*d*).

50. (*a*) *madhkuri* = مذكور, passive participle of ذكر "remember".

(*c*) *Nenda*, 1st pers. = *naenda*, not imperative, as often heard, which seems to be elided from the reduplicated form *enenda*. The sense requires "I go".

(*d*) *kwa*, strictly speaking, is "by means of", and it might be possible to take it as "give him information by means of what has happened", but the sense is more probably that indicated in the translation.

51. (*a*) *C sapo; B akaimba.*

(*b*) *Shiti*, explained by Ahmad as equivalent to *Shaitani*. *Kijongo*, only given in the dictionaries as "hunchback", etc. It may mean here "deformed" and so "abhorrent". *Kidhabu* = كاذب from كذب—the transposition of vowels has no significance.

(*c*) *C hatta kenda.*

(*d*) *C kuondoa*, which must surely be wrong. *Omboa* "lament", is not in Kr. or M., though the former gives *ombelea* "to mourn for" and *ombolea* (which would be the applied form of *omboa*) as derived forms of *omba* "beg". Both *omboa* and *ondoa* look like reversives in *-oa* (an alternative found in other languages, but not, seemingly, surviving in Swahili). It is true that it is difficult to make out a reversive sense in this case; but where, as sometimes happens, the derived form has acquired an independent meaning, the original force of the suffix is frequently lost.

53. (*c*) *mipweke = mimi peke yangu*. *Pulika*, according to Kr. a Kigunya word = *sikia*. It is common in poetry: cf. *Utendi wa Mwana Kupona*. 1 (*c*).

(*d*) *salipo*: cf. note on 45 (*a*) and T., p. 88, note.

54. (*b*) *ufukarani*, a characteristic instance of the Bantu prefix added to an Arabic word—from فقر ,*-ni*, of course, being the locative suffix.

(*c*) *C kuabudu*.

(*d*) *kitu* understood before *chakutumia*.

55. (*a*) *Ima*, still found, e.g. in Nyanja and (as *ema*, or *ma*) in Zulu; now replaced by *simama*. One is tempted to think the latter the "stative" form of (*s*)*ima* (cf. *angama* from *anga*), but Meinhof does not think the two words are connected.

(*b*) *B pahitaja* (confirmed by Ahmad): either reading would suit the context. *Sumbuko*, not often used in an active sense, as here.

56. (*b*) *ya* is here the Arabic vocative particle.

(*c*), (*d*) Cf. Job i. 21; this sentence does not occur in the Koran.

(*d*) *B kuiondoa* = *-i-* often used like *-ku-*, when no definite antecedent is expressed.

57. (*b*) *asikupatia*: see on 48 (*c*). *Muradi* = مُرَادٌ "thing desired", from رود 4.

58. (*a*) *siyo = kiyo*: see on 45 (*a*). *rijali* (رَجُل) being treated as a 9th class noun. *B* reads *saya* (or *saya*). *C kuya*. Possibly this might be "an exclamation of admiration, like *kuya ni mume*! 'this is a man'" (H.).

(*b*) *jali*, according to Kr. "reverence", "fear". Probably from جلو, but it is difficult to establish a connexion between the above meaning and that of "become clear, manifest". But Arabic words used in Swahili sometimes depart as widely from their original sense as some French words which have been adopted into English or German (cf. the use of *parterre* in the latter language).

(*c*) *katiti*, L. for *kidogo*. L. as a rule uses *-toto* for the adjective and substitutes *kijana* for the noun *mtoto*. *Shughuli* = شُغْل—

usually "business", "occupation": *sumbuko* or *uthia* would be generally heard in the sense which it bears here.

(*d*) *B hakugatia, C hao kutia*—neither of which can be readily accepted.

59. (*b*) *twendeni*: *-ni* properly the suffix for the 2nd person plural imperative is sometimes suffixed to 1st person plural of subjunctive (used as imperative), see Steere, p. 360.

60. (*a*) *zilabu*, plural of *kilabu* = كَلْبٌ, the first syllable treated as 7th prefix. *C* reads *wakatoka kilabu*, taking it as a plural of Class 10.

(*b*) *Nyoyo* for *mi-oyo* 4, quite common, but at Lamu most vowel-stem nouns of Class 3 take this form of plural (Stigand, p. 50) and the concord of Class 10. *B* reads *zilina*, both here and in the next line.

Harubu = حَرْبٌ—not much used, except in poetry, for *vita* (*zita*) or *kondo*; but the verb *haribu* is very commonly used for "destroy", "spoil".

(*c*) *nyusoze* can hardly be right, the sense requiring *nyuso zao*. *B zilina, C zenye*.

(*d*) This line is difficult. *Yao* may be governed by *nia* understood, but, if so, *wa* cannot be "of", and should be printed continuously with the next word, treating *nia yao* as an accusative of respect: "their intention (was to) exterminate (?) them." *Chambua* is (1) "clean" (as cotton by removing the seeds, etc., cloves by picking off the stalks), (2) "clean up, give a finish to," (3) "criticize, cross-examine, expose the faults of." None of these seem to fit the context, but possibly a meaning might be got out of (1) by concentrating on the idea of removal, casting away, etc. H. suggests *njao* as a contraction of *nia yao* and thinks that *kutabuabua* (*B* reads *watabuabua*) "may be intensitive of *kutabua* = to rend in pieces". Here *C* inserts the following stanza, which is manifestly corrupt:—

Wakakondoa makatu
Ikatoka mikukutu
Kana zikitoko mutu
Nyama kenda kuondoa.

61. (*a*) *ushupafu* (M.) "obstinacy; all three rhyme-words are found, both with *-fu* and *-vu*; but I have certainly heard *ivu* rather than *ifu*. *Kwa* is here rather = abl. of accompanying circumstances than instrumental.

(*b*) *furishi(y)a*, applied causative from *fura* "swell". There seems no reason for the applied form beyond the requirements of the verse, nor for the subjunctive inserted between two *-ka-* tenses, unless the action is felt to be a little more closely dependent on *wakenda* than is that of the following verb. *C* reads *wafurishize*—a double causative (or causative + intensitive) if the reading is right—*mashafu* (dialectical form: Z. has *chavu*, *chafu*, *shavu*, and *shafu*; see M.). The Mb. form would be *tavu*, but I think *tama* is more commonly used.

(*c*) *cha ivu*: probably something like *kama kitu* should be supplied to account for the *cha*. *B jivu* (or *jifu*), omitting *cha*, may be another way of writing the same thing, though these MSS. do not usually represent *ch* by ج.

(*d*) *B* reads *pia*, though this is not commonly used with a negative, as if = *kabisa*. *Asia* presents some difficulty. It is written by Muhammad اَصِيا and might possibly come from أَصَّ "break", and so mean "fragment", or from صيأ "wash imperfectly", whence "vestige", "trace".

62. (*d*) *silia*, doubly applied form of *sa* = *isa* (*isha*). The v.l. of *C zimetusilia* is unimportant. (*Nyama*, when it means an animal, and similar words like *mbuzi*, *ng'ombe* etc., which nowadays are usually put into the person-class, vary in this poem between that and their original concord—that of 9 and 10.)

63. (*b*) *wahidi* should rather have been rendered "acknowledging His unity".

(*c*) *-waladi* for *auladi*, which is found elsewhere (and here in *C*).

(*d*) *chakula* to be understood before *chakutumia*.

64. (*a*) *Yeo*, L. = *leo*. *zi-ondoshee*, perfect in *ee* (T., p. 166). "He has caused (them) to take away everything." Strictly speaking the causative should take the object-pronoun of the person or thing who is caused to do the act and not that which would be appropriate to the ground-form; but this cannot always be pressed in poetry, and perhaps *ondosha* is simply used for *ondoa*.

(*b*) Literally "There—to remain (the remaining)—the end of it!"

(*d*) *C kuangalia*.

65. (*a*) *La* may not be, as assumed in the text, the Arabic for "no"; I think Ahmad took it as if governed by *jambo* understood "(This business) of sitting still is no good!" *Rai*, according to Kr.,

" v.a. to put morsels of food into a person's mouth, as a mark of affection or honour." He connects it with رعى " *pavit, pastum duxit* ". The use of *kuti* in the next line points to some more general sense for *rai* than merely " food ". H. suggests " satisfaction ". It occurs as a verb (probably in the sense given by Kr.) in a well-known *shairi* :—

Mke mrai mpembe — *Kwa kweli na uwongo,*
Mpigwa nati ni jembe — *Huinuliwa ni kongo.*
Deni ongeza kiwango — *Mwenye deni takulinda.*

Another version of part of this is given as a proverb (308*a*) by Taylor (p. 70).

(*c*) *hawa* = *hawana*. *Kuti*, not in the dictionaries, but according to Ahmad an old word for " food ". (Can we connect with Nyanja *kuta* " be satisfied ", " have enough (to eat) ", like Swahili *shiba* ?)

66. (*d*) *mbele* usually followed by *ya*, but *za* (as though it were a plural noun) is not uncommon.

67. (*b*) *u* understood before *sinitie*. *wasiwasi* from وَسْوَس " whisper ", " suggest "—cf. Koran, cxiv, 4. مِنْ شَرِّ الْوَسْوَاسِ " against the mischief of the stealthily withdrawing whisperer " (Rodwell).

(*c*) *Mkwasi* : see Kr., who spells it *mkuassi*, " opulent," " rich."

(*d*) *B* reads *yambo huwa*, which is certainly preferable, as *yote* is an impossible concord.

68. (*b*) *kukosa* seems to be an infinitive absolute.

(*d*) I doubt whether *rejea* can be used thus, governing a direct object. *C* omits *wa*.

69. (*a*) *Nelezani* looks like imperative plural preceded by the object of the 1st person, " explain to me " ; but this is hardly compatible with the context. It seems rather to be a case of *-ni* suffixed as the object of the 2nd person plural (see Steere, p. 108 ; Stigand, pp. 14, 18.) But this usually requires the pronoun inserted as well—*ni-w(a)-elezani* (or in some dialects *ni-mw-elezani*).

70. (*b*) *paa* " ascend " ; synonymous of *panda* and *kwea*, but not so often used in an every-day sense.

(*d*) *funguliwa* may be the passive, either of *fungua* or its applied form *fungulia*. Here it is the latter " he had opened for him ".

71. (*b*) *C tenda. Uyata* should have been written *unyata*; it is an abstract, with adverbial force, formed from *nyata* "steal along", "glide", etc.

(*c*), (*d*) As punctuated in the text, the rendering would be "Until, in front, finding words, he uttered them". This, I think, is better than the one adopted (which would require the comma after *ak'pata*), as I doubt whether *pata* could be used intransitively in this way.

72. (*b*) This might mean "words of merit", but it is difficult to fit that sense into the context. *B* reads *kwa maneno ya Ayubu*, which must surely mean "words about" (not "of") "Job".

(*c*) *'babu* = باب. Only introduced for the sake of the rhyme, and translated by *mlango* in the next line. But Mr. Howe suggests *papo* "there" (i.e. either "at his house" or "in his heart"), which could be read equally well in some MSS., though the fact that Muhammad always writes *p* as پ is a presumption against it. (In fact, he has پاپُ in stanza 80.)

73. (*b*) *B Kwa yote.*

(*c*) *Ni-ende-po* seems to be perfect. Ahmad omitted the *ni*.

74. (*b*) *kangamiyake*, a rather curious example (probably only a poetical caprice) of the possessive suffixed to the verb instead of the noun = *kuangamia mali yake*. *Angamia*, of which *angamiza* (stanzas 59, 73) is the causative, is itself the applied form of *ang-ama*, stative of *anga* "float in the air"—not given in this sense by Kr. or M.—but I have it on the authority of the Rev. W. E. Taylor, who derives from it the word *mw-anga* "sorcerer", on account of alleged powers of "levitation".

75. (*c*) *mahabani*, not a recognizable Arabic form, but probably made up to fit the verse.

(*b*) See note on 68 (*d*). But *rejea*, properly *raja'a* (رَجَعَ) might be taken for an applied form and so capable of governing a direct object.

76. (*c*) *La'ala* = لعلّ "perhaps". *Akaritadi*, evidently from

رَدَّ 8.

(*d*) *shutua*, the word given by M. as *shtua*, *stua*, *situa*, "startle, surprise, shock." *u-* is 2nd person singular, not in agreement with *moyo*. The line should have been translated: "If thou givest his heart a shock."

77. (*a*) *jibuye*: *-ye* suffixed on the principle of *u-ni-hifathi-mi*, etc. (Steere, p. 108), but I know no other example of this particular case—evidently only introduced for the sake of the rhyme. In the pronoun-suffix *y* is indispensable; in the other two words, being applied forms of verbs, it would not ordinarily be written in Roman script, though necessary in Arabic.

(*d*) The use of *sura* for "sort", "method", seems a little forced.

78. (*c*) *tiati*, a word peculiar to the Lamu dialect, for *nti*, *nchi*, "earth", "ground". I have never been able to get any explanation of its etymology, though it manifestly contains the root *(n)ti*.

79. (*a*) I have taken *yuani* (L. for *juani*) as the imperative of "to know" rather than the locative of *yua* "sun", (1) because there is no special mention of the heavenly bodies in the *mbinqu* to which Iblis ascends, and (2) because of the frequency of such tags as *sikia*, *pulika*, etc., only meant to help out the verse. *C* reads *kushuka* for *kutoka*.

(*b*) *fuza*, not in M. Kr. gives *fuuza* "to go straight forward" and *fuza* "to go on, not to stop". *Fuliza* (M.) has very much the same meaning.

(*d*) *hu-i-somea*: *-i-* seemingly reflexive, "were wont to read to (or for) themselves." Or, noting the wider use of *hu-* in L., simply "were reading".

80. (*a*) *shishia*, apparently applied causative of *shika*, but there seems no reason why the latter should not be used. *mbao* plural of *ubao* 11.

(*d*) *akosao* should be *wakosao* or *akosae*. The reading of *A* and *B* *huwambia* is in harmony with the first, that of *C* *humambia* with the second. *Akosao* could be used in the singular at Lamu (for *akosae*), but the prefix *a-* could not stand for the plural.

81. (*b*) Steere, p. 415, gives *wasa* "contradict" (not in Kr. or M.).

82. (*a*) *kiwambawamba*. This is not in any of the dictionaries. It was explained by Ahmadi as a whirlwind or hurricane—usually *kimbunga*. I hear from a later native informant that *ku wamba* = *kukasirika*: we might therefore render "he entered, raging mightily".

(*b*) *mwamba* usually means "a reef", but might possibly be used

for "a storm", or rather, perhaps, the breakers on the reef. The text of *A* has مَابَ, *B* مَبَ, but Ahmad read *mwamba* (و is never written after unvocalized م) and in any case the reading *mamba* "crocodile" can hardly be accepted.

(*c*) *B* reads *Akiya tekua* "coming to break down".

(*d*) Note the applied form of *anguka* and object *-wa-*. The translation should have read "And the house fell down upon them".

83. (*a*) *wekeza* (*ekeza*, as in *C*), not in Kr., M., or Steere. It might be (*a*) a causative of *wekea*: the reversive *wekua* (or *ekua*) "break by bending" (Steere), "break down, cause to give way" (M., cf. the examples *Mwivi ameekua mlango; Boriti ya dari imeekuka*) may point to the possible existence of a ground-form *weka* with some such sense as "cover",—or (*b*) a Kinyume inversion of *wezeka* = *pinduka*: "the house was overturned on them."

(*b*) *na kaza* for *na kukaza*; the very common construction of substituting *na* with infinitive for the *-ka-* ("narrative") tense.

(*c*) *aloyokoza*; see notes on 3 (*d*), 14 (*d*), etc.; *-y-* is here merely euphonic, not object-pronoun. *Okoza*, causative of *okoa*.

(*d*) *B* omits *kwa*.

84. (*a*) *Asezepo*: *seze*, perf. of *sa* "finish".

(*b*) *wekă* usually means not merely "put", but "put away", "lay aside"; mostly in a favourable sense "preserve", "treasure up", etc. There seems no reason why it should not also mean "put away" in English popular usage, i.e. = "get rid of"; but I have not come across any other instance. *Wa* omitted, as often after *mwana*, etc. *Jumbe* 5 "chief", to be distinguished from *mjumbe* 1 "messenger".

85. (*a*) *ule*, L. = *yule*.

(*d*) *C atenda*, probably meant for *achenda* = *akienda*.

86. (*a*) *kinadi*, from كَنَدَ "be ungrateful". *C kiyondoa*, which cannot be right.

(*b*) *shadidi* = شديد "violent", "intense", etc., from شَدَّ *Shidda*, from the ground-form of the verb, is very common, either as a noun, "trouble," "difficulty," or as an adverb (usually preceded by *kwa*) "scarcely", "with difficulty", etc.

87. (*a*) *C wendelepi*, "where have they gone?"—old perf. of *enda*. I do not know whether *bisha* is ever now used in the sense of

" call ", which it seems to have here, and which seems more probable than either " rebuke " or " jest with ".

(*b*) *shisha*, here certainly causative of *shika*. Nowadays *shikiza* would be used.

(*d*) *B yuo* (or *yuu* ?) *muzowea* : probably a mere case of careless pointing. *C yangu mazowea*. The unusual inversion of the possessive is merely for the sake of the verse.

88. (*b*) *gura*, used in Mb. and L. for Z. *hama*. *Tama* is also used at Mombasa, but I think less commonly. Cf. in Muhammad Kijuma's *Utendi wa Mkonumbi* (stanza 114) :—

Hatta kengewa na tai	Even the kite and the vulture
Wamegura yao mii. . . .	Had migrated (from) their dwelling-places. . . .

(*d*) *lipi*, supply *neno*. *-pi* might here either be " which ? " (" what word shall I select," or " where ? "). The invariable form *wapi* ? is now generally used for the latter, but sometimes we have *yupi* ? = " where is he ? " *atokapi* = " where does he come from ? "

89. (*b*) *ulimi* seems to be the subject of *kutongoa*, the two together governed by *wa*.

(*d*) *wafie*, perf. of *fia* ; one would expect *wanifie* (or *wakufie* ?), but probably it only stands for *wafe* (= *wamekufa*), *metri gratia*. *Moya* L. = *moja*.

90. (*b*) *B akima* " standing " for *chegema* = *a-ki-egema* " approaching ".

(*d*) *namamia*. I was at first inclined to take this as a (partly reduplicated) form of *inama* = (*a-ki-i*)*namamia* ; but it seems more likely to be a partial reduplication of *amia*, from *ama* " lie on the breast " (Kr.) = *na kuamamia* (cf. note on 83 (*b*)). H., who thinks it must be a noun co-ordinate with *matozi*, suggests *na mamia* ; " with tears and cries of '*Mamee ! mamee !*' [= *mama wee*] (the African's cry of distress)." But it is difficult to see how this would become *mam-ia*. Since the above was written I have been informed by a native that *mamia* = mucus from the nose. It therefore seems impossible to translate by anything more dignified than " with tears and snivelling " !

91. (*a*) *siaha* : Kr. has " *ku piga siaha* = *kupiga kelele* ? "

(*c*) *sitoona* : L. negative future (see Stigand, p. 43 ; Sacleux, p. 201).

(*d*) *ku-i-fia*, lit. " die to myself " ; probably only *metri gratia* for *kufa*. *B* has *inami*, probably a mistake, *C kheri kaifia*.

92. (*b*) *mauti* (treated as of Class 6), subject of *yamewakuta*.

(*c*) *laiti* = لَيْتَ "particule signifiant: plût à Dieu que" (Belot).

(*d*) *akhera* = الآخِرَة, constantly used in Swahili in opposition to *dunia* = "the next world." *B* omits the second *laiti* and transposes the last lines of this and the next stanza: *katangulia* might be contracted from *kuwatangulia*, which I think would give a more satisfactory construction with *mimi*.

93. (*a*) *B* reads *hao* for *ai*. *tushie* (perf. or subj. ?) might be a causative applied form of *tua*, which does not now seem to be used as "be silent" (= *nyamaza*), but cf. Zulu *tula*. But it seems as if we ought to read either *wa-ta-tu-tushia*, or *wa-tu-tushie*.

(*d*) *fidia* = فِدْيَة "ransom". One would expect *nikawa*: but *i-* may agree with *fidia*, or be used impersonally (as in *ikiwa* "if it be" (so) = "if perchance"). *B* has *ikawa yangu fidia*; *C nikawa yenu fidia*.

94. (*b*) *asighari*, so written by both *A* and *B* (أَصِغَار) for صغير "small", though nearer to the form of the comparative أَصْغَر.

(*c*) *jiri* from جَرَى "happen". *C* reads *yameokhiri*, probably a mistake.

95. (*b*) *B kuketi wewe*. As it stands in *A* it should be read as one word, *kuketiwe*. The two readings involve a slight difference in scansion, *kuketiwe ni aibu* and *kuketi wewe ni aibu* (*ai* as one syllable).

(*c*) *C wapeo*, and omits *wa* following. *Masahibu* should be *masa'ibu* from مَصَائِب, whence the more usual Swahili word *msiba*. ع has been turned into an aspirate in some Arabic words, especially those in common use, such as *harufu*, from عَرْف, "smell," and *harusi* from عُرْس "wedding".

96. (*a*) *B hayakupasi* "(these things) do not befit you". I find that I was mistaken in assigning this speech to Job, but I confess I do not know what to make of line (*c*).

(*b*) *julusi* from جَلَسَ, seldom used except in poetry.

(*c*) The line is written thus by Muhammad: اُرُكَ كَوَ دَ سِسِ (ر is a common convention for *nd* in Swahili writing; we might possibly read *uruka*, but I cannot make sense of this). Perhaps: (*u*)*kawa dasisi*, from دَسِيسٌ "intruder, intriguer". *B* has وَرُكَ —but probably only by a slip, as Ahmed read *ondoka*.

(*d*) *B wano* = *wanao* = *wani wako*. *Fusa* was explained by Ahmad as "to be buried in the earth", not in Kr. or M., though both have *fusia*, apparently a technical term in building, "fill up foundations," etc. The form in the text seems to be the derived one in *-aa* (originally *-ala*).

97. (*a*) *kite* "cry of pain" (M.). Iblis seems to reproach Job for showing no signs of emotion.

(*c*) *ut'e ut'e* (with aspirate *t*), explained by Ahmad as *na majonzi* "with grief". *B* has *wamekuwa wateute* (or *wateuti*), but Ahmad read it as in *A*. H. (following B.) suggests L. *-teuti* "exceedingly small" but gives no authority for this word, which I have never come across. This reading would make the sentence refer to the children, which is incompatible with the following line.

(*d*) *B* has *usozaa*, but I do not think the Lamu (or any other) dialect uses the pronoun *u-* (3rd person) with the relative. For *-mezo-* see on 21 (*d*).

98. *B* omits this stanza.

(*a*) *shawishika* from *shawishi*, rendered by Steere "persuade", but "disorder", the original meaning of شَوَشَ, fits the context better.

99. (*a*) (*a*)*-ka-takalamu*, from كَلَمَ ٥.

(*b*) *'umu* appears to mean something like "think", but I fail, so far, to connect it with either عمّ, عمى, or وعم.

(*c*) *C wewe ndiwe*. *B* has *makuhumu* "the adversary", from كَهَمَ. If *A* is right, *matuhumu* might possibly come from تَهَمَ "be spoilt". But Muhammad writes it in two words مَتُ هُمُ,

as it if were *mato humu*, which it seems impossible to accept, even if we strain the construction by rendering "it is he (who has) his eyes in here". It seems more reasonable to take it: "this is the Corrupt One, who is accursed".

100. (*b*) *unasi* = الناس. Ahmad explained it as *watu wangi*.

(*c*) *najisi*, from نَجِسَ "be unclean", but probably taken from the 2nd form نَجَّسَ, which is transitive.

(*d*) *mbee* L. = *mbele*.

101. (*a*) *-wene*, old perf. of *ona* (T., p. 166).

(*b*) *baini* from بَانَ, properly "distinguish", "make clear", "demonstrate," but here apparently only = "address."

(*c*) *dalihini* = دَلْهًا "stupéfait, interdit" (Belot), from دَلِهَ. *C iyo hini*, probably "corrupt".

(*d*) *yuu* L. = *juu*. Usually followed by *ya*. *B* and *C* read *iyo*.

103. (*a*) *hawezekani*. *Hakuwezekani*, or *haiwezekani*, is often heard in the sense of "it is not possible". The present use derives from *weza* as a transitive verb, "overcome" (see M., s.v. (3)).

(*d*) *hajali*, from جَلَّ "have no power". Should, grammatically, be *hazijali* or (taking it with *kimoja*) *hakijali*. *B zote jalili kumoya*, which does not seem to make sense. *C hajaali zote pia*.

104. (*a*) *kinda* = *kinza* (M.) "oppose".

(*b*) This should be, in the text, *niagia* "give me directions" (more usually *agiza*). ف was erroneously read for غ.

(*c*) We could read either *tenda* "do", or *tinda* "cut off". On consideration I prefer the latter. Probably we should read *ku-u-tinda* (though there is no indication of the infixed pronoun), but one would have expected *ku-m-tinda*.

105. (*a*) (*a*)*kiwa subiri* should have been printed as two words.

(*b*) Here, too, read *niagia*. *Kithiri* from كَثُرَ usually intransitive.

106. (*b*) *maqali* = مقالة or مقول (from قال). It seems to

be a secondary object, as it were, an "accusative of respect" to *akamjibu*.

(*d*) *'ajaa* seems as though it were meant for "in haste", but if from عَجَّ it must mean "with a cry". It can hardly be from عَجَا unless by some strange misunderstanding; but perhaps the line is corrupt.

106*a*. This verse, inserted by *B* and *C*, is remarkable as containing the obsolete verb *uya* "return" (still used in Giryama, and cf. Zulu *buya*); now disused in favour of Arabic *rudi*. Cf. the proverb *Mwenda Pate K'auya : kinyacho ni kiriro* (T., p. 87). Perhaps we should read in (*b*) *kaetea* = *kaletea*.

107. (*a*) *fuza*; see on 79 (*b*), *filihali*, 33 (*a*).

108. (*a*) Apparently an unusual use of *zika*.

(*b*) *mkabala* = مُقَابَل "opposite"; not very common.

(*c*) *sijidani* = سِجْدَة "worship" (from سَجَدَ) + Swahili locative suffix.

(*d*) *vuzia*, app. of *vuza* = "blow" (with the mouth); not in Kr. or M., but so read and explained by Ahmad. M. however, in *English-Swahili Dictionary*, gives *puzia*, *pulizia* as equivalents for "blow" in this sense. Kr. gives *puzia moto* as Kimrima for *fufia moto* "to blow the fire with the mouth". M., *Swahili-English*, does not give *puzia* in this sense under *puza*, but suggests that there is another *puza* = *puliza*. (This is not mentioned under the latter entry, but is used by Zinzibar people in the above sense.)

109. (*a*) *-zo-* in agreement with *pumzi*, plural, which is the subject of *zikampata* in next line.

(*c*) *mvi* L. and M. = *mshale*, cf. Giryama *muvwi*, Nyanja *mubvi*, *mbvi*. (Kr. spells it *mfi*.)

(*d*) For *sikia*, used in this way, cf. *yuani*, 3*a* (*a*) and 79 (*a*), *pulika* 53 (*c*), etc.

110. (*b*) Properly *mwilini*, but so written here; مْوِلِن would not be admissible, so the only alternative is مُوِلِن, which, in fact, we find in some cases,

(*c*) *B* reads *umo salani*, which is quite as good, if not preferable; see M., s.v. *m-sala*; *C zikimshukia msalani*.

(*d*) *B akamshukia*, "it is he (who) came down upon him" (i.e. Iblis). The text seems to require *ndiyo* "this is it (which)" . . . *i-* being the indefinite subject (see M., p. 105, (*b*)).

111. (*a*) *Tawanyika* here might mean merely "shed", or it may mean "coagulated", or the like, the constituent parts being "scattered".

(*b*) "It trickled down profusely" (H.).

(*c*) *B Ziya zikamfumuka* (or *Ziyaze kamfumuka* as suggested by H.) "(his) limbs were relaxed". Ahmad, who read the line thus, said that *ziya* = *viungo*, and Kr. has, s.v. *kia*, "(2) *kua cha muili* = flesh." The line as given in *A* might be the emendation of an editor to whom *ziya* was no longer a familiar word. But *B*'s reading, if right, raises a little difficulty as to the next line. *Zionda* L. = Mb. *vionda* (*vidonda*).

(*d*) *zikenea* follows quite naturally on *zionda*, less so on *ziya*. Cf. Nyanja *chironda* "'His . . . opened out (or burst)' . . . Could *ziaze* be 'his blood-vessels'" (H.).

112. (*a*) *mwida*, less usually for *mudda*. *Huo*, rather than *huu*: (1) as referring to the time already spoken of (*huu* would indicate something about to be mentioned), (2) on account of the rhyme, which is undoubtedly *o* in (*b*) and (*c*).

(*b*) *pete*, perf. of *pata*. For the concord of *waradhi*, cf. on 18 (*c*).

(*c*) *Mayongoo*, here = "worms." *Yongoo*, L. (Mb. *jongoo*) is, nowadays at any rate, the millipede (not, as in Stigand, p. 52, "sea-slug"). *Akatoka* is not, as might be thought, a false concord of a verb governed by *mayongoo*, but lit. "he came out with worms"; cf. *kutoka matozi* "shed tears".

(*d*) *B waya* "they (viz. the worms, which being alive are supposed to belong to the person-class) came". *Ya*, as in the text (and as read by Ahmad) is, of course, "of" (governed by *mayongoo*; *possessives* with such nouns, as in the case of *ndugu*, etc., often follow the grammatical class): but here equivalent to "like", or "as many as" (perhaps something like *namna* or *hesabu* is understood). *Vua* is the augmentative of *mwua*, taking the plural *mi-vua*. (See Mrs. Burt, *Swahili Grammar*, p. 19: neither Steere (p. 20) nor Sacleux (pp. 64–5), in noticing these nouns, mentions the plural in *mi-*.)

113. *C Na wasaka upitao, Muilini upitao*
Kama mai yayao Madika (?) *mwezi ya vua.*

Possibly we should read *Mwandika mwezi ya vua* "As water which

comes, preparing the months of the rains" ; but this does not seem satisfactory. *wasaa* 11, more correctly *wasaha* (Kr.), from وَسِخَ "be dirty", "suppurating matter." Cf. *Utenzi wa Shufaka*, stanza 32 (Büttner, *Anthologie*, p. 5).

Wanawake sao tamu
Wasio wasaha na damu.

(*c*) *mai ya muyao* "the flowing tide", Mb. *maji ya mjao* (if this form of expression is used : I have only heard *maji yamejaa*—perhaps *yakijaa*). The Lamu for "ebb-tide" is *mai ya mfumo* (Mb. *maji ya kupwa*.)

(*d*) *B Mangi heri ya vua*, but Ahmad read *mangi mno yaya vua*. In the former *heri* must be taken as = "more than" ; in the text it seems as though we must give it the sense of *wakati*. *Makinga*, see the various senses of *kinga* in M. It means the gutter on the edge of a roof (also *mfereji*), as well as the more primitive arrangement of a palm-frond tied to the stem of a tree so as to lead the water into a pot placed below.

114 (*a*) *'arufu*, usually heard in Swahili as *harufu*. Both MSS. give the word the correct Arabic form. *Hakika*, used adverbially.

(*b*) *sura*, cf. on 77 (*d*). *C iligokinuka*. Relative with *-ki-* tense, not noticed in Stigand.

(*c*) *alikimepuka*. L. "Distant Past." Stigand, p. 41. *C* reads *alikipulika*, but this seems to include the idea of "if" or "when", which Stigand does not attribute to this tense.

(*d*) *khatua* (*hatua*) = خطوة.

115. (*a*) *B Naye Ibilisi mwanga* = "sorcerer," see Kr. s.v. *muanga* (3). *Changa*, probably = *tanga* = *tembea* (Kr., p. 359), which, by extension, might mean "loiter". But *changa* is a Siu not a Lamu form.

(*b*) *B Asikome kutanga*. *ku-i-tunga* : *-i-* here must be the reflexive pronoun, but the use seems a little forced.

(*c*) *zinga*, used at Mb. in the sense of "stroll about", though Kr. seems to confine it to a special derived sense.

(*d*) *tia fitina* is a recognized expression for "sowing discord", "slandering", etc. I do not see what special force the applied form has here ; perhaps it is only *metri gratia*.

116. (*a*) *ghulamu* = غُلَامٌ, apparently only used as a convenient synonym for *mtu*, etc.

(*b*) *juzamu*, from جَزَمَ "cut off"? Not in Kr. or M. H. suggests "deserved", from *juza* (جَازَ. Kr. *sic.* qv. جزى), but this does not account for the final *-mu*.

(*c*) *B* reads *mtokori* (?), of which I can make nothing. Ahmad read *Ntokozeni*, which might be read as a question, "Do ye provoke me, ye people?" (cf. Kr., s.v. *tokŏsa*—not *tokosa* "boil", which he spells *tokossa*). But this does not seem satisfactory, and it is more likely that I heard him wrongly, and that he really said *Mtokozeni* as in *A*: "taunt" ("persecute", and so perhaps "banish") him. H. suggests *mtukuzeni* "carry him away", but this would rather mean "cause him to carry". *Kaumu* = قَوْمٌ, seldom met with except in poetry.

(*d*) *B Ibilisi kutukuziwa*, but Ahmad gave *Ibilisi katongoa*, which would make his speech end with the preceding line. It is difficult to construe the line as it stands in *A*. *Tia* requires something to complete the sense, as suggested in the translation. *Kumtia hatari* "put him into danger" might be admissible instead of *hatarini* (or we might take is as "put danger into him", like *tia moto*), but it does not suit the sense, unless we are to understand some such paraphrase as "banishing him is concentrating on him the danger which would otherwise befall us". *C Yapasa katokozwa* (*kutukuzwa* ?).

117. (*b*) *B Mamtoeni mmini*. *Mmini*, L. = *mjini*.

(*c*) *C Mukamtupa mwituni*. *Za* of *A* and *B* must be connected with *ndia* in the next line.

118. (*c*) *C wakamepuka*, which cannot be right, *epuka* being intransitive.

119. (*c*) *B* and *C ilaye*, which may be meant for a contraction of *illa yeye*. *Wa* before *illa* is unusual.

(*d*) *mfadhaa*, evidently from *mfadhala*, more usually *mfadhili* (مِفْضَالٌ, *mfathili* in Kr. and M.). As already remarked, the vocalization of Arabic words must not be pressed.

120. (*a*) *B Na hoyo* (*huyu*). *C suyu*. The other vv. ll. in this stanza are of trifling importance.

(*c*) *Furathima* = Ephraim.

(*d*) *nisikia* (*sikia* in *B*, see on 79 (*a*), 109 (*d*)) may be either imperative with object pronoun 1st person or 1st person singular of a tense no longer used in spoken Swahili (except, apparently, in the Gunya dialect), but found in some other languages—the *Présent Indéfini of Sacleux* (p. 192). Cf. in a well-known popular song, *Roho ikatika taabu* " my life is cut (off) with distress ", whereas, in ordinary speech, we should have *yakatika*, *inakatika*, or *imekatika*.

121. (*b*) *u-mu-umbie* : this should have been translated in the text, " had created for her (a form) like to . . . ."

(*c*) *bibi* " grandfather " is a peculiarity of the Lamu and other northern dialects, not noticed by Stigand, though he gives the word for " grandmother ", *nana* (p. 52—the L. and Mb. words accidentally transposed).

(*d*) *fahamia* – a tag like *niwambie* in line (*a*) ; *sikia*, *yuni*, etc. Ahmad read this line as *Yusufu murisaa*, which is also in *C*.

122. (*a*) *mzawa*, a verbal noun formed from the passive of *zaa* (now *zaliwa*). *A* reads *na*, *B ni*. *C* has *muwaza*, probably only a slip. *Wema* might be either " good (people) " for *wa-ema* 1, or " goodness " for *u-ema* 14.

(*b*) I do not know that there is any satisfactory authority for taking *tama* as " grief ". At Mombasa it means " cheek " (neither Kr., who spells it *tamma*, nor M. is quite clear on this point) ; *shika tama* is a gesture of grief or despair. It seems more likely that the word here is Arabic تمّ, and that we should render " the whole (matter) became clear to her ". The only justification for the rendering in the text is that *elea*, in the sense of " float ", etc., might possibly mean " overspread ", but this seems somewhat strained.

(*c*) This can only mean " that they were driving away (lit. ' pushing ') her husband "—this being the matter which became clear to her.

(*d*) *waa*, an old word (not in Kr.) now usually *ngua* ; cf. Ny. *dwala*, Ganda *lwala*.

123. (*b*) *juzamu* evidently means " disease ", the pronoun in *a-si-i-jali* agreeing with it.

(*c*) *C wakilalao*.

125. (*a*) *akawata*, so written in both MSS. and pronounced by Ahmad ; the *w* is merely euphonic. *masindizi*, plural of *usindizi* (as read by Ahmad), L. = *usingizi*. The plural in *ma-* occasionally

found with nouns in *u-* shows that these originally belonged to the *bu-* class (14) and not to the *lu-* class (11); these two, by attrition of the prefix have become one in Swahili.

(*c*) *khubuzi* = خُبْز, never used for *mkate* in ordinary speech.

(*d*) *rijaa*; see on *rasuua* 2 (*d*).

126. (*a*) *kasiri* "provoke", from قسر "constrain, compel", here for *kasirika*, which in Swahili always means "become angry".

127. (*a*) *Tuma* must always take the object of the person; hence this cannot mean "send your work (to) me". *Kazi* not often used in plural.

(*b*) *zilo* for *zilizo*; in fact, *C* has *zilizo nyumbani*. *Majumba* may be augmentative, "mansions," but quite as likely collective. It is often used when speaking of all the houses in a town.

(*c*) This should have been printed in two words: *ni kutwewa; twewa* passive (as *pewa* from *pa*) of *twa* (*tua*) "grind" (see Kr. *tua*, p. 380, and M. *chua*), for which *saga* is commonly heard.

(*d*) Ahmad read *tatwea*: *B* has (*m*)*ta-wa-twea* "I will grind for you".

128. (*a*) *katulia*, applied form of *katua* (see Kr.).

(*b*) Cf. *Utendi wa Mirana Kupona*, st. 33, 38. *Pota*, for plaiting hair, not in Kr. or M. In Nyanja, used for spinning cotton, or twisting string by hand.

(*c*) *mu-* for *m-*, 2nd person plural, common in poetry and still used in some dialects, e.g. Kimgao (Stigand, p. 22), as in Giryama, Pokomo, Kikuyu, etc. Also in (*d*). 129 (*a*), etc.

(*d*) *u-ki-salia*; *u-* agreeing with *mkate* 3.

129. (*a*) *B* omits this stanza. *Kinda*, not in Kr., though he gives (somewhat doubtfully) *kindama*. M. gives *kinda* with a cross-reference to *kinza*, "object, contradict, deny," (found in Kr. as *kinsa*), which is evidently the meaning here.

(*b*) *niyapoona*, L. = *nijapo-*.

(*c*) *tunda*, Kr. "get down fruit from a tree" (cf. M.'s note s.v.), but I have often heard it used of picking up something from the ground.

(*d*) *tiati*, see on 78 (*c*); *kichangukia* = *ki-ki-angukia*.

130. (*a*) *hamuna* (*hamna*) could be taken either as locative, 18, "there is not in (this place)," or 2nd person plural "you have not".

(*b*) Probably *ni-ki-tunda*, *-ki-* tense with no object expressed; or

it might be (*na-*)*ki-tunda*, *-ki-* agreeing with *kipande*, which is certainly the subject of *kichanguka*.

(*c*) *kitakula paka*, for (*a*)*takikula*, is a difficulty. One might suppose that the syllables *taki-* had been accidentally transposed in *A*, but Ahmad gave the line exactly as it stands here (I think, probably, from memory), though it reads in *B kitu hiko* (= *hicho*) *takula paka*. This MS. is somewhat confusing, *kitu hiko* being written كِيءُ تِهِكُ.

(*d*) *hakatowafua*, future negative (cf. 35 (*c*), etc.); still with *kipande* as subject.

131. (*a*) *kuti*, see on 65 (*c*).

(*d*) Something like an accusative infinitive construction, governed by some equivalent of "through", "by means of," or the like.

132. (*a*) Ahmad said *Kenda kahudumu*, which seems equally correct. *Hudumu* = خدم *Kutwa* for *mchana kutwa* "all day", lit. "day (till) sunset".

(*b*) *kusi*, not in Kr. or M. in this sense; explained by Ahmad as "handful". *Matwa* = *zitwa za mtama* "heads of millet" (Ahmad).

(*c*) *iyoni*, L. = *jioni*. For *kukitwa B* has *lukatwa*, governed by *jua* (understood).

133. (*d*) *zungua*, the transitive form of *zunguka* which is much more frequently heard. What is meant is explained in the next stanza.

134. (*a*) *halikiweza* (Stigand, p. 42).

(*b*) *B kulala kuigenza*, which seems more satisfactory.

(*d*) *shati*, so written in MSS., also *sharti*, *shurti*, *shurati*, from شرط.

136. (*a*) *Mabombwe*, used at Lamu for insects in general, but especially worms. *u-* to be supplied before *si-ya-poteze* and the two following verbs.

(*b*) *tondoa*, "pick up" (Kr.). *B yatunde*, *uyarejeze*.

(*c*) *chamba* = *kwamba* (as in *B*); (*a*)*-wa-seze*, old perf. of *saza*, causative of *sa(l)a*, now chiefly used in the applied form *salia*. If we take *seze* as perf. of *sa(l)a* (as *meze* of *mala*; but T., p. 166, gives *sua*, *see*), the pronoun supplied should be *i-*, agreeing with *riziki*, and it is this reading which has been followed in the translation. The other would be "If you have caused to remain on for them", but I doubt whether this could stand, as it would require the applied perf. *sezee*.

(*d*) *kuondolea* should be *ku-wa-ondolea* " take (it) away from them ", but the scansion does not admit of the extra syllable.

137. (*a*) The word *Mngwana* has a curious history. In the form *mulungwana* it seems to have been originally applied by the tribes of the interior to the coast-men when they first came in contact with them. *Mulungu* is known to most of these tribes with the meaning either of " sky " or " God " (it is difficult to separate the two notions), and the termination *-ana* seems to be the diminutive suffix of Zulu and other South African languages (possibly = the root found in *ki-jana* ' *Kitwana* looks like an isolated case of this diminutive in Swahili). The more civilized people appeared to the simple *washenzi* as " little gods " (cf. the Zulu *um-lungu* = white man). Hence it is easy to deduce the various meanings to be found in the dictionaries. *Mngwana* is perhaps oftenest contrasted with *mtumwa*.

(*b*) " (At) her being told " = *kuambiwa kwake*.

138. (*a*) *kiwaweka* is the reading of *B*. *A* has *liwaweka* - probably only a slip of the pen. The pronoun agreeing with *mabombwe* varies between *ya* and *wa*. The poet seems to have amplified the details given by the commentators on the Koran, see Sale, note on Sura xxi.

139. *Wayoli* = *wajoli* " fellow-servants " (Kr.), but Ahmad said it meant Rehema's sisters, who, however, are not otherwise mentioned.

Ya ku-m-tunda : *ya* cannot be referred to anything in this or the previous stanza. *Wa kumtunda* (= *tunza*, a different verb from *tunda* " pick up ") would be the right concord, but would require a finite verb after it, which does not appear. I cannot help thinking the whole stanza is more or less corrupt.

140. (*b*) *B twalopowa*.

(*c*) *B si-u-tie* : *-u-* agreeing with *moyo*, instead of *-i-* reflexive.

(*d*) *hafua* = *hu afua* ; *afua*, v. " deliver " (Kr.). *B* reads *'afua*, as though a verb had to be supplied before it.

141. (*a*) *Pete* = *nimepata* ; *katiti* (see on 58 (*c*)).

(*b*) *miza*, Mb. = Z. *meza* (see M.) ; cf. *mio* " throat ", really plural of *umio* (see Kr.). *Kuti* (see on 65 (*c*) and cf. 131 (*a*)).

(*c*) A relative seems to be implied with *huwa*. *Thabiti* = ثبت " be firm ", adjective ; the verb is generally heard as *thubutu*—very common in sense of " dare ".

(*d*) *hawaiwai* (*hawayiwayi*), cf. 34 (*d*). For (*a*)-*ki-waa*, see on 122 (*d*).

142. (*c*) *B* has *huwa na* (though Ahmad read the line as given in

the text). The sense, in any case, is much the same. *Ha-* is, I think, not common with the 1st person, in Mb. or Z., but there seems to be greater latitude in this respect at Lamu. *Tharubu* stands, not (as erroneously assumed in the translation, p. 110), for ضرب "strike", but for ظرب "cling to"; and the meaning seems to be "I feel a clinging to my throat", i.e. his food, as he expresses it in the next stanza, "will not go down," lit. "is not swallowable".

143. (*b*) (*Ni*)-*ki-u-miza*: *u* referring to *mkate*. *Hdaki* seems to be lit. "a scraping", from حلق "shave"; the bread scrapes and hurts the throat as it is swallowed.

(*c*) *Uwa*, L. = *uwe* of other dialects. *B* and *C* have *iwa rathi*, probably in agreement with *rathi* (better transliterated *radhi*, from رضى). "Be thou satisfied," or "Let there be satisfaction" (I have never come across the latter expression). *Uwe radhi* is the common form of excuse or apology.

(*d*) *U-si-ambe* "do not say"; *amba* almost disused in this sense, though the applied form *ambia* is so common. *C* has *sithani*, which might be either 1st person, "I think," or stand for *u-si-thani* "do not think". It seems most reasonable to take *kuchukiwa* as infinitive passive (see M., s.v. *chukia*) "that it is being hated", i.e. that (it is because) I hate you. *Ni-ku-takiwa* "I am hated by you" is not a possible construction, and does not fit the general sense; *nikutukia* "I hate you" might be an instance of the now disused indefinite present (see on 120 (*d*)). But the *-wa* of the passive is distinctly written both by *A* and *B* (the latter, however, for no discoverable reason, adds a *hamza*, writing نِكْتُكْوَءَ, which, if meant to be read *nikutukiwaa*, would spoil both rhyme and scansion. But Ahmad took no notice of this orthography).

144. (*b*) *tuza* = Z. *chuza*, M. "trickle, glide, run down." Possibly connected with *ma-tozi* (*machozi*), despite the difference of vowel.

(*c*) *huya*, L. = *huja*; *iza* L. "refuse," instead of *kataa*. The meaning of this and the next line is, perhaps, "The unpleasantness you complain of really arises from your refusing food, but now I am going to give you something you will like."

145. (*a*) *pete* = *nimepata*. *Wa mawele mkate*, inversion for the sake of the rhyme. *Mawele* = a small kind of millet, *Penicillaria spicata*, according to Sacleux. It does not seem to be identical with *wimbi*, *Eleusine coracana*.

(*b*) *katala*, original form of *kataa*.

(*c*) *nla*, L. imperative of *kula* (Sacleux, p. 208). *B* seems to read (but the MS. is by no means clear) *ila*, *bwana*, *ni imani*.

(*d*) *umia* "feel pain", *umiza* "cause to feel pain" (*-i-* reflexive pronoun); the former does not seem quite logical as the applied form of *uma* "hurt" (lit. "bite"), but is used in this sense (see Madan, s.v. *uma*). *Ndaa* = Z. *njaa*. Ahmad substituted for the last line *Tumhimidi Jalia*, which is also in *C*.

146. (*c*) *hububu*: I have not come across this word elsewhere, but it is probably from هَبَّ "cut (in pieces)" and may be connected with *haba* "a little", "a small piece" (cf. *Haba na haba hujaza kibaba*).

147. (*a*) *B* and *C sapo*. *Ete*, L. = *lete*.

(*b*) *maliza* "finish", still sometimes heard, especially in the more northern dialects; Nyanja *mariza*.

(*c*) *sonda*, not in M., but see *fyonza*, which is really the same word. Kr. *sonda*, v.a. to suck out, e.g. *sonda mifupa* "to draw the marrow out of bones by sucking".

(*d*) Ahmad explained *mashapu* (cf. M. *mashapo*) as the refuse of sugar-cane, which natives are much in the habit of chewing. The fibrous mass, which is quite uneatable, is thrown away after all the juice has been extracted. Perhaps we are to understand that the bread contained bran or chaff.

148. (*a*) *B* reads *Hatta kikisayamuka* (? the middle part of the word is very indistinct). Ahmad, *kukisa amka*.

149. (*a*) *a-ngia-o* "which she entered"; *o* = *-yo*.

(*c*) *amba* = *kwamba*, here a conjunction, "that" (with something like "know" understood before it); or it may connect with the preceding line, giving the reason for the women's driving Rehema away; "that is to say" = "for".

150. (*a*) Kr. gives *kanama* on the authority of Rebmann, but does not attempt any explanation beyond suggesting that it may be equivalent to *kumbe* "an expression of surprise".

(*b*) *umtwaziye*, either subjunctive of *twazia* (or *twaza* ?) or relative "you who have taken him". *Twaza* seems to be a causative (though

here seemingly without causative force) of *twaa*. M. says the causative of *twaa* is not in use, but Kr. gives *twazana*. *Ghulamu*, cf. 116 (*a*).

(*d*) *muketizie*: probably only poetical for *mketie* (which is, in fact, the reading of *B*). Kr. does not give a form *ketiza*. Translate "do you two live together".

151. (*a*) *situngilie* = *u-si-tu-ngilie*.

(*d*) *marufuku* "prohibited"; but it is difficult to see how this can be got out of any sense of رفق given in the dictionaries.

152. (*a*) *simazi* = *simanzi* "grief".

(*b*) *kiizi*, not in Kr. or M. *B* reads غيز, *ghayizi*, which I cannot identify.

(*d*) *pato*: for this form of verbal noun see Steere, p. 231, l. 15 (though it is not, as there stated, limited to nouns of place); Kr., p. xxii.

153. (*d*) A hybrid form. *B* has the genuine old perfect *uwene*. (Sacleux calls this tense an aorist, and its use, in many cases—as here—would justify the term.)

154. (*a*) *B kwa thihiri*, taking ظهر as a noun, whereas *A* retains it as a verb.

(*b*) *kiyemba*, L. = *kilemba*; see Stigand, p. 36. *mshajari* = مشجر "figured work", e.g. silk brocade.

(*d*) *huramu* = حرمة, used in poetry (but not otherwise) for *mwanamke*; sometimes *hurama*, as in 156; cf. 163, 166, 167, 177, etc. *rathia*, applied form of *rathi*.

156. (*b*) *hitwa* might stand either for *huitwa* or *ni-ki-itwa*; the latter seems inapplicable here. *C* has *nitwa* = *ni-itwa*—obsolete "indefinite" tense—see on 120 (*d*).

157. (*b*) *B*'s version of this line, *Umeiyalika*, is evidently corrupt. Ahmad, *Mumeo amealika* (possibly *alikwa*, Steere, p. 248, "go through a certain course of medicine"), "Has your husband been treated for illness?" i.e. "is he ill?" But this does not seem to fit the context as well as *A*'s reading.

(*c*) *kipambo* "adornment", from *pamba*, but evidently meaning "beauty". *Aliyokupa* should be *alichokupa*. *C* has *alitokupa*: ت = ch.

158. (*c*) *-tughayari*, from غار 5, "be changed, be emaciated."

(*d*) *kamwe*, see on 28 (*b*), and cf. Sacleux, pp. 68, 94, and M. s.v. "I entirely failed to recognize you".

159. (*a*) *labuda* seems curious here: one would expect *lakini*. *Upete* = *umepata*. For *nnini* (= *ni nini*) *B* has *neno gani*. Ahmad read *upetwe*, which is more likely to be correct = "what has happened to you?"

(*b*) *khini* (M. *hini*) from خان "be treacherous to", "betray".

(*c*) *yalio*, of course, depends on *maneno*, or *mambo*, understood.

(*d*) *sita*, L. = Mb. *fita*, Z. *ficha*.

160. (*a*) *mvazi*, explained by Ahmad as *mtu mzuri*: seemingly from *vaa* "put on (clothes or ornaments)".

(*b*) *sumazi*, see above, 152.

(*d*) *nyaka*, L. plural of *muaka* 3. *B* reads *zimempitia* "have passed over him".

161. (*a*) *mbwa* = *ni wa*: Sacleux, pp. 78, 120, Stigand, p. 51, and Burt. p. 65. The note in T. (p. 20) referred to by the last-named, does not mention the case of *ni* + *wa*, but see p. 24, note 4.

(*b*) *ndwee* = *ndwele*, plural of *uwele*; see on 122 (*d*) and cf. T., pp. 14, note 1, and 62, note, though the suggestion as to etymology can scarcely be adopted.

(*c*) *Rabbuka*, the significance of the possessive termination is quite neglected, this form being chosen merely as a more convenient rhyme.

(*d*) *hayamjazi* L. = *hajamjazi*. The "not yet" tense does not change terminal *a* to *i*, but this may be a causative from *jali* "grant", not *jaza* "fill", causative of *jaa*.

162. (*a*) *habisi* = حَبَسَ "detain".

(*c*) *sione* might be either for (*u*)*sione*, agreeing with *moyo*, "let my heart not find leisure"; or (*ni*)*sione*, taking *moyo* as an accusative or respect, "As to my heart, I may not . . ." Or we might read, as Ahmad did, *sioni* "I do not find . . ."

(*d*) *Kutoka kulimatia* seems to be an inversion, *metri gratia*.

163. (*a*) *Shiti*, see on 51 (*b*).

(*c*) *kiumbe* "creature", from *umba* "form", generally used as a synonym for *mwana Adamu*; cf. the example in M.: *Mti umeumbwa kuwa kiumbe, lakini si kiumbe, na nyama si kiumbe, mtu ni kiumbe.*

(*d*) Better "It is true, is not perfect" (H.).

164. Mr. Howe's rendering is to be preferred :—

"The child of Adam, it is true,
Though he be praised for wisdom
Is far from being perfect,
That every matter should be clear to him."

(*c*) Read *hakutakamali* from كمل 5 "be perfect, complete". I am inclined to think that I was wrong in reading *mbali*; and that the word is *bali* بَلْ, a strongly adversative particle, not very often used in Swahili. Ahmad read instead of it *kamwe*.

165. (*a*) The literal translation "you are the limit" seems, strange to say, to convey the most probable sense of this line.

(*b*) M. gives *wekevu* (for *welekevu*). *Kamawe* = *kama wewe*.

(*c*) C has the contraction *kukuowe*; *ou* is Zulu *lobola* and Nyanja *loola* (*lowola*). Giryama *lola* "marry", with broad (open) *o* (evidently due to contraction), must be distinguished from *lola* "look" (whence *kilolo*, Swahili *kioo* "mirror") with narrow *o*. Cf. T., p. 44, note.

166. The whole of this stanza should be taken as complement to *ni aibu*, with construction analogous to accusative infinitive.

(*b*) *tabassamu* from بسم 5 "smile".

(*d*) *B* omits *ni*. If we retain it we must take it as starting a fresh sentence, which continues with *akakuwe*.

167. (*a*) *taibu* طيّب "good"; seldom used, even in poetry.

(*b*) (*u*)*si-mu-hudumie*: خدم "serve".

(*c*) *B* reads *sione* = *usione*, a consecutive subjunctive, or rather the negative equivalent to the "narrative" *-ka-* tense.

168. (*c*) *kepuka* may stand either for *a-ki-epuka*, in which case the subject is Iblis, in apposition with *-m-*, "she did not wait for him to depart (but) . . ."; or *a-ka-epuka*, co-ordinate with (*a*)*ka-ondoka*, etc., "she did not wait for him (but) departed, went away, and pursued her way."

(*d*) *C kondoka kaipitia*.

169. (*a*) *nisimeme*, old perf. of *simama*, "since I have been standing here."

(*b*) *C* has *kukungojeza* "making you wait", which scarcely seems

right. *Hukungojawe* "I have been waiting for you": *hu-* tense, implying an indefinite time: *-we*, redundant objective pronoun, as in *u-ni-hafithi-mi* (Steere, p. 108). *Uswe* "while you were speaking", not "till you should speak".

170. (*a*) *nasabu*, probably from نَسَبٌ "lineage", and so written, both in *A* and *B*. H. suggests "Rehema being angered", referring to Kr. *nasaba*, "pride, annoyance", but this is from نَصَبَ.

(*b*) *ghadhabu* (*ghathabu*), from غَضِبَ "be angry".

171. (*a*) *kambie* (*kwambie*) does not make sense. H. suggests the right reading, *kwa mbee* "by the front (door)".

(*b*) *uso* is probably to be taken as object to *ubadilishiye*, the *u-* in the latter being either the archaic first-class pronoun, or the object agreeing with *uso*, *a-* being understood before it. If *uso* is the subject, *badilishiye* seems to be the perfect, not of *badilisha*, but of *badilika* or of *badili* used intransitively.

(*c*) *uza* for *uliza*; now mostly restricted to the sense of "sell". *-ye* seems to be redundant object, like *-we* in *hukungojawe* (169, (*b*)).

172. (*b*) *pulikiza*, probably intensitive from *pulika*, as there seems no reason for a causative (Kr. gives *pulika* as *Kigunya* for *sikia*).

(*c*) *afikana*, reciprocal from Arabic وَفِقَ, which in some of its forms means "agree together", "arrange", etc.

173. (*a*) *Nyumba nendazo abadi* = "the houses to which I am accustomed to go" (H.). أَبَدٌ "always", "constantly". I took it as a proper name—apparently on the authority of Ahmad, as it is written with a capital in the copy taken from his dictation; but I have now no doubt that this was a mistake.

(*b*) It is better to follow H. in taking *kuwasaidi* as one word, "to help them by (doing) the work of a servant." But if I was right in taking down *kiwa saidi* from Ahmad's dictation (*B* has *kuwa* and leaves no space between the words), the meaning must be as given in the text (p. 112), or, more literally, "when I was a servant خَادِمٌ (to) the master," but I doubt whether the construction admits of this rendering.

(*c*) *B yeo wamezenirudi*: a clear case of the "poetic perfect", T., p. 165.

(*d*) *matango* (dist. *matanga* "mourning"). M. "idle talk, gossip", but apparently equivalent to *matukano*, and Kr. has, on the authority of Rebmann, *ku-m-fikiliza matango* (= *maoru*).

174. (*c*) *tuyapokukuona*: the second *ku* probably a clerical error in *A*: *B* has *tuyapokuona* = "even if we see you."

175. (*a*) *C* has (*ni*)*kiya* for *kaya*.

(*b*) *matungu*, L and Mb. = *machungu*. Nouns in *u-* which originally had the prefix *bu-* (e.g. abstracts, such as *u-ntu*, *u-baya*; nouns of material, like *unga*, *udongo*, and a few others, such as *uta*), if susceptible of a plural at all, take that in *ma-*.

(*c*) *niwene*, see on 153 (*a*). *Asi*, from عَصَى "rebel".

(*d*) *A* distinctly has دَيْنِ, but دِيْنِ (*ndiani*) of *B* is the more probable reading, and is supported by Ahmad.

176. (*b*) I cannot find the idiom *yasiyo kazi* noticed anywhere, but it seems to mean "which have no object", "which can serve no good purpose". Cf. *sijui kazi yakwe* (heard at Jomvu) "I do not know what is the use of it", and a somewhat similar use of *ndia* (*njia*) in *maneno yenye njia* (M.).

(*d*) *B sende*. There seems to be a slight difference of meaning between *enda* and *enenda*, though it cannot always be pressed, the latter having the sense of "going on", "going repeatedly", etc.; cf. *huenenda kuzuru* (in *Kuzikwa Kwa Fisi*, where it is implied that he went every day); and *enenda marra ya pili . . . enenda tena* (*Zamani za Nabii Daud*).

178. (*c*) *B* has *uyapokegema*. *K*(*w*)*egema* = *ku-egema*, "approach you." *M.* seems to disregard the distinction between *egema* "approach" and *egama* "be in a reclining position", and gives *egemea* as the applied form of the latter, which, according to rule, should be *egamia*.

179. (*a*) *mui* (*mu-wi*), the old word for "bad", modern *m-baya*. The root *-bi* is found in Zulu, Sutu, Giryama, and many other languages. See T., p. 29, note 1, and cf. the proverbs No. 368, *Mwana muwi ni dawa ya mlango*, and No. 413, *Ndugu mu*(*w*)*i afadhali kuwa nae*.

(*d*) This might be either (*a*) *kwambiayo nisikia* (or *nasikia*, according to Ahmad) = "I hear what he says (said) to you," or (*ni*)*kwambiayo*

nisikia = " (as to) what I say to you, do you hear me "; *-yo* referring to *maneno* understood.

180. (*c*) *ni amri* must surely be a mistake. Ahmad read *Akampa tena amri*. *B* has *Akamba* " *nipa amri . . .* "; the next verse seems to follow more naturally on this last.

181. (*c*) (*a*)*ki-to-ni-tunda* (cf. on *tunda*, 129 (*c*)), negative *-ki-* tense (Stigand, p. 43). *B*'s version of this line and the next can scarcely be right: *basi akatomatunda* بَسِ probably written for بِسِ = *pisi*. Ahmad: *fisi akatomatunda*. *Pisi* is elsewhere found for *fisi* in poetry (cf. next stanza), and is given by Stigand (p. 40) as the Lamu dialect word. (But at Lamu I was told that *shumra* was used.) This is curious, as the normal sound-shifting would make it *sisi*. *Im-pisi*, *empsi* are found in Zulu, Ganda, and elsewhere; in Kikuyu *hiti*: *h* is the phonetic equivalent of *p*.

(*d*) *B watama* (*ni ?*)*yuma wakuya*. Ahmad *utaniona ukiya*, as in the text.

182. (*a*) Cf. on 67 (*c*).

(*b*) *kasi*. This is written كَسِ, but I do not know what to make of it, unless it is derived from قَصَّ "recount", etc. (whence قِصَّة, common in Swahili as *kisa* "story"). It cannot well be connected with *kussi*, adverb of intensity, for which see M. For *isa*, see on 144 (*c*).

(*c*) If this reading is right *atomitukua* must be referred to *simba*. But *B* has بِسِ = *pisi*, and it was so read by Ahmad. In this case *shumra* must be a different animal from *pisi*, a point I have never been able to settle. Kr. gives " *shumdoa* [*shumdwa*], the large striped hyena ", and " *kingubua*, the spotted hyena " (for which he refers to Steere), while *fisi* is defined as hyena merely. T., p. 43, has " *kingugwa* [*sic*], probably same as *simba-marara*, *shundwa*, the large striped hyena, a man-eater ". (*Shumra* distinctly heard at Lamu, but Ahmad seems to have said *mashundwa*, or *mashumdwa*; my notes have *mashundwa*, either a mishearing or a slip of the pen.)

(*d*) بُوَء read *mbwawa* by Ahmad, and explained as = *mbwa wa mwituni*.

183. (*b*) *dirika* = دَرَكَ "reach", "come up with". Used in sense of "meet" in MS. *History of Lamu*: "*Siku higo, mnonga alotukua waraka wa Wiyani na huyo alotukua waraka wa Hidabu, wakadirikana nduani. . . .*"

(*c*) *B afua*; but it is hardly worth while to notice these variations; the poets (or their copyists) seem to treat the two words as interchangeable.

184. (*a*) *Nyee* L., written يِيْ *B* has يِلِ, according to the Mb. form of the word.

(*b*) (*a*)-*ka-suka*: *suka* used for plaiting either hair or the strips of (*ukili*) palm-fibre used for making mats. *Mikili* (plural of *mkili*, not in Kr., M., or Steere) are plaits of hair, to be distinguished from *ukili*. Rehema's hair was not only *nyele za sunga* (straight, as of Arabs or Europeans: see 192 (*a*)), but, as we see later on, of great length (*mikili . . . ikikoma nyayo*, 185) and golden (*nura ikiwazagaa*, 192).

184. (*d*) *Hedaya*, defined by M. as "gift, present, usually something rare, costly, or wonderful"; but sometimes it seems to be merely "a rarity", not necessarily a present. The sense of "present" appears to arise from هدى 2 "offer a present".

185. (*a*) *Nyele* and *nyee* appear to be used indifferently. *B* has *ikeo* for *zikeo*; it was explained by Ahmad as = *imezokaa*, *i-* referring to *sura* and *zo* (= *yo*) being adverbial "the appearance, the way it was" (lit. "remained"), i.e. "the appearance which it (the hair) had". *Zikeo* can be explained in the same way, but agrees with *nyele* or possibly with *sura* taken as plural.

(*b*) *ilingene(y)o* (the *y* would be disregarded in L.) might mean "were equal in length (to each other)" or "were of such a length that . . .", reading يِلِ (*B*) as *ili* "so that", "in order that". (Neither *ile* nor *nyele* can be admitted here.) Or we might read *ili(kuwa) ikikoma* "they (the plaits) used to stop at her feet", i.e. reached to her feet *Yali ikikoma* is an alternative form of the same compound tense; cf. Steere, p. 157. *C zili zikikoma* (sc. *nyele*).

(*d*) The combination of *-po-* with the *-ki-* tense clearly indicates the participial function, in this case, of the latter.

186. (*a*) *wawenepo*; cf. on 41 (*a*), 153 (*d*), etc. *Nisiwani* = نِسْوَان never used except in poetry.

(*b*) *B* has *wali wakitamani* (cf. *ili ikikoma*) in last stanza. *A* has وَلِ لِ إِتَمَانِ, which should be read *walikitamani*, rather than as in the text. This last is L. "Distant Past" (Stigand, p. 41).

187. (*a*) *uza*, here also = *uliza*.

(*c*) *B* omits *kwamba*, but this must be mere carelessness, as Ahmad inserted it. The text should have had a comma after *hatuna*. "Since we have not (hair like that), ask of us [for *taka* in this sense, see M., s.v., (2)] the thing with which to buy it (= anything that will buy it)." (H.)

188. (*c*) *jawabu* usually "answer", جَوَابٌ, but sometimes = *jambo*; the next line shows that it is used as a synonym for this.

189. (*b*) *shidda*, like *shauri*, may be either 5 or 9. *C* has *ya*. For senses of *dunia-nga*, see M., s.v. We might also render "the troubles of this world", "the vicissitudes of life", etc. *Shidda* governs the verb in the last line.

(*d*) For *sikiha*, see on 162 (*a*): for tense, cf. 21 (*d*), 50 (*d*), 94 (*c*), etc.

189. (*a*) Only found in *C*.

190. (*c*) *-tuzie*, applied causative, but apparently used *metri gratia* for the ground-form, and, indeed, Ahmad explained it by *tuwa*. It seems to make no difference whether we take this as 1st person plural subjective, or imperative with *tu-* as object; perhaps the latter is more likely as carrying out the parallelism with *takatie*. It does not seem to be a case of the *-zii* tense. (Stigand, p. 44: *tutwezii*.)

(*d*) *mmoya*: *B mumoya*, *C umoya*; the last is the older and really more correct form to agree with *unyele* 11.

191. (*a*) *Mwanamke*, not often used for *mke*; here *metri gratia*.

(*c*) *B* and Ahmad: "*Ilu* (*illa*) *taka*," i.e. "Ask (each one of you) separately". If *na-i-taka* is right, it must refer to *mikate*, but I prefer the other reading, which, however, compels us to supply *mikate* (or *mkate*) with the next line.

192. (*a*) See on 184.

(*b*) *wanga* "count" (M. and Kr.); now usually replaced by

hesabu (حَسَبَ). Cf. our own substitution of "count" (computare) for "tell".

(*d*) *C* has instead of this line: *nkate akapokea*.

193. H.: "And the women said, 'What! shall we buy all the hairs of her head? Is it a (great) matter to take them from her?'" We might also render. "If we buy . . . is it . . . ?"

194. (*a*) *tuzikateni*, like *tuendeni*. *Zisie, sia*, applied form of *sa* = *isa* = *isha*; cf. on 19 (*d*).

(*b*) *B zisimsalie*, which must be right; *-si-* no doubt accidentally omitted by *A*.

(*c*) *kamai* = *kama yeye*.

(*d*) *sote*, L. for *sote* "all of us". سُتْ of course, could be read either way, but Ahmad said *sote*. *Nisaa* = نِسَاء.

195. (*c*) It is difficult to understand the force of *kwa* if we read *kwaa* as in the text. But هَفَا (حَفَا) of *B* might equally well be read *hufua* or *kuoʻfua* (it is not always easy to distinguish medial ف from غ); preferably the latter. In this case, the meaning would be "In the eyes of every woman who was there her tresses gleamed". Ahmad seemed somewhat uncertain about the reading of this line in *B*. but said the word meant *mʻara*. I do not know if *shungi* can ever mean "veil", though Velten renders it "Kopftuch der Frauen" (*Prosa u. Poesie der Suaheli*. p. 340; in the riddle *Shungi la mwana lʻpepea*, where Büttner has "Locke"). and Kr. gives "(1) a crest. long hair; (2) the piece of cloth with which the Muhammadans cover a dead person".

196. (*b*) *juhudi* from جَهَدَ (not to be confused with جَحَدَ "deny"), the same verb from which we get *ijtihadi, jitihadi*, etc.

(*d*) *umbua* "allege a defect, depreciate" (Steere).

197. (*a*) *Wa-kutene-o* "they who were assembled", *kutene* perf. of *kutana*.

(*d*) *paza*, causative of *paa*, "ascend," but when used of the sun apparently having the same meaning as the ground-form, unless, indeed, it refers to the spectator and means "(make =) watch the sun ascend". Cf. Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 34.

198. (*b*) *Kwaheri* is sometimes, like *twende zetu*, treated as a verb and given the termination of the imperative plural. See Steere, p. 360, last paragraph.

199. (*c*) *umowene*, see on 153 (*d*).

(*d*) *ujao*, L. = Mb. *ajue* = Z. *ajaje* or *anajekuja*, *wendeme* = *u-endeme*, perf. of *andama*.

200. (*a*) This stanza presents a good deal of difficulty, and *B*, coming to an end with 198, is no longer available for comparison. Neither does *C* give any help. If we could read *kombo* "curved", "crooked", *upanga wa kombo* might mean a scimitar, usually *kitara*, the dictionaries do not give *kombo* in any sense approaching the requirements of the passage. *Kombo* "a shoot, sprout" (Kr.) throws no light on the passage. The rhyme suggests *kabu* as a more satisfactory reading, and this might come from قَبَّ "cut" (hence the translation adopted in the text: but the word is written كَبْ in the MS.), or from كَبَّ, in which case it would mean "his deadly sword".

(*b*) *fedha-ti* may be a compound, like *ntende-ti* in 353 (*b*) of which I have been able to find no satisfactory explanation. The same form occurs in a verse quoted by T. (p. 116, note 2): —

Kituati! kituati! Kijuni kikorofati!

where *kikorofa-ti* is rendered "little rogue of the world" (cf. M. *korofi* "evil-minded", etc.). *Ti*, then = *nti*, and the suffix would imply (as in the well-known Irish idiom) that the thing spoken of is supreme, unequalled in its own kind. (*Kituati* does not come under the same rule; it appears to be the name of a bird, perhaps the little wagtail elsewhere called *kitwitwi*). In *fedhati*, however, the *-ti* may, as Dr. Velten suggests, represent the *ta marbuta* in فضيلة, and the suffix probably has no distinctive meaning, but is, as in the case of *ntendeti*, only inserted for the sake of the scansion. H.: "*ti* used in this way is very common indeed in familiar speech. I have used it continually myself, yet without being quite sure of its meaning. I have always, however, thought that it might be an enclitic form of *ati*", the isolated remnant in Swahili of the verb *ti* "say". Cf. Kr. and M. on *ati*; H. does not wholly accept the former's view.

(*c*) *msinafu*, from صنف 2 "compose" (a book, etc.), seems to mean "artistically wrought". *Mkasabu*, from مُقَصَّبٌ "brocaded work", "embroidery"; no doubt it applies to the scabbard.

(*d*) *-andishiye* seems to be the perfect of *andika*; *u-* the archaic pronoun 3rd person singular (as in 25 (*a*), 121 (*b*), etc.); *-y-* not object-pronoun, but merely euphonic, or perhaps orthographic. (*ku*)*mu-angia*, applied form of *anga* "bewitch" (cf. example in M.: *Watu wa Donge humwangia uchawi wao wakamuua*).

201. (*a*) *lema*, old concord of Class 5, now *jema*. ("Vowel"-roots are erroneously supposed to take a prefix *j-*; the *j-* is the initial consonant, represented in some languages by *g* or *γ*: cf. *jembe* = Zigula *gembe* = Shambala *γembe*, and sometimes dropped: *enda* = *genda* = *γenda*, etc. So with the nouns *jino*, *jina*, etc. Some confusion has been caused in this respect by the fact that in augmentatives like *ji-tu*, *ji-bua*, etc., *ji* is a real prefix belonging to a lost class.)

(*b*) *mzuri* agreeing with *rijali* = *mwanamume*; *aso* = *asiye*(*na*).

(*c*) *libasi*, not uncommon, for *nguo*, plural, or *mavazi* = لِبْسٌ plur. لِبَاسٌ from لَبِسَ "put on". *Alivali*, not met with elsewhere, from علا "be high, exalted", etc.

(*d*) Probably *mngoja* = *mngoja* "he was prepared to wait for her". But according to the next verse he was not waiting, but advancing towards her. *C* has *achenda akiyongoa* "walking and going straight forward". But *ongoa* usually has an active sense. Perhaps the writer meant *yongea* = *jongea* "approach".

202. (*d*) *nni* = *n'nini* "what (= why) is it?"

203. (*a*) *mtikati* "midday" (H.). Not in Kr., M., or Steere.

(*b*) *C* has *Mwana*, *hutolihumili* (*li* = *yua*).

(*c*) *C* has *Tutakimbia uvuli* "we will run away to the shade".

204. (*b*) *mahusuli* = مَحْصُوْلٌ (from حصل) "the result". Perhaps "it is already accomplished".

(*d*) "I will relieve you of it" (H.) *tulia*, app. of *tua* "lift down" (a load). It is difficult to account for the two *ku's*: the first might be a 15th class pronoun in apposition (rather indefinitely) with *shughuli kwamba unayo*, and the second objective pronoun 2nd person singular.

that is, if it were ever admissible to insert two object-pronouns, which one doubts. Otherwise (1) the verb might be *kutulia*, from *kutua*, for which neither Kr. nor M. gives a sense which will fit the passage; (2) the scribe may (*a*) have inserted a redundant *-ku-* or (*b*) written *kutulia* for *tukulia*, which does not seem likely.

205. (*d*) *ku-i-pitia* = "pass along it" (i.e. *ndia*).

206. (*a*) *C epuka tena ajili*. *Taajili*, from عَجِلَ 5 "hasten".

(*b*) *nende* = *niende*.

(*c*) *C Tumwa ya Mungu rasuli*.

207. (*b*) Supply *mambo ya*, as indicated by the pronoun in the next line.

(*d*) *C Na nipate kumgua*. (*Na* sometimes used before subjunctive or imperative, though not in general before a finite verb.)

208. (*c*) *umu* = أُمّ.

(*d*) *C wote waliyomzaa*, apparently = "all his ancestry," though *wote* may mean "both".

210. (*d*) *Yambo* understood before *la mashaka*; the *-l(i)-* object of *ondoa* seemingly refers to *raha*, though this is more usually 9th class.

211. (*c*) *Utisho* "terror"; here probably meaning unlimited power.

(*d*) *kuniwania*, probably infinitive used as a noun, governed by *mwenye*. Kr. has *wana*, as a Kimrima word meaning "fight", "wage war" (*lwana* in Giryama, etc.); it occurs in this sense in *Hadithi ya Miqdadi*, 53 (*c*): *(ni)tawana mimi nawe tena*; 55: *akanambia, Rijali, tuwane marra ya pili*, etc. Lit. "(I am) a possessor of terror and royalty and wealth and (power) to gain for myself wives by fighting".

212. (*c*) *ule* L. = *yule*.

(*d*) *uwi* (abstract noun from *-wi*); see T., p. 29, note 1. *baa*; see Kr., there it is explained as *kitu kilicho adui* and referred to بَعَا "commit a crime". It seems chiefly to be used in the senses of "nuisance", "disaster", "(person or thing of) ill-omen"; cf. the proverb (T., p. 8) *Baa pia hutokana na vijana na watumwa*, or the well-known *Shairi la mgeni*, stanza 7, *Mgeni siku ya sabaa, si mgeni, ana baa*. There seems no reason to suppose, with Krapf, that there are two different words, *bâa* and *bŏa* (as he writes them; it is not clear what difference of sound is intended); the second, with the plural *mabaa*

(but it is very common for imported words to be of the 9th class singular and the 6th class plural), is defined as "a worthless person, an utter reprobate", from بَيْ (*sic*) "homo vilis et abjectus"; but the two are really the same word.

213. (*d*) *Ezi*, noun from عَزَّ "be powerful"; in Swahili often nasalized into *enzi*.

214. (*a*) *kuntayake = kuntaga kwake = alipomtaya* (*taja*) *Ayubu*.

(*d*) *-i-nyamalia*, really equivalent to *nyamaa*, but a little more forcible.

215. (*c*) *ima*, obsolete (now *simama*), but found in Nyanja, etc.

(*d*) *C mfadhali mursaa*.

216. (*a*) *nuzize = ni-me-uzia*. *Sha'ari =* شَعْرٌ "hair".

(*b*) *sha'iri =* شَعِيرٌ "barley", not to be confused with شِعْرٌ "poem", which is also heard as *sha'iri* in Swahili.

(*d*) *bora*, possibly, as Kr. suggests, from بَرَّ, but also perhaps from Hindustani. As generally used it implies something more than merely "great", e.g. "excellent", "superlative", "supremely important".

217. (*b*) *insani =* إِنْسَانٌ "man"; only poetical.

(*c*) *naye umo sakarani* would mean "he was in (a state of) drunkenness"; but it seems more likely that سَكْرَانِ was intended for سَقْرَانِ "blasphemy". It seems more satisfactory to read *u musakarani* "he is a blasphemer", the noun being somehow formed from سَقَّارٌ, but the way in which it is written أُمُ سَكْرَانِ seems against this.

218. (*c*) *upeo* seems to be used quasi-adverbially: "you have erred beyond the limit." The reflexive *-i-kosa* seems unusual.

219. (*b*) *amba* seems here to be used for "though". The three lines form the protasis to the sentence in the next stanza.

(*d*) Possibly written for *mtongozi* "tempter", "seducer". Or it may be the word given by Kr. as "*mtokosi*, wicked (*mshari*)".

220. (*a*) (*Maneno*) *yangu*.

(*b*) *u-* is here the pronoun of the 3rd person singular; *-elee*, perf. of *elea*.

221. (*a*) نِپُوَ اپُ might be read either *ni-pwa-po* "if I recover" or *ni-powa-po* "if it is given to me". For *mja*, see T., p. 60, *Mja akiteswa hafanyi matungu* . . . and the two following proverbs.

(*b*) *weka huja* seems to mean "concern oneself"; see Kr., s.v. *huja* "sake, concern, account; *Kwa huja yangu*, on my account", etc. It is from حوج "need", and is used in Swahili in a variety of senses, e.g. *nina huja kwako* "I have a request to make to you", etc. Here the sense seems to be "do not concern yourself about the future"; i.e. "you need have no sort of doubt as to what will happen".

222. (*a*) For *taradadi*, see on 28 (*b*).

(*c*) *hadi* "thoroughly" (H.), from حدّ "extremity".

(*d*) "This form of warning is very common: possibly for 'Perhaps you will remember that I have warned you.'" (H.)

223. (*d*) *bate* (*bati* ?). I have not succeeded in identifying this word.

224. (*a*) *kiizi*, evidently "refusal", from *iza*.

225. (*d*) *tua*, properly "put down a load": the ground-form does not seem to be used in the figurative sense, as *tulia* is, though we find in M. *Maneno yale yalimtua asiingie* "those words stopped him, so that he did not go in", which is, at any rate, an approach to it.

226. (*b*) *atukuze*, perf. of *tukua*. The sentence is an example of the primitive construction which has not everywhere in the Bantu languages been superseded by the relative. But one would have expected *a-u-tukuze*.

(*c*) *makao*, more properly "abode", but here used instead of *malalo*.

(*d*) *wa-ka-i-lalia* must be reflexive, like *-i-nyamalia*, 214 (*d*).

228. (*b*) One could take this either as = *yale maneno, yao maagano*, the two nouns in apposition, or understand *ya* before *yao*.

(*c*), (*d*) must be taken as a speech of Rehema's. She wishes to find out whether the women will stand by their agreement. Or is she referring to yesterday's apparition and wondering whether it was entirely imaginary? *Ngano* "tale, fable", etc.; now disused in favour of *hadithi* or *kisa*.

229. (*a*) *kwendake*, see on 211 (*a*). "(As to) her going."

(*b*) *yali* = "thus it was" (H.). *Mambo* understood.

230. *twee*, perhaps imperative in *-e* from *twea* "grind"; if so, the "bread" in the next line is proleptic; they are only giving her the grain of which to make it. Or it may be for (*tu*)-*twee* "we have ground".

231. (*b*) زِتْ could be read either *zito* or *zetu*—the latter is preferable. Or we might read, with H., *nyeze* (= *nyee zake*) *tutukatie*.

231*a*. (*a*) *labibu*, apparently لَبِيبٌ "intelligent", from لَبَّ.

(*c*) *kazitinda*: *-zi-* = *nyele*. *Tinda* = Z. *chinja*, now generally used of slaughtering; *kata* is the more general term.

232. (*a*) *asina* = *asiye na*. *Thiki* (better *dhiki*) from ضاق "be straitened".

(*b*) *utukuzii* "she was in the act of carrying"; *-zii* tense of *tukua* (Stigand, p. 44).

(*c*) *tariki* = طَرِيقٌ "road".

(*d*) *fua*, seemingly used for *funua*, but I can find no other instance of this.

233. (*a*) = *ameona nuru zimeenea*: *nuri*, arbitrarily adopted for the sake of the rhyme, like *-shukuri* in (*c*).

(*b*) *mada' lbasari* = على مَدَى البَصَرِ "as far as the eye can reach", lit. "upon the limit of the eyesight".

234. (*a*) *i-ki-zidi*, probably a mistake for *a-ki-zidi* (which is the reading of *C*), or *ya-ki-zidi*. The former is admissible, as one can say *ni-me-funuka mato* as well as *mato ya-me-ni-funuka*.

(*d*) *fumu*, *fumo* (common in some languages: *mfumu*, *nfumu*); does not seem to be used in Swahili in this sense, except as a title: *Liongo Fumo*, *Ahmad Fumo Luti*, etc. Whether it is the same word as *fumo* 5 "spear" I do not feel certain.

235. (*b*) *nitumiwe*, note form of perf. passive and cf. present-day Zulu.

236. (*c*) *unayo*, *u-* 3rd person (as in *uwene*, 233 (*a*), 234 (*b*), and *utukuzii*, 232 (*b*); *-yo* agreeing with *ghadhabu* 9. *Yako* "against you", more usually *kwako*.

(*d*) Doubly derived form (neut.-pass. + applied) from غَضَبَ.

237. (*a*) *kwakuwe* = *kwako wewe.*

(*b*) *masihara* "jest", according to Krapf, but سَحَرَ means "bewitch", so it would rather be "delusion". According to the orthography of *A* it should come from سَهَرَ "pass the night", but this does not seem to have any meaning which would fit the passage.

238. (*d*) This infinitive would not be admissible in ordinary prose unless preceded by some such word as *illi* or *hatta.*

239. (*b*) *shifaka* (also *shufaka*) = شَفَقٌ "compassion", "solicitude". *Una shifaka*, not "you feel", but "you inspire" compassion.

(*c*) *ndipomi* = *ndipo mimi.* (*ni*)-*ka*-*ku*-*peka* = *peleka.*

(*d*) It is difficult to see how this can mean, as H. suggests, "that you might be led to him." Even if we could take *ongoza* (the و is necessary for writing *ongoa* وُغُوَ) = *ongolewa*, the construction with *-mu-* 3rd person singular as object is impossible. (Nor does it seem as if we could take *kumuongoza* as = *kuongolewa mumo.*)

240. (*c*) *-z(i)-* refers to *nuru* plural.

(*d*) *fuatana*, not quite reciprocal in our sense as it would have been if the words stood: "he said to me and the lights 'Do ye accompany one another'." As it is we must translate, "Do ye accompany him (and go) together." The various idioms of the Bantu reciprocal merit careful attention.

241. (*b*) *sambe* = *u-si-ambe* = *usiseme*: *zizo* "those same", i.e. "for their own sake" (and nothing more).

(*c*) *ziye* = *zimekuja*: *hejabu z(ak)o* = your coverings (= protections), from حَجَبَ "veil".

243. (*a*), (*b*) These two lines seem so weak and unsatisfactory that they are probably corrupt.

(*c*) (*Maneno ni*) *krambiayo.*

244. (*a*) *nijile*: see T., p. 166. v, 1; but one would have expected *niyile.* *Nasihi* = نَصِحَ 3 "counsel".

(*b*) *tanabahi*, from نبه 5 " pay attention ".

(*d*) *muombaye* would seem to be an instance of redundant object (*-ye* after *mu-*) ; cf. on 69 (*a*), 77 (*a*).

245. Perhaps the meaning is " There is no need for me to praise . . . since you know the honour (*jaha* = *jaha*) attained by Joseph ".

246. (*c*) *babiyo* ; see on 121 (*c*).

247. (*a*) *kadiri* = قدر may be either " be too strong for ", or " straiten ", " distress ", (see Lane, s.v., " He made scanty, etc.").

(*b*) (*a*)*mekughuri*, from غار " be jealous of ".

(*c*) *umemkasiri* seems to be 2nd person singular, and the subjunctive in next line implies something like " so much so that . . ."

248. (*c*) *rajima* = الرجيم lit. " the stoned ", alluding to the rite of stoning Satan in the valley of Mina.

249. (*a*) *mwe*, probably miswritten for *nawe*. *Makusudi* = مقصود, properly " purpose " ; but, as here used, meaning " obstinate ".

(*c*) *neno* or *jambo* must be supplied before *la muradi* (مراد from رود 4), though *habari* would be a more likely word. *Hima* : the etymology of this word seems obscure. I do not remember hearing it at Mombasa, Malindi, or Lamu ; usually *upesi*. Kr. gives it as " *Kimrima* " or " *Kiunguja* ".

(*d*) *ku-i-rudia* seems to mean " return with it " (*muradi*) : i.e. " report it ".

250. (*b*) (*ni*)*kae* (*ni*)*abudie*, following on *nende* " let me go ". He represents himself as being unwillingly dragged from his devotions to take the message.

(*c*) *hapo ndimi tangu*, a somewhat unusual inversion for *ndimi tangu hapo* " I am from thence ", i.e. heaven. The punctuation in the text should be corrected to a comma after *tangu*.

(*d*) *uwingu wanisikia* : cf. next line, which is merely a repetition of it.

252. (*b*) *yarabu* ; see on 5 (*a*).

(*d*) (*na*)*taka* (*ku*)*mrudia*.

253. (*a*) *hukwambiawe*; cf. on 150 (*b*), 169 (*b*), etc.

254. (*a*) *kupatake*; cf. 171 (*a*), 214 (*a*), etc. مُبُ must be a slip for مَبُ (*mambo*).

(*c*), (*d*) (*ni-*)*ka-ya-ondoa kwa yaliyo yote* (*ya*)*kaya* (*ku*) *mrukia* "I took them (*mambo*) away by means of whatever (calamities) came leaping upon him". Such *enjambements* as *yaliyo yote* are usually avoided, but sometimes occur. *Mrukia* seems a more satisfactory reading than *mondokea*.

255. (*d*) (*ni*)-*ka-i-ondoa*: *-i- = afia*.

256. (*b*) كَكَ بِبِكَ *kaka bubika = kwa kububika*? has quite defeated me. There are several possible ways of reading the words as they stand, but none that will make sense.

(*c*) *poka*, the ground-form of *pokea* "receive", always seems to mean, in living speech, "snatch by force." Cf. Zulu *poqa* (with "cerebral" click) "attempt vigorously", and more especially "ravish" (a woman), (and perhaps Karanga *pokonyora* "pull away"): Bemba *poka* "rob". Nyanja has *pok-era* "receive", but apparently not the ground form: Yao has *poka* "be proud", "swagger", but the existence of the derived forms *poch-ela* "receive", *pok-asya* "remove anything from the grasp of another", may point to some original connexion now obscured.

(*d*) *si naye* = I am not with him.

257. (*b*) *hakithi*, better *hakidhi*, 3rd person singular negative, from قاض "be broken?"

258. (*c*) On *pisi*, etc., see above, 181, 182. *Wakamkukute* probably "let them consume him"; neither Kr. nor M. has a verb *kukuta* with this sense, but cf. Kr. *kukutu* adjective; *maji ni kukutu* = "the water is quite dried up."

259. (*a*) I cannot take *koma* as anything but an imperative. As a noun it might mean (1) "ghost" (always the ghost of a dead person, see Kr., so it could not be used here for *roho* or *moyo*, though even so the rendering would be strained), or (2) the fruit of the *mkoma* (Hyphæne) palm.

(*d*) This might be the apodosis either to "If you persisted in disregarding my message", or to "If he were a good man". In the second case, of course, we must render "I should not forbid you";

in this case the applied form. *zulia*, is used in the same sense as *zuia*. Otherwise, it may be either "keep off from" and so "protect", or "keep back from" and so "deprive of".

260. (*b*) (*ni*)*ka-ku-ona* "and I see you": rather feebly expressed for "If I see you going to Job again". Or it might be, as H. suggests = *nikakuona kwa Ayubu* "if I see you in Job's house".

(*c*) *Jana* must be meant for جَنَّة "Paradise".

261. (*c*) *tafakari* from فَكَّرَ 5 "reflect", "consider".

(*d*) This line seems to be corrupt. I can make nothing of it but "And she gave (or 'handed over' *pe*(*le*)*ka*) and received ('was given')"; but what this means in the context it is difficult to see. H. suggests *Akapika na kupoa* "she turned hot and cold" (*poa* "become cool"), but rightly doubts whether *pika* can have this sense.

262. (*c*) *kiza* must be taken adverbially, or as equivalent to a locative, the subject to *yakamele-a* being *maneno* understood.

(*d*) *pambaniwa*, passive of *pambania* "out-talk people in judgment", etc. (Kr.).

262*a*. (*a*) *pisa* = *pisha* "cause to pass", i.e. "revolve in one's mind" (*akilini*). *Hilami ni tezeni* (*nitezini ?*) possibly *nitiziyeni*. "What have I to do with a dream (حُلْمَة 'dream') to take it to the angels?" For *nitiziyeni*, see T., p. 166, v (4). This stanza, which is only in C', does not seem to add much to the sense.

263. The meaning seems rather to be "I have never yet heard that an angel ever came down except to go to an Apostle"; therefore it is not likely that one would come to Rehema herself.

265. (*a*) كَقُلِ = (*a*)-*ka-kuli*; vocalization perhaps suggested by the imperfect.

(*c*) Neither Kr. or M. gives a verb *wasi*: it seems as if formed *ad hoc* from the noun *wasiwasi* "doubt", "hesitation", but the original form of this is a transitive verb وَسْوَسَ, which does not seem to be used in Swahili.

266. The implied meaning seems to be "I have heard and understood the message you allege to be from God; whether it be true or

false, you are discharged from all responsibility, and I shall go my way ".

267. (*b*) *kafutafuta* (reduplicated from *futa*, which is sometimes (M.) used for *vuta*) " hastened " : probably the idea is that of repeated and rapid drawing of one foot after the other. Cf. M. *vuta hatua* (= *khatua*) *hapa na hapa* " go a step in either direction ".

(*d*) يَوْنِ to be read *ngayoni*.

269. (*d*) (*a*)-*ni-tumiye*, perfect.

270. (*d*) Meaning " so that I could not bear to listen ".

272. (*d*) (*ni*) *ta ku jalidi*, from جَلَدَ.

273. (*c*) (*ni*)-*ta-ku-jazi*, perhaps from جزى 3 " requite ".

274. (*b*) *siha* = صِحَّة " health ".

(*c*), (*d*) See on 222.

275. (*a*) كَمِدَ evidently meant to be read *kwa mwida* : a less common form than *mudda*.

(*b*) مَيَوْ (*mayao*), to be read *mwa nyayo*.

(*c*) *mjao* = *mja wako*, as in 15 (*c*) (*wajao*).

276. (*a*) *Yarabi*, as in 5 (*a*), 252 (*b*).

(*c*) *majaza*, prob. مُجَازَاة from جزى 3 " requite ".

(*d*) *u-ni-jaze* : this may be from *jaza* " fill " : possibly there is an intentional pun.

277. (*a*) See remarks on *hu-* tense at Lamu under 79 (*d*), 142 (*c*), etc.

278. (*c*) *u-ki-inuka*, not *u-ki-nuka*.

279. (*b*) مْغِنْوِ could be read either *mginewe* or *mgeniwe*. The sense seems to require the former, which, ordinarily, would be a contraction for *mgine* (*mwingine*) *wake* (though I have never met with this form) ; but the *-we* seems to be a modification, for metrical reasons, of the suffixed relative in *-e* ; cf. *mtu mwingineo* " any one else " (M.).

(*c*) *ua nadhiri* (*nathiri*) is not given by either Kr. or M. ; the usual expression is *ondoa*.

280. (*d*) *u-si-i-oze*, an unusual word in the sense of "destroy".

281. (*d*) *dhuriya* "offspring". from ذُرِّيَّة.

282. (*a*) *-i-kusa*, reflexive causative of *kuta* "meet".

(*c*) *u-si-che*, subjunctive negative, as in 214 (*c*), 215 (*b*), etc. *-che* might be a perfect of *cha*, but the infixed negative *-si-* makes this impossible.

(*d*) *wendo* "regular in Kiamu for 'companions' = *wenzio* [= *wenzi wako*] in Kimvita" (H.). *Kukuzomea*, see M. As explained to me at Mombasa the sound is not so much a groan as something between a hum and a hoot. The ground-form *zoma* occurs in *Utendi wa Mi'iraji* (Büttner, *Anthologie*, p. 49), 100 (*d*).

Pakawa kiteko na dhihaka na kumuzoma.

283. (*a*) *tulie* تُالِيي might be read either "let us weep for ourselves", or "let us eat for ourselves" (perhaps, as H. suggests, "together," though I know no other instance of a reflexive so used). The latter seems to be confirmed by the analogy of (*b*) and (*c*). The parallelism indicates that تُالِني in (*b*) is meant for *tu-i-nywie*, though it can scarcely be read so. *Tu-elee* seems an impossible reading.

(*c*) *likitwa*, sc. *jua*.

284. (*c*) *mtuzi*, L. and Mb. = Z. *mchuzi*, sauce of various kinds eaten with rice or porridge. The "bread" is here taken over with the tradition from Arabia, though not unknown to the town Swahili, who occasionally eat small rolls or cakes, made and sold by the Shehri Arabs, or Indians. There is no hint (in spite of (*d*)) as to how Rehema procured this addition to the barley-bread.

285. (*c*) *Lahaula* لَاحَوْلَ. "Saying, 'There is no power (but in God),' and Job uttered (these words)."

286. (*b*) *kafu*, see T., p. 53, note 1.

287. (*a*) *nusura*, نُصْرَة, from نَصَرَ "help".

(*b*) *irada* probably = إِرَادَة "will". *Kudura*, probably قُدْرَة "might".

(*c*) مَظَرَ evidently meaning something like "afflictions"; probably a mistake for مَضَارّ, from ضَرَّ "hurt".

288. (*c*) *imekuwa*, indefinite subject.

(*d*) *shushiza*, double causative from *shuka*.

289. (*c*) *yamekoma* does not seem to meet the requirements of the rhyme, but I cannot suggest any alternative.

290. (*a*) *nikwambiao*: one would have expected- *ambiayo*, as also مَيَوْ for مَيَيْ (*mwa nya(y)o*) in (*b*) to agree with *mai* 6: ((*c*) has the corresponding rhyme in *-yo*).

(*c*) H. reads *kiyo ndiyo inyakayo* "this is that which intervenes" (*nyaka* "catch", "intercept"). But I suspect اِيَكَيْ may be a slip for اِتَكَيْ.

291. (*b*) *rukadhu* = رُكَضْ "stamp" (the foot): evidently taken from the verse quoted after this stanza. "This" is "the fountain which had sprung up" (Rodwell). The passage continues: "And we gave him back his family, and as many more with them in our mercy; and for a monition to men of judgment. And we said 'Take in thine hand a rod and strike with it, nor break thine oath'. Verily we found him patient." This is the only allusion in the Koran to Job's wife, who is not expressly mentioned. See Sale's note on xxi. 83, and Rodwell's on xxxviii. 43. The incidents related in the poem seem to be derived from the commentators.

292. (*b*) *mtungano*, L. and Mb. = *mchangani*. *Li-* is here object to *-sukume*, as in the next line it is subject to *-simame*.

(*c*) *Hasha haba, kinyume*. "No! not a little - on the contrary . . ." (H.). *Hasha*, the most emphatic negative: حَاشَا, as in حَاشَاكَ "be it far from thee". I have not met with this use of *kinyume*, but can suggest no other rendering, unless, perhaps, we might read *kiume*, lit. "male-fashion", i.e. strongly, abundantly.

293. (*c*) *punde* "just a little": "move it (the foot) hither and thither a little."

294. (*c*) *tototo* "mud", not in Kr. or M., but often heard north of Mombasa; cf. *tota* "sink", "get wet".

(*d*) *ladha*, from لَذَّ "be pleasant": يَكْنِوَ must be read *ya kunwiwa*, passive: cf. *kuwa*, Mb. = *kunywa*. كَنَانِ could be read either *kanwani* (Mb.) or (H.), *kangani* (L.).

297. (*a*) = *kuambiwa kwake akapulika*.

(*d*) *wiawia*, reduplication of *wia* "boil" (Kr., but not M.); cf. Nyanja *wira*, Zulu *bila*.

298. (*b*) *mikondo* "irrigation channels"; not given in this sense by either Kr. or M., but certified by Ahmad.

(*c*) *maondo* "knees" (given by Steere as L.): cf. *Hadithi ya Liongo*, 183: *Akapija ondo lake*, i.e. "he bent his knee". *Yamekoma* agreeing with *mai*. كَيْ غَلِيَا would naturally read *kaingalia*, but must be meant for *ka-ya-angalia*; it can scarcely mean "he entered into it", (*ka-ya-ingilia*), as he was already in the water: though perhaps it might be taken in conjunction with *maondo yakamkoma* as meaning "he sank into the water up to his knees".

299. (*a*) اَ كِيفِكَ should seemingly be read (with H.) as *a-ka-i-vika* "he clothed (i.e. 'covered') himself (with the water)".

300. (*a*) *halwaa*; see on 29 (*d*).

301. (*d*) *ale* evidently refers to *libasi*, which, however, in the preceding lines has been treated as a plural (*za*, *ziso*); it may be merely a slip.

302. (*b*) *thiabu* = ثِيَابٌ, broken plural of ثَوْبٌ; seldom used.

(*d*) *mavao yakatolea*. I do not know what to make of this, unless we should read *-tolewa* (which, however, is impossible according to the MS.), meaning "the clothes (he had previously worn) were taken away". H. suggests *yakatulia* "and the garments set smoothly on him", but this seems too forced a use of *-tulia*.

303. (*b*) *taiwada* = وَضُوءٌ 5 "perform ritual ablutions".

(*d*) *sijidani* locative of the noun corresponding to سَجَدَ "worship", usually found in Swahili as *sujudu*.

305. (*a*) بِنِ must be read (*m*)*birene* = *niwene* = *nimeona*.

Kitabu cannot here mean the Koran (as it usually does at Mombasa, where ordinary books are called *chuo*), since this does not mention the duration of Job's sufferings.

(*d*) *adadiye* = *adadi yake*: عَدَدْ "number".

306. (*b*) أَشْهُرِ (*ashuhuri*), plural of شَهْرٌ "month". This does not agree with 161 (*a*), where seven years are mentioned.

(*c*) *madhukuri*, see on 50 (*a*).

307. (*a*) *ayamu*, plural of يَوْمٌ: never. I think, used, except occasionally in poetry.

310. (*b*) *ku-tunda* might mean "catching her breath"; but I am not sure if this can be maintained: and, though we might read *kutinda*, I fail to get any satisfactory sense out of this. The next word might read either *ku-m-oneka* "becoming visible to him", though I have no example precisely of this construction, or *ku-munika*. A verb *munika* certainly occurs in *Hadithi ya Mikedadi* (129), where it seems to mean "see":—

Mikedadi akatoka
Sana akawamunika,
Wamekuja kwa haraka
Watu watatu pamoya.

I can find no evidence for such a verb in Swahili, but we have in Herero *muna* "see", *munika* "appear".

312. (*c*) *yake* is probably a mistake for *yako*.

313. (*a*) *li-ku-liza-lo* "that which makes you to weep"; *liza* causative of *lia*.

(*b*) *kwalo* "by means of it" (*jumbo*, see next line, also understood with *likulizalo*).

314. (*b*) كَكُلِزَوِ = *kwa kuelezawe* (*-we* = *wako*).

317. (*a*) *Ali akee* (H.) pluperfect of *kaa* (= *alikuwa amekaa*).

(*b*) *kipapa*, see on 29 (*c*), or possibly (*ni*)-*ki*-*papa* "trembling"; see Kr.

(*c*). (*d*) The meaning seems to be (H.) "Even if I had got (only) a bone, I came with it to put it down", i.e. she never failed to return to him, however little she could bring.

318. (*d*) *nisikutukiwa*. I do not see any need to suppose this an unrecorded tense; the *ni-* seems to be arbitrarily inserted to fill

out the line, perhaps by a scribe who found it defective through errors of previous copyists.

319. (*b*) *siha* (from صَحَّ), alternative form of *sihi* (Kr.) "strength".

(*d*) *umpe*, *u-* 3rd person singular.

320. (*b*) *zaifani*; from زَيْفٌ? This appears to mean "false money", but may, through a misunderstanding, have been used for "coin" in general.

322. (*b*) *papatiko*, noun from *papatika* "flutter", as a frightened bird.

(*c*) Should read *Na likome sikitiko* "let grief come to an end" (H.).

(*d*) *jitimai* "sorrow" (M.); from جَمِيءٌ 8 "be annoyed".

(*d*) *mawi* "evil"; see on 179 (*a*).

326. (*a*) *khalili* "friend" خَلِيْلٌ; seldom used, whereas *rafiki* (رَفِيْقٌ) is common.

327. (*a*) *kurihamu* رَحِمَ. I do not remember any other instance of this verb being used in Swahili.

(*b*) Cf. on 6 (*d*), (*e*): one would have expected *ahadiye* (= *yake*), but perhaps *ahadi yako* = "the promise made to thee."

(*d*) "(For) afflictions to depart from thee", the whole phrase defining *ahadi*.

328. (*a*) *hiyao* L. = *kama hivyo*. Not noticed in Stigand.

329. (*b*) I can make no sense of this line if we are to read *uwa kisa* or *uwakisa*. But وُوَ may be *oa* "look"; see T., p. 36, n. 4, p. 44, n. "Look and then drink" شَرِبَ only used in poetry.

330. (*c*) It seems difficult to make sense of *kitwa mato*. We might read *ki-ita mato*, or *ki-eta mato*, "when I called," or "when I brought my eyes" (to bear); but both seem extremely forced, and *eta*, at any rate, is not usually written with ط.

331. (*a*) *tibuka*, neut. pass. of *tibua* "stir up and knock about".

(*b*) *omoka* "become soft" and then fall down (Kr.), as earth

softened by rain; but it might also be used, as here, of water overflowing.

332. (*a*) *mjuli*, a rare word, perhaps coined for the occasion: the noun-agent from *jua* is *mjuzi*. (Some derivatives of *jua*, as *julikana*, are mistakenly formed on the analogy of words like *fungua*, where the dropped consonant is *l*, whereas, in the case of *jua*, it is *z*.)

333. (*a*) *kisake = kwisha kwake = baada ya hayo*. *khalili*, not as in 326 "friend", but "poor": another meaning from the same root: see Lane, s.v. خَلَّ.

(*b*) The subject must be *kuwa khalili*: (*ku*)-*ki-epuka*, (*ku*)-*ki-kaa mbali*.

335. (*b*) *labisi*, the verb, of which *libasi* is the noun: لَبَسَ, whence لِبْسٌ.

336. (*b*) *tushukurie* "let us give thanks for ourselves".

(*c*) *mapisi*, an unusual work for "things which are past". *yapisie* evidently agrees with it: it might be either perfect or subjunctive, but it is difficult to see why the applied causative should be used, except for the sake of the rhyme.

(*d*) *liwaa* (*liwala*) "forget" (Nyanja *iwala*); T., p. 12, n. 2.

337. (*c*) *naliyokitaka*, relative with *-ki-* tense.

338. (*d*) *ha-u-ku-saa*, erroneously written *haukasaa* (هَوُ كَسَا).

339. (*c*) I doubt whether *kuliko* is here used in its commonly accepted sense of "more than". It seems better to take it in its primitive meaning: "(So that) where there are (given) a hundred strokes, I may fulfil my vow." The force of the *-ki-* tense is probably participial = "I fulfilling," something like an ablative absolute.

340. (*b*) *rudi* here used in the sense of "rejecting".

(*d*) *'ajaa* "clamour", from عَجَّ or عَجَا.

341. (*b*) *yastahili*, impersonal, like *yakupasa*, *imekupasa*, etc.; *stah'li* from هَلَّ 10 to "declare lawful".

(*c*) *shughuli* here used in the sense of "scruple".

(*d*) *lilipate* agreeing with *shughuli* 5 (though, like *shauri*, it may also be 9): "let it not get to be (even) one."

342. (*a*) *fili*, contracted from *filihali* (فِي الحَال); a contraction

which quite ignores the meaning of the Arabic. *Jana*, for "Paradise", as in 260 (*c*); more usually *peponi* (e.g. 300 (*c*)).

(*b*) *ni-ishi*, from *ishi* (عَاشَ) "live".

344. (*a*) وَتَسِمَزِ may be meant for *ata simazi*, or, quite possibly, a slip for وَلَسِمَزِ = *wala simazi*.

(*d*). (*a*) *mezokowa* "as he has written" (= ordained); see on 5 (*d*).

346. (*b*) *asiyatamka*, more usually *asiye-* (*asije-*).

348. (*c*) I do not know what to make of *ya*, unless there is an inversion = *nadhiri ya mke wako*. *ondokea* is rather a curious expression for the fulfilment of a vow: "that it may get to go away from her."

349. (*b*) *funda* = *funza* "teach"; more usually *fundisha*.

(*c*) *kaa* in this sense is not in Kr. or M., but Stigand (p. 10) renders it "stalk of the coconut".

350. (*a*) (*u-*)*li-kate*: *li*, agreeing with *kaa*.

(*b*) *zihasibu*, imperative, *-zi-* being the object in apposition with *nta* (*ncha*) "points" or "tips", i.e. single leaflets.

(*d*) In MS. *mmoya*, which must be a mistake. *Kutopungua* might be attached, loosely, either to the person addressed, "you must not diminish (even) one," or to *nta*, "they must not fall short (even by) one." In the latter case one would expect *punguka*, but *pungua* seems to be used intransitively; see Kr. s.v. From this point onwards the text of *C* differs completely.

351. (*a*) *Wakuamru*, apparently a mistake for *a-*(or *u-*)*ku-amru*.

352. (*c*) *tasihili*; from سَهُلَ 5 "be easy".

(*d*) *ku-li-zengea*, viz. the *kaa*.

353. (*b*) *mtende-ti*, another instance of suffixed *-ti*. (See 200 (*b*).) Here it might possibly stand for *mti*, but this explanation will not hold for *fedhati*.

(*c*) *-li-* and *lenye*, of course, refer to *kaa*. *bate* thus appears to mean something like *nta*.

355. (*a*) *u-ni-abirie*, from عَبَّرَ, which in its second form has, among other meanings, that of "interpret", "explain".

(*b*) *dharubu*, written in MS. with ظ for ض. Cf. also ترظيا (for ترضيا) in 356 (*d*).

(*c*) *a-tiabu*, from طَيَّبَ 2 "comfort", "soothe".

357. (*d*) *yake* should have come after *nadhiri*, but has been displaced to fit the verse.

359. (*a*) *asiliya* = *asili*, only changed for the sake of the rhyme. For various uses of *asili* in Swahili, see M.

360. (*b*) *manana*, plural of *nana*, always used in L. where Mb. and Z. have *bibi*. Its original meaning seems to be "grandmother": cf. *nyanya* in some "Nyika" dialects.

(*c*) *ku-* impersonal subject of *sitawi*, from سَوِيَ 8 "be straightened", and so "prosper", "flourish", etc.

361. (*b*) *wakashitadi*, from شَدَّ 8 "be strong".

(*c*) *asadi* (أَسَدٌ), used poetically for *simba*; see st. 23, and 362 (*b*).

(*d*) *haiba* "beauty" (M.). from هَابَ "fear", "regard with reverence", whence the noun هَيْبَة, which may mean either "reverence", "modesty", or the quality inspiring reverence "dignity", etc. *zihi* from زَهَا "blossom" (as a plant), "shine" (as a lamp), etc.

362. (*c*) *nyaka* = *miaka*, object of *wa-ka-takamali* (كمل 5) "be complete". This form is properly intransitive in Arabic, while the second would give the meaning required; but, as already remarked, these distinctions are disregarded in Swahili.

363. (*a*) *sitarehe* (usually *starehe*), from رَوَحَ 10. *Kuti*, see on 131 (*a*).

(*c*) *Jabaruti* (properly جَبَرُوت "absolute power" as an attribute of God, here used for الجَبَّارُ), meaning "the Compeller of

His creatures to do whatsoever He willeth". The suffix *-ti* may be the same as in *fedha-ti* (200) and *mtende-ti* (353).

364. (*a*) *muawana* مُعَاوَنَ is "a helper", and, were it not for the *na* in the next line, it might be taken as in apposition to *Ilahi Subhana*, "they were given (the things already enumerated) by . . ."; but the word meant must be مُعَانَة "help", from عون.

365. (*c*) We might read either *kutea* or *kutia*; the former seems to want the object-pronoun *-mw-*; the latter (which rather means "put into himself" than "put himself into") is somewhat forced.

366. اَمِنسَهَلِيَا from سَهُلَ "be smooth (surface)", "easy", etc. (cf. the adjective *sahili* in next line).

367. (*d*) *Kisawahiliya* = *Kiswahili*, accommodated to the verse. Note that this is written with ح and the rhyming word in (*c*) with ه.

368. (*b*) Only a very small part of the poet's material (as pointed out in the Introduction) is actually to be found in the Koran. The notes to Sale's translation give the references to the commentators whence the rest appears to be derived.

369. Some of these stanzas are mere repetitions, perhaps due to the preservation, side by side, of different readings.

370. (*a*) *hathi*, from حَظَّ "be fortunate"; not a common word, usually *kheri* (*heri*).

371. (*a*) *dayanu*, دَيَّان, "the (Divine) Judge," from دَانَ, primarily "incur a debt".

(*b*) This is an evident misunderstanding of كُنْ فَيَكُوْنُ (Koran, ii, 117; iii, 46, 58; vi, 73; xvi, 40, etc.): "(He said to it:) Be, and it is." The writer seems to have taken it for "He was and will be", mistaking كُنْ for كَانَ.

(*c*) *makununu* = مُكُوْنُ from كَانَ 2 (كَوَّنَ) "cause to be".

374. (*b*) This looks as though the poet had forgotten whom he was addressing.

(*d*) *chalomuwelea*: the *mu* is difficult to account for.

376. (*b*) *mupumbae* : " . . . and be at rest ", i.e. " read it at your leisure, comfortably " ; perhaps a hint of the idea expressed in *suave mari magno.*

377. (*a*) *Ya Rabi* looks like the right use of the Arabic vocative, but the *ngwa-* tense in the next line (see Taylor, p. 165) indicates that we must read *Yarabi (a)tupe* ; cf. on 5 (*a*).

(*c*) The MS. has ذَغتَرُلِيَا, where it is clear that ب has been accidentally omitted and that we should read *dhambi ngwat(u)ondolea.* Mr. Beech, in his *Aids to the Study of Kiswahili*, does not notice the very frequent use of رّ in Swahili MSS. for *nd.*

(*d*) *ghufiria*, for غَفَرَ " pardon ", looks as if it were taken from the passive.

378. (*b*) *ya* is Arabic vocative, not Swahili " of ".

380. (*b*) It seems as though we ought to understand *wa* before *kusubiri.*

(*c*) *Saburi yavuta heri, huleta kilicho mbali*, is a proverb given by Taylor (p. 110). In the text it is wrongly vocalized as *subira.*

381. (*a*) *hu-nali*, from نَالَ " obtain ".

382. (*b*) *ma'a* = Ar. مَعَ " with " ; *sabirina*, a form merely adopted to fit the verse. It is not likely that the writer meant صَبْرُنَا " our patience."

383. (*d*) It ought to be *baada ya* ; the omission is a poetical license.

384. (*a*) *usubiri* is subjunctive.

(*c*) " What is the good of being impatient ? " (H.). See *taataa* in M. and Kr. But one might possibly read *twaatwa* " of grasping (at what you desire) ".

(*d*) " You will obtain only guilt " (H.) خَطِيَّةٌ (*khatiya, hatiya*) is, perhaps, more properly " transgression ". If we read *twaatwaa*, this line should be rendered " you cannot obtain it except (by) a crime ".

385. (*a*) *ziwilia* = *zuilia* ; there is little difference in the pronunciation.

(*d*) *mwisowe* = *mwisho wake* " at the end of it ". *hukutendea* (it does not seem possible to get any satisfactory meaning out of *hukutindia*) can only be understood if we suppose a rather abrupt change of person: " He is wont to do *thee* (good) ". The second person is continued in the next line.

386. (*c*) *hayatofaa*, L., neg. future. The reading *hayatufaa* would involve a further needless change of person besides disregarding the change of final *-a* to *-i* for the negative present. *-ya-*, vaguely, " such behaviour " (H.).

(*d*) " It is entering into folly " (H.). But *ujinga* is rather " ignorance ", " stupidity ", and it does not seem in accordance with usage (see above on 365 (*c*), and cf. 32 (*d*), 35 (*d*), 73 (*d*), 115 (*d*), 116 (*d*), and other instances in 322, 323, 324, 335; though 260 (*d*) seems to tell the other way) to take (*j*)*itia* as " put oneself ". The analogy of *jitia uwele* rather suggests the meaning " it is pretending ignorance " = it is wilful blindness (to think otherwise).

387. (*b*) *tamati* " the end ", from تَمَّ; seldom used except in the colophon of a MS. *khitamu*, from خَتَمَ " seal up " and so " finish ".

(*c*) *athimu*, from عَظُمَ " be great ".

(*d*) *Mahuru'l-aini* (Koran, xliv, 54; lii, 20; lvi, 22): حُوْرٌ عِيْنٌ

388. (*a*) *ladhati lisharabi*; a quotation from Koran, xxxvii, 46: لَذَّةٍ لِلشَّارِبِيْنَ.

(*b*) أَتنش could be read either *utunweshe* " cause us to drink ", or *utoneshe* " cause to drip (on us) "; the former seems preferable.

(*c*) *Taha* = طٰهٰ, one of the names of the Prophet: see Koran, xx, 1, and Maulvi Muhammad Ali's note on the passage. (See *The Holy Qurán, containing the Arabic Text, with English Translation and Commentary*, Woking, 1917, p. 625) *Haki* حَقٌّ is commonly used as a noun in Swahili = " justice," " rights " (*haki yangu*), etc., and بِحَقٍّ may be used here for " in truth ", but it is

difficult to resist a suspicion that it may have been taken over as a distinct word—perhaps supposed to be a title, like *Taha*.

390. (*a*) *usomeni*: *u-* is evidently in agreement with *utendi* understood.

(*b*) *utendi* subject to *ukiwa na*: "if it has any erroneous word" (*neno la makosa*).

(*c*), (*d*) *ndiyo sana* = it is truly that which I tell you to do H. "Put it right, earnestly I ask you to do that."

391. (*a*) *nuthuma*, noun; cf. the verb *nuthumu* in 5 (*a*), from نظم "compose". The colophon, of course, is that added by the copyist. Muhammad bin Abubakar, at Lamu, in 1913.

NOTES ON KIMAKONDE

By FREDERICK JOHNSON, Newala, Tanganyika Territory.

THE Makonde language is spoken by a tribe inhabiting the plateau between the Lukuledi and Ruvuma Rivers (in the southern part of Tanganyika territory), conjointly with the Ndonde, Mavia, Maraba, and (near Newala) the Matambwe, Ngoni, and Makua. With the exception of a short grammatical sketch by the late Bishop Steere and a vocabulary included in Sir H. H. Johnston's *Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, little or nothing relating to this language has hitherto been published. (See Cust, *Modern Languages of Africa*, ii, 341, where it is called, mistakenly, "Komde."[1]) A good deal of information as to the above group of tribes is to be found in the works of K. Weule (*Negerleben in Ostafrika*, 1908, and *Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse meiner ethnographischen Forschungsreise*, 1908).

Makonde has decided affinities with Yao on the one hand and Makua on the other, as well as some striking peculiarities of its own. The aspirate, totally absent from Yao and Nyanja, is of frequent occurrence both in Makonde and Makua. In the former it takes the place of *f*, *s*, *tʃ*, *t*, and perhaps *p*: thus mahuta = mafuta, cihima = kisima, uhawi = utʃawi, namahihi = yumatiti (?). There is no *f* or *v* sound in the language: whether *s* is entirely absent, as in Makua, does not seem clear; the vocabularies given below include some words containing it, but they are not very numerous and may, on inquiry, prove to be borrowed, as some of them certainly are. A curious substitution is that of ŋ for *f*, as taŋuna = tafuna. In *hwika* "arrive", *hw* stands for *f*, while in *picha* "hide", *f* is replaced by *p*.

As regards grammatical points, the third class of nouns (Bleek's 9 and 10) is interesting, as preserving the initial *i* in the singular and taking in the plural the prefix *di* (which represents the double prefix **li-ni-* = Zulu *izin-*), thus approaching the Delagoa Bay–Inhambane

[1] It must be distinguished from Konde or Ngonde, spoken at the north end of Lake Nyasa. The natives speak of A-Makonde, Chi-Makonde, and A-Makua, I-Makua, which suggests that the MA is a part of the root, though it may be a case of one prefix superimposed on another. Mr. Johnson follows Swahili usage in calling the language "Kimakonde"; the prefix actually used in this language is *chi-* (*ci-*).

group. Yao has reduced both forms alike to *n-*. The inclusion of animal-names in *u-* is remarkable. This prefix is almost certainly a substitution (personifying the animal) for the original *in-*. But, in other languages, where this happens (cf. the Zulu *u-nogwaja* "hare" etc.), the noun is removed into the first class and takes the (secondary) plural of that class.

Abstract nouns in *u-*, really belonging to Bleek's 14th (BU-) class, are here included in Class II (Bleek's 3rd), for no reason that one can see except the accidental similarity of the pronoun.

This 14th class has, in Swahili, become merged with the 11th (LU-), both prefixes being contracted into U (uzi = luzi 11; untu = buntu 14). In Makonde, however, it has kept its distinctive prefix.

The system of *stress* appears to be the same as in Swahili. Mr. Johnson says nothing, in his introductory paragraphs, about *tone*, but it seems clear from his note on the "Actual Conditional Tense" (*infra*, p. 430), that it is used to distinguish between two otherwise similar verbal forms and between the two senses of *-ohe*. No doubt further inquiry will prove it to exist in other cases, e.g. *ding'opedi* "idiocy" and *ding'opedi*, pl. of *ing'opedi* "sacrifice"—see Vocabulary.

CONTENTS

Subject.	*Page.*
The alphabet	419
Accent	420
Classes of substantives	420
Adjectives and numerals	423
"This" and "that" demonstratives	426
Personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, and interrogatives	427
The verb: conjugation, positive and negative, relatives	428
Adverbs	436
Adverbs of time and conjunctions	437
Prepositions	438
Notes on Kimakonde and English Vocabulary	438
Kimakonde and English Vocabulary	439
Notes on English and Kimakonde Vocabulary	449
English and Kimakonde Vocabulary	450
Notes on various words	461
Method of modifying the stem of verb to make past tense	465
Tales in Kimakonde (*to be published in the next Part*).	

These notes are not intended to be an exhaustive work on Kimakonde. They were gathered simply as a pastime. At the same time, to a person who wishes to learn Kimakonde they would form a basis for the commencement of his studies. A knowledge of Kiswahili or some other Bantu language is presumed in the following pages.

Alphabet

The alphabet may be represented by letters of the Roman alphabet; those in use being the five vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, the fifteen consonants *b*, *d*, *g*, *h*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *w*, *y*, together with three compound consonants, *ch*, *ng'* [ŋ], and *ny* [ɲ]. The combination *hw* represents the English sound of *wh* in "which": *wh* is an aspirated *w*.

Vowels.—The vowels are pronounced as in Italian or Kiswahili.

Consonants.—The consonants are pronounced as in English with the exception of *w*, which has a more open sound and is rather like *v* ["Bilabial v"—in International Phonetic Script ʋ]. *Ng'* is like the *ng* in sing*ing*.

The consonant *n* is the cause of a large number of changes among other consonants. A few of the changes are shown in the following list:—

n before *k* becomes *ng'*; as	*di(n)kunde*	becomes	*ding'unde.*
	di(n)kulungwa	,,	*ding'ulungwa.*
n ,, *l* ,, *n* or *d*;	*anleka*	,,	*aneka.*
	nlembela	,,	*ndembela.*
n ,, *m* ,, *m*;	*kunmila*	,,	*kummila.*
n ,, *t* ,, *nd*;	*kuntenda*	,,	*kundenda.*
w after *n* is often omitted;	*unwing'e*	,,	*un'ing'e.*

M also is the cause of certain changes:—

m or *mw* before *y* becomes *mn*;	*kumyangula*	,,	*kumnyangula.*
m ,, *mw* ,, *h* may become *ng*;	*mholoka*	,,	*nyoloka.*
	amwhaulile	,,	*anyaulile.*

See also *nyongo*, "a snake," the plural of which is *mihongo*: the singular is really *mwhongo*, but the *mw* before *h* has become *ny*, thus making *nyongo*.

m before *l* becomes *nn*;	*kumlangudya*	becomes	*kunnangudya.*
	kumlenga	,,	*kunnenga.*
	kumleka	,,	*kunneka.*
	m'lipondo	,,	*m'nipondo.*

The *m* here is the locative, and therefore does not become *n*.

Ya before *h* may become abbreviated; *yahekelenge* may become *nyekelenge*.

ACCENT

The accent usually falls on the penultimate syllable; the only exception seems to be when an idea of thoroughness is required:—

aningupánya, he beat me; *aningupanyáá*, he beat me thoroughly; here the accent falls on the last syllable, and the more marked the accent the greater idea of thoroughness.

The addition of enclitics does not alter the rule:—

chinu áchi becomes *chinúchi*. *múnu águ* becomes *munúgu*.
watendáchi? what are you doing? *pi'tongwelé'pa*, when he said.

SUBSTANTIVES

Substantives in Kimakonde may be divided into eight classes. These are distinguished by their prefix. The adjectives, pronouns, and verbs are brought into relationship with their substantives by the use of corresponding changes in their prefixes.

Class I [Bleek's I, II]

In this class may be placed the names of living beings; these substantives begin chiefly with *m-*, *mu-*, or *mw-*, and their plurals are formed by changing the *m-*, *mu-*, or *mw-* into *wa-* or *a-*.

Names of persons as a rule prefix *na-*, *a-*, *anga-*, or *manyanga-* in much the same way that the Yao prefixes *che-*, as a sign of respect:—

Narandi, *Anarandi*, *Angarandi*, etc. Mr. Narandi.

Examples of Substantives in Class I

	Singular.	Plural.
Father	*alata*; *wawa*	*watata*; *awawa*
Mother	*amama*; *anyok-*	*amama*; *anyok-*
Sister	*mwumbu*	*alumbu*
Brother	*mnung'u*	*anung'u*
Youth	*mdyoko*	*wadyoko*
Friend	*nyanja*	*wayanja*
Master	*anambuye*	*wanambuye*
Husband	*mtw-*	*mtw-*

Note.—Husband *mtw-* is followed by the possessive: *mtwangu*, my husband; *mtwako*, *mtwake*, *mtwao*, etc., in the same way, most names of relatives are followed by this adjective in the form of an enclitic.

Class II [III. IV]

In this class may be placed substantives beginning with *m-*, *mu-*, or *mw-*, which denote inanimate objects. The plural is formed by changing the *m-*, *mu-*, or *mw-* into *mi-*. In cases where the substantive begins with the two consonants *mn-*, the *n* becomes *l* in the plural.

Examples of Substantives in Class II

	Singular.	Plural.
Moon or month	*mwedi*	*miedi*
Arm	*mkono*	*mikono*
Tree	*mnandi*	*milandi*
Door	*mnango*	*milango*

The names of trees belong to this class. Also in this class may be placed abstract substantives (and others) beginning with *u-*, or *w-* before a vowel, and which have no plural form :—

Beer, *wala*. Cowardice, *uwahi*. Filth, *uhakwa*, etc.

Class III [IX. X]

In this class may be placed substantives beginning in the singular with the following consonants, *i-*, *n-* ; and names of animals beginning with *u-*.

Note.—*n* before *b* becomes *m*. Substantives introduced from other languages may be placed in this class. The plural of this class is formed by prefixing *di-* to the singular.

Examples of Substantives in Class III

	Singular.	Plural.
Axe	*imbedo*	*dimbedo*
Animal	*inyama*	*dinyama*
Banana	*ing'ou*	*ding'ou*
Crocodile	*mbulu*	*dimbulu*
Cat	*umaka*	*dimaka*
Elephant	*unembo*	*dinembo*

Note.—Often the *i* of the singular is either omitted or else hardly heard.

Class IV [VII. VIII]

Substantives in this class begin with *chi-* in the singular and form the plural by changing the *chi-* into *vi-*. When the root of the substantive begins with a vowel the *i* is elided in the singular and the plural becomes *vy-*.

Examples of Substantives in Class IV

	Singular.	Plural.
Cork	*chidiu*	*vidiu*
Fruit	*chokodi*	*vyokodi*
Bedstead	*chinanda*	*vinanda*
Bundle of grass	*chiha*	*viha*

Class V

Substantives in this class begin with *li-* in the singular and change the *li-* into *ma-* to form the plural. Included in this class are also substantives beginning with *ma-* which have no singular form :—

Examples of Substantives in Class V

	Singular.	Plural.
Ear	*likutu*	*makutu*
Shoulder	*livala*	*mavala*
Cloud	*lihunde*	*mahunde*
Water		*medi*
Oil		*mahuta*

Note.—Eye, *liso*, plural *meho* ; tooth. *lino*. plural *meno* ; name, *lina*, plural *mena*.

Class VI [XI]

Substantives in this class begin with *lu-* in the singular, and change the *lu-* into *di-* in the plural.

Examples of Substantives in Class VI

	Singular.	Plural.
Gap, space	*luhengo*	*dihengo*
Valley	*luhunde*	*dihunde*

Note 1.—When the root of the substantive begins with a vowel, certain consonants are introduced between the *di-* and the root in the plural. Before *a* or *u nj* is inserted :—

	Singular.	Plural.
Crack	*luma*	*dinjuma*
Spoon	*luuko*	*dinjuko*
Net	*luau*	*dinjau*

Note 2.—When the root of the substantive begins with *k-*, the *k-* becomes *ng'* in the plural :—

	Singular.	Plural.
Eyelash	*lukope*	*ding'ope*
Firewood	*lukuni*	*ding'uni*
Bean	*lukunde*	*ding'unde*

Note 3.—When the root begins with *l-*, the *l-* becomes *nd-* in the plural :—

	Singular.	Plural.
Beak or lip	*lulomo*	*dindomo*
Tongue	*lulimi*	*dindimi*

Note 4.—When the root begins with *w-*, the *w-* becomes *mb-* in the plural :—

	Singular.	Plural.
Forked stick	*luwani*	*dimbani*

Class VII [XII, XIII]

This class is the diminutive class. The singular is formed by prefixing *ka-* to the singular of the substantive required to be made diminutive, and the plural by prefixing *tu-* to the plural. The subjective prefix of the substantive is usually dropped.

Examples of Substantives in Class VII

Singular.	Plural.
A boy, *mnemba*, a small boy, *kanemba*	*tunemba*
A village, *kaya*, a small village, *kakaya*	*tukaya*

Class VIII [XV]

The substantives in this class are verbal substantives, and are simply the verb infinitive. These substantives express the act of doing, becoming, or the state of being what the verb describes :—

Kupangana, " to fight " or " fighting ".
Kuhweka, " to arrive " or " arriving ".
Kutahukana, " to argue " or " arguing ".

Adjectives

Adjectives are made to agree with the substantive they qualify by taking certain prefixes. Adjectives follow the substantive. There are extremely few genuine adjectives in Kimakonde. Their place is supplied by substantives and infinitives, which are used as adjectives by prefixing the variable particle *-a*. The following are the prefixes which are used with adjectival roots :—

Class.	Singular.	Plural.	Class.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	*m-*	*wa-*	5.	*li-*	*ma-*
2.	*m-*	*mi-*	6.	*lu-*	*di-*
3.	*i-*	*di-*	7.	*ka-*	*tu-*
4.	*chi-*	*vi-*	8.	*ku-*	*ku-*

Examples using adjectival roots :—

Class.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	*Munu m-napi*, a black man.	*Wanu wa-napi*, black persons.
2.	*Mnandi m-kulungwa*, a large tree.	*Milandi mi-kulungwa*, large trees.
3.	*Ing'ou i-wihi*, a fresh banana.	*Ding'ou di-wihi*, fresh bananas.
4.	*Chiha chi-dyoko*, a small bundle of grass.	*Viha vi-dyoko*, small bundles of grass.
5.	*Lipipa li-dyoko*, a small barrel.	*Mapipa ma-dyoko*, small barrels
6.	*Lukopo lu-napi*, a black eyelash.	*Ding'ope ding'api*, black eyelashes
7	*Kamwana ka-nemwa*, an idle child.	*Twana tu-nemwa*, idle children.
8.	*Kapanyana ka-kulungwa*, a large fighting.	

The following are the particles used in making adjectives from substantives and infinitives :—

Class.	Singular.	Plural.	Class.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	*wa*	*wa*	5.	*lya*	*ya*
2.	*wa*	*ya*	6.	*lwa*	*dya*
3.	*ya*	*dya*	7.	*ka*	*twa*
4.	*cha*	*vya*	8.	*kwa*	

The above are also used as possessive particles, with the sense of " of ".

Examples using substantives as adjectives :—

Class.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	*Mnumbu wa liduku*, a greedy sister.	*Alumbu wa liduku*, greedy sisters, i.e. sisters of or having greediness.
2.	*Mtela wa hambi*, new medicine.	*Mitela ya hambi*
3.	*Inyama ya dimong'o*, a strong animal.	*Dinyama dya dimong'o.*
4.	*Chidiu cha tangu*, an old cork.	*Vidiu vya tangu.*
5.	*Lihuniko lya machedu*, an old cover.	*Mahuniko ya machedu.*
6.	*Lulomo lwa dimong'o*, a strong beak.	*Dindomo dya dimong'o.*
7.	*Kamwana ka chihongohongo*, a quarrelsome child.	*Tuwana twa chihongohongo.*
8.	*Kutongola kwa chikotopele*, a true saying.	

Examples using infinitives as adjectives :—

1.	*Mkongwe wa kukatapala*, a beautiful woman.	*Wakongwe wa kukatapala.*
2.	*Mtela wa kunowa*, a nice medicine.	*Mitela ya kunowa.*
3.	*Inyama ya kuyoha*, frightful animal.	*Dinyama dya kuyoha.*
4.	*Chilambo cha kulepa*, a broad land.	*Vilambo vya kulepa.*

Class.	Singular.	Plural.
5.	*Likambatu lya kudimba*, a black foot.	*Makambatu ya kudimba.*
6.	*Luhunde lwa kulepa*, a broad valley.	*Dihunde dya kulepa.*
7.	*Kanemba ka kukalipa*, a brave boy.	*Tunemba twa kukalipa.*
8.	*Kutongala kwa kulilapa*, boastful talking.	

There are no degrees of comparison in Kimakonde. The effect of the superlative in English is generally given to some extent by the simple use of the adjective as if in the absolute sense : *Ayu mkulungwa*, this man is the largest (lit. this man is the large one).

The verb *kupanda* or *kupita*, to surpass, may be used : *Chinu'chi chinanowa kupanda achilo*, this thing is sweeter than that.

The following are a few adjectival roots :—

Black, *-napi.*	Long, *-lehu.*
Female, *-kongwe.*	Little, *-dyoko.*
,, *-kole.*	Male, *-lume.*
Fresh, *-wihi.*	Old, *-chekulu.*
Great, *-kulungwa.*	Red, *-nehuwi.*
Idle, *-nemwa.*	Transparent, *-mbelenga.*
Jealous, *-telehi.*	White, *-naswi* ; *-nwahi.*

A few examples made from substantives :—

Avaricious, *-a liduku.*	New, *-a hambi.*
Bare, *-a dau.*	Old, *-a tangu.*
Beautiful, *-a ukatapala.*	,, *-a machedu.*
Dirty, *-a uhakwa.*	Quarrelsome, *-a chihonga-honga.*
Envious, *-a chitelehi.*	Sick, *-a ulwele.*
Fraudulent, *-a ulamba.*	,, *-a lwelu.*
Good, *-a ukatapala.*	Sound, well, *-a umi.*
Hard, *-a unonopa.*	Strong, *-a dimong'o.*
Hot, *-a moto.*	True, *-a hawisana.*
Idle, *-a ulemwa.*	Wise, *-a ding'ano.*
Idiotic, *-a ding'opedi.*	
Naked, *-a dau.*	

A few examples made from verbs infinitive :—

Beautiful, *-a kukatapala.*	Fat, *-a kututua.*
Bitter, *-a kukalala.*	,, *-a kununa.*
Black, *-a kudimba.*	Light, *-a kulangala.*
Brave, *-a kukalipa.*	Light (not heavy), *-a kupeyapeya.*
Broad, *-a kulepa.*	Old (persons), *-a kukongapala.*

Cunning. *-a kulimuka.*	Perverse. *-a kutahuka*
Difficult, *-a kukomadya.*	Sharp, *-a kukola.*
Dirty. *-a kuhakalanga.*	Sweet (pleasant), *-a kunowa.*
Dry. *-a kuyuma.*	Thick. *-a kutumbula.*
False, *-a kulambila.*	Thin. *-a kupepeka.*

Numbers

The Kimakonde numbers 1 to 3 are treated as adjectives, and are made to agree with their substantives by taking the class prefix in the same way as adjectival roots :—

1. *-mo, munu yumo, chiha chimo,* etc.	8. *nyhano na -tatu.*
2. *-wili, wanu wawili,* etc.	9. *nyhano na mcheche.*
3. *-tatu, wanu watatu,* etc.	10. *likumi.*
4. *mcheche, wanu mcheche,* etc.	11. *likumi na -mo.*
5. *nyhano, wanu nyhano,* etc.	20. *makumi mawili.*
6. *nyhano na -mo.*	25. *makumi mawili na nyhano,* etc.
7. *nyhano na -wili.*	100. *mia* is used to denote 100.

Together : *chalumo* is used to express together, *tuwa chalumo,* we will be together, or we shall go together. *Uchimo* denotes oneness or of one sort.

Ordinal Numbers

The ordinal numbers are formed by prefixing the variable particle *-a* to the stem of the numeral. The " first " is irregular, and is formed by *-ntandi* with the class prefix : *munu mtandi,* the first person : *chinu chitandi,* the first thing, etc. The second, *-a wili,* i.e. *munu wa wili,* the second person. The third, *-a tatu.* The fourth, *-a mcheche,* etc. The last is formed from the verb *kumalila,* to finish or to be finished ; *munu wamalidile, chini chamalidile,* etc.

This and That

The two demonstratives in Kimakonde answering to " this " and " that " denote what is near and what is at a distance :—

Class.	Substantive.	This.	That.	Substantive.	These.	Those.
1.	*Munu*	*ayu*	*yula*	*Wanu*	*awa*	*wala*
2.	*Mkono*	*u*	*ula*	*Mikono*	*ii*	*ila*
3.	*Ihuti*	*i*	*ila*	*Dihuti*	*idi*	*dila*
4.	*Chilongo*	*achi*	*chila*	*Vilongo*	*ivi*	*vila*
5.	*Litwene*	*uli*	*lula*	*Matwene*	*aya*	*yala*
6.	*Luwani*	*alu*	*lula*	*Dimbani*	*adi*	*dila*
7.	*Kamwana*	*aka*	*kala*	*Tuwana*	*atu*	*tula*
8.	*Kupanyana*	*aku*	*kula*			

Note.—Very often they are used as enclitics, and the last vowel of the substantive or the first vowel of the demonstrative is elided: *munu'yu, chilongo'chi, dihuti'di*, etc.

Locative Concords [1]

There are three sets of concords which depend on the prepositions of place, *pa*, *mu*, and *ku*. These may be termed locative concords.

1. Adjectives when they qualify a substantive that is preceded by *pa*, *mu*, or *ku* may take either the concord of the locative or that of the substantive. "On my head" may be *pa mutwe pangu* or *pa mutwe wangu*.

2. Such a clause as *pa mutwe pangu* may be regarded as the subject determining the concord of the verb, thus: My head pains me, *pa mutwe pangu papweteka* (lit. in my head there is paining). Similarly such a clause may be the object of a verb and have its proper particle inserted in the verb, thus: I don't like your place, *nikapatamwa pakaya pako*.

3. Demonstratives are made from these concords, thus:—

Apa, aku, amu. Here at or in this place.

Apo, ako, amo. Here in this place, but not so near as (1).

Apala, akula, amala. There in that place.

Many forms are used in addition to the above. The following are a few useful terms:—

Anipawa munu, there was a man; *mmike apo pawele wako*, place it there where you are; *anepo pi'mkono'po*, there, just where your hand is; *apawidya*, he was there; *akapawidya*, he was not there; *akapali*, he was not there; *papawidya mwana*, there was a child; *upopo aheleke sungula*, just there (or then) came a hare; *umula mwelu*, in the garden.

Personal Pronouns

I, *mipa, nangu, nane*.	We, *whetu, whepa*.
Thou, *wako, wepo*.	You, *mwepo*.
He or she, *ayu, ayula, iya, nang'e*.	They, *awala, anano, waya, nawinang'o*.

Note.—The 2nd person plural is used instead of the 2nd person singular when a respectful form of address is required: *Wako* is used for equals or rather inferiors.

[1] These should have been included in the noun-classes. They are Bleek's 16, 17, 18.

Possessive Pronouns

These prefix the class prefix to agree with their substantive :—

My, *-angu.*	Our, *-etu.*
Thy, *-ako.*	Your, *-enu.*
His or hers, its, *-ake.*	Their, *-ao.*

My own, *-angu nangu* ; thy own, *-ako wako* ; his own, *-ake wake*, etc.

Interrogatives

Who ? *nani* ? *wanani* ? *uliani* ?
When ? *chakani* ? *duwani* ?
What ? *chani* ?
What sort of ? *ntani* ? *mtwani* ? *chamani* ?
How ? *dachi* ?
Why ? what for ? *mwadachi* ? *kwa chani* ? *-chi* ?
Where ? *kwachi* ? *mwachi* ?
How many ? *-ingu* ?

All, *-ohe.*[1] Having, *-ene.*
Self, by self, *weka.* I myself, *nimwene*, etc.
Other, *-nji.*
All men, *wanu wohe.* All things, *vinu vyohe.*
I by myself, *nangu weka.*
You by yourself, *mwepo weka.*
Other people, *wanu wanji.*
Another thing, *chinu chinji.*

The Verb

1. The verb is conjugated by the use of tense particles and personal prefixes ; also, in certain tenses, by modifying or adding to the termination.

2. The personal prefixes for the subject are :—

I, *na-, ni-, n-, ngu-.*	We, *tu-.*
Thou, *u-, wa-.*	You, *m-, mw-.*
He or she, *a-.*	They, *a-, wa-.*
Class 1, as above.	Class 1, as above.
2, *u-*	2, *i-*
3, *i-*	3, *di-*
4, *chi-*	4, *vi-*
5, *li-*	5, *ya-*
6, *lu-*	6, *di-*
7, *ka-*	7, *tu-*
8, *ku-*	8, *ku-*

[1] *-ohe* is also used in the sense of "many" when it has a different tone.

3. The *Simple Present* is formed by prefixing the sub-prefix to the stem of the verb. Example, using the verb "to go", *ku-whena*: *na-whena, wa-whena, a-whena*; *twa-whena, mwa-whena, wa-whena*, I go, etc.

4. Another form of this tense is made by inserting *-na-* between the personal prefix and the stem of the verb: *ni-na-whena, u-na-whena, a-na-whena*; *tu-na-whena, m-na-whena, wa-na-whena*, I am going, etc.

5. A *Present Imperfect* tense is formed by inserting *-wen-* between the personal prefix and the infinitive of the verb. *Note.*—*nw* becomes *mb*, *mw* becomes *mm*. This *-wen-* seems to be a shortened form of the verb "to go", *kuwhena*, thus introducing the idea of motion in the tense. *mben-kuwhena, uwen-kuwhena, awen-kuwhena*; *twen-kuwhena, mmen-kuwhena, wawen-kuwhena*, I am in the act of going, etc.

6. The *Perfect* or *Past* tense, answering to the English have or did, is formed in two ways. One way is by prefixing the subjective prefix to the stem and modifying the termination. The method of modifying the termination is dealt with later. The verb *kuwhena* is modified to *whenite*: *na-whenite, mwa-whenite, a-whenite*; *twa-whenite, mwa-whenite, wa-whenite*, I have gone or did go, etc.

7. The second and simpler form is made by inserting *-ni-* between the subjective prefix and the stem of the verb: *na-ni-whena, u-ni-whena, a-ni-whena*, etc., I have gone or did go, etc.

8. The *Past Imperfect* tense is made by using the past tense of the verb "to be", *kuwa*, followed by the simple present: *nawele nguwhena, wawele uwhena, awele awhena*; *tuwele tuwhena, mwele mwhena, wawele wawhena*, I was going, etc.

9. The *Pluperfect* tense is made by using the past tense of the verb "to be", followed by the past tense: *nawele nguwhenite, wawele uwhenite, awele awhenite*; *tuwele tuwhenite, mwele mwhenite, wawele wawhenite*, I had gone, etc. Or *nawele naniwhena*, etc.

10. The *Simple Future* tense is the same as the present (3 and 4), and is used followed by a suitable adverb: *ninawhena lukoto*, I am going or shall go afterwards.

11. The *Future* tense, which also carries a note of command, is formed by the duplication of the subjective prefix, with *-chi-* or *-ch-* inserted between, followed by the stem of the verb with its final *-a* changed into *-e*: *ngu-chi-ngu-whene, u-chi-u-whene, a-ch-a-whene*; *tu-chi-tu-whene, m-chi-m-whene, wa-chi-wa-whene*, I shall go or I must go, etc.

12. The *Infinitive* is made by prefixing *ku-* to the stem. The

infinitive is used as a verbal substantive, i.e. *kupanyana* "to fight" also "fighting", etc. It is also used in a narrative sense: *Atwa ihenje kuhimba lipondo, kutwala mnandi kumidya kuhwihwilila*, he took a pointed stick to dig a hole *and* took a tree *and* stood it up *and* filled in the hole. Where a sense of motion is desired *-na-* is inserted between the *ku-* of the infinitive and the stem or objective prefix. To call, *kuchema*: to call him, *kumchema*: but to *go* and call him *kunamchema*. Example: *Bahi, Unembo aniwhena kunawakumbila angama wohewohe na Usungula aniwhena kunamchema Lingwelo*, then the elephant went, and *went* to gather all the animals, and the hare went, and *went* to call the ape.

13. The *Imperative* is the simplest form of the verb: *whena*, go. The plural is formed by suffixing *-nga*, *-anga* or *-ananga*: *whena* go: *whenananga*, go ye: *ikala*, stay: *ikalanga*, stay ye. It is usual to use the subjunctive for politeness.

14. The *Subjunctive* is made by prefixing the subjective prefix to the stem of the verb and changing the final *-a* into *-e*: *ngu-whene, u-whene, a-whene*; *tu-whene, m-whene, wa-whene*, that I may go, etc. *-ka-* is often inserted (*a-ka-whene*), and has the meaning of "go and": *u-ka-chimule dimule*, "go and raise up the millet." Sometimes the personal prefix is omitted, but it has the same meaning, *ka-chimule*. *Nyakule nambili kampe makwe*, take the partridge *and* give to the father-in-law.

15. The *Conditional* tense. When something would have happened if something else had happened, both branches of the contingency are represented by a tense formed by inserting *-kani-* between the personal prefix and the stem: *ni-kani-whena, u-kani-whena, a-kani-whena*, etc., I should have gone, etc.

16. The *Actual Conditional* tense is formed by inserting *-ka-* between the personal prefix and the stem: *ni-ka-whena, u-ka-whena, a-ka-whena*; *tu-ka-whena, m-ka-whena, wa-ka-whena*, if I go, when I go, since, though I go, etc.

Note.—Care must be taken to raise the voice at the stem of the verb, otherwise this tense is the same as the *Negative Present*.[1]

17. *Participles.* The commonest participle is the simple present: *naniwona wanu walima* (or *wavalima*), I saw people cultivating; *naniwhena ngakuta*, I went crying. Another form is made by inserting *-chi-* between the personal prefix and the stem of the verb: *Pa'chi-uka*, while going out (see relatives). *Pa-ni-chi-uka*, while I am going

[1] In other words these two tenses are distinguished by *tone*.

out, or on my going out. *Pa-ni-chi-ukile*, while I was going out, etc. Kiswahili: *nalipokitoka*). *Aniwhena a-ch-imba*, he went singing. Also without the personal prefix: *Muchi dachi chi-tahukana?* why this arguing? Another form is made by prefixing *m-* to the infinitive: *Mkuholoka*, coming out. *Mchehe aniwhena wa mkukomola na mkumwona*, the hyena went and arriving and seeing him. *Chi-* seems to give a sense of motion, or "while in the act". *A-whenite* "he went": *a-chi-whenite* "while he was in the act of going". (Cf. the use of the *-ki-* tense in Swahili.)

18. The *Able* or *Possible* tense is made by prefixing *pa-* before the personal prefix of the verb. *Pa-ngu-tendele*, I was able to do. *Pa-ni-hidula*, I am able, in the sense of it is possible for me. *Pa-ni-ka-hidula*, I am not able, i.e. it is not possible for me. *Nanga pa-wa-iwene kanila*, they were not able to find him again. *Pa-wa-hilwile*, they were able. *Nanga pa-wa-hilwile*, they were not able. *Nanga pa-dipile, indga*, it was not possible for them to be burned, you have eaten them. *Nanga, nanga pa-ngulile ndula*, it was not possible for me to eat them.

NEGATIVE TENSES

1. The *Negative Present* is made by inserting *-ka-* between the subjective prefix and the stem. Care must be taken to drop the voice at the stem, otherwise this tense is the same as the *Actual Conditional*: *ni-ka-whena, u-ka-whena, a-ka-whena*, etc., I do not or am not going. There is also a Negative Present made by prefixing *ha-* to the affirmative: *ha-ni-tamwa*, etc, "I do not want"

2. The *Negative Past* and *Perfect* is made by inserting *-ka-* between the personal prefix and the stem as modified in the affirmative tense: *ni-ka-whenite, u-ka-whenite, a-ka-whenite*, etc., I did not go, etc.

3. The *Not Yet* tense is formed by the personal prefix followed by *-kana-* and the verb infinitive: *ni-kana-kuwhena, u-kana-kuwhena, a-kana-kuwhena, tu-kana-kuwhena, m-kana-kuwhena, wa-kana-kuwhena*, I had not yet gone, etc.

4. The *Negative Future* tense is formed by inserting *-ka-* between the personal prefix and the *-ch-* in the affirmative tense: *ni-kachi-ngu-whene, u-kachi-u-whene, a-kachi-a-whene, tu-kachi-tu-whene, m-kachi-m-whene, wa-kachi-wa whene*, I shall not go, etc.

5. The *Negative Subjunctive* and *Imperative* tense is made by inserting *-na-* between the personal prefix and the stem of the verb in the affirmative: *ni-na-whene, u-na-whene, a-na-whene*, etc., that I may not go. Also used as the imperative: *mnawhene*, do not go.

6. The *Negative Conditional* tense is the same as the affirmative except that instead of inserting *-kani-*, *-kana-* is inserted : *ni-kana-whena*, etc., I should not have gone, etc.

7. The *Negative Actual Conditional* tense is formed the same as the negative conditional except that the final *-a* is changed into *-e* : *ni-kana-whene*, *u-kana-whene*, *a-kana-whene*, etc., if I do not go, etc.

8. The *Negative Past Imperfect* tense is formed by the use of the past tense of the verb " to be " followed by the personal prefix and *-kana-* and the verb infinitive : *nawele ni-kana-kuwhena*, *nawele u-kana-kuwhena*, *awele a-kana-kuwhena*, etc., I had not gone, etc.

9. The *Negative Imperfect* tense is formed by the use of the past tense of the verb " to be " followed by the negative present : *nawele nikawhena*, etc., I was not going, etc.

10. *The Not Yet Tense.*—Another form of the " not yet " tense may be made by use of the verb *ku namba*, which only appears to be used in the negative, and the infinitive of the verb : *ni-ka-namba kuwhena*, *u-ka-namba kuwhena*, *a-ka-namba kuwhena*, etc., I am not going yet, or I had not yet gone, etc.

Objective Prefixes

When the object of the verb is some definite thing, it is denoted by a prefix inserted after the tense prefix. These objective prefixes are as follows :—

Me, *-ni-*, *-n-*, *-ngu-*.	Us, *-tu-*.
You, *-ku-*.	You, *-m-*, *-mu-*.
He or she, *-a-*, *-m-*.	Them, *-wa-*, *-a-*.
It, *-u-*, *-i-*, *-chi-*, *-li-*, *-lu-*, *-ka-*, *-ku-*.	,, *-i-*, *-di-*, *-vi-*, *-ya-*, *-di-*, *-tu-*, *-ku-*.

Akamtwala mwanawe, and he took *him* his child (and he took his child).

Akamupa usungula, and he gave her to the hare.

Aninguluma, he sent me. *Namkameka*, I know him.

" Self " is denoted by *-li-*, *-chi-*, or *-ni-*. *Wanilipaka mahuta*, they rubbed oil on themselves.

Relatives

There does not appear to be a special form for the relative in Kimakonde. The ordinary tenses appear to be used in a relative sense : It is he who ate the mang'ombe, *uyoyo ni alile mang'ombe* (i.e. past tense). A person who cries or is crying, *munu mkukuta* (see participles). The people who saw you cultivating, *wanu*

achikuona ulima (people seeing you cultivating). He who saw me going, *achingwona nguchena* (he seeing me going).

Present.—I who go, *nguchena*. You who go, *uchena*.

Future.—You who shall go, *ulembela kuchena*.

Negatives also are used with the relative: I who do not go, *nkachena*.

Examples

That tree which fell down, *mnandi ula umotweke* (that tree fell down).

Apakule uchi m'chipeda changu nani ? who is that taking honey from my hive ?

Panipawa mwali achihita walume, there was a girl who refused men.

Alembela kulomba mwanangu, he who wants to marry my child.

For the relative with object, the ordinary class prefix may be used: *Ding'ou di ulya wako, dyake nani* ? the bananas which you are eating, whose are they ? *Ding'uo di uwala*, the clothes which you wear. *Ding'uo di uwele*. the clothes which you wore, etc.

Achi chi-ni-chi-chene, this which I saw.

Achi chi-ngulembela kuchona, this (thing) which I shall see.

Achi chi-ni-chi-ona (or *chi-ni-chi-ona*), this (thing) which I see.

Nangu ndembela mtela aliwalile wako, I want medicine which you treat yourself with.

Wako ukawele anikulembela nangu ? are you not he that I am looking for ?

Nambili iyu amele mkawa'ko kumawelu, this partridge which your son-in-law gave me in the garden.

Wanilolela, they whom they looked for.

Relatives of Time and Place

Pa, mu, ku are treated as relatives of time and place. This particle is simply prefixed to the form of the verb required :—

Pa'wamwene, when or where they saw him.

M'wamwene, wherein they saw him.

Pa'yangwile, when he answered.

The *pa*, etc., is sometimes also suffixed :—

Pa'yangwile'pa, when or where he answered.

Pa'tongwele'pa, when he spoke.

Tu wanu pa'tweheleke twawele achikampena, we men where we came from, we were *achikampena*.

Derivative Verbs

Verbs may be given different meanings by modifying or adding to the stem.

1. The *Applied* form.—This form is used in cases where, in English, a preposition would be employed. This form supplies the lack of prepositions. It is made by changing the final *-a* of the stem to *-ila* or *-ela*; *-ila* is used when the vowel of the preceding syllable is *-a-*, *-i-*, or *-u-*, and *-ela* when it is *-e-* or *-o-*.

Kuyakula, to carry.	*Kuyakulila*, to carry to or for or with.
Kuwhena, to go.	*Kuwhenela*, to go to or for or with, etc.
Kupanya, to beat.	*Kupanyila*, to beat for or with, etc.
Kulinda, to wait.	*Kulindilila*, to wait for, etc.
Kukoma, to beat.	*Kukomela*, to beat with or for, etc.

2. The *Causative* form is made by changing the final *-a* into *-iha* or *-eha* :—

Kukamula, to catch.	*Kukamulilia*, to cause to catch.
Kukoma, to beat.	*Kukomeha*, to cause to beat.

Verbs ending in *-pa* or *-ka* change the ending into *-ha* : —

Kuyopa, to be afraid.	*Kuyoha*, to frighten, cause to be afraid.
Kuyomboka, to cross over.	*Kuyomboha*, to cause to cross over.

Another form is made by changing the final *-a* into *-ya* :—

Kukoma, to beat.	*Kukomya*, to cause to beat.

Another form is made by changing the final *-a* into *-dya*. This is more of an *Intensitive* form, although all of the above forms may be used in an intensitive sense : *Kutenda*, to do ; *kutendeha*, to do well or thoroughly. *Kudima*, to extinguish ; *kudimiha*, to cause to extinguish ; *kudimidya*, to extinguish absolutely. *Himbidya*, dig deeply, etc.

3. The *Reflexive* form is made by inserting *-li-*, *-chi-*, or *-ni-* between the personal prefix or the tense prefix and the stem of the verb :—[1]

Kutapa, to praise.	*Kulitapa*, to praise oneself, to boast.
Kuwauka, to bruise.	*Kuliwauka*, to bruise oneself.

Analitapa, he is praising himself, or he is boasting.

4. The *Reciprocal* form is made by changing the final *-a* into *-ana* :—

[1] This form should not have been included among "derivative verbs". The reflexive pronoun is inserted like any other object-pronoun—see above, "Objective Prefixes."

Kupanya, to beat. *Kupanyana*, to beat one another, i.e. to fight.
Kutahuka, to deny. *Kutahukana*, to argue.

5. The *Reversive* form.—Often the meaning of a verb may be reversed by changing the final *-a* into *-ula* :—

Kuhunika, to cover. *Kuhunikula*, to uncover.
Kuchima, to fasten or shut. *Kuchimula*, to unfasten, or to open.

6. The *Passive* voice.—This is made by changing the final *-a* into *-wa*, *-ewa*, or *-uwa* :—

Kuleka, to leave. *Kulekewa*, to be left.
Kukamula, to catch. *Kukamulwa*, to be caught.
Kuchema, to call. *Kuchemwa*, to be called.

"By" following the passive is expressed by the use of *na* : He was caught by Narandi, *anikamulwa na Narandi*.

The Verb "to be", Kuwa

The verb "to be" must generally be expressed in Kimakonde where it is used in the English. When a personal pronoun is followed by an adjective, *ni* is used (or the verb "to be" may be omitted) :—

I am great, *mipa ni mkulungwa* or *mipa mkulungwa*.

You are great, *wepo ni mkulungwa* or *wepo mkulungwa*.

Present : ni, u, a, or *yu* ; *tu, m, wa*, I am, etc.[1]

Present or Simple Future : nawa, unawa, anawa ; *tunawa, mnawa, wanawa*, I am or shall be.

Future : nichinguwe, uchiuwe, achiawe : *tuchituwe, mchimwe, wachiwawe*, I shall be.

Past : nawele, uwele, awele, or *yuawele* : *tuwele, mwele, wauele*, I was, etc.

Subjunctive : nguwe, uwe, awe : *tuwe, mwe, wawe*, that I may be, etc.

Conditional : nikaniwa, ukaniwa, akaniwa ; *tukaniwa, mkaniwa, wakaniwa*, I should have been, etc.

Actual Conditional : nikawa, ukawa, akawa, etc., if I am, etc.

Negatives

Present : nike, uke, ake ; *tuke, mke, wake*, I am not, etc.

Future : nikachinguwe, ukachiuwe, akachiawe, etc., I shall not be.

Past : nikawele, ukawele, akawele, etc., I was not, etc.

Subjunctive : ninawe, unawe, anawe, etc., that I may not be.

[1] Here the verb is omitted (as in Swahili), being expressed by the pronoun only.

Conditional : nikanawe, ukanawe, akanawe, etc., I should not have been, etc.

Actual Conditional : nikanawa, ukanawa, akanawa, etc., if I am not, etc.

Not Yet Tense : nikanamba kuwa, ukanamba kuwa, akanamba kuwa, I am not yet.

The verb " to have " is made in the same way as the verb " to be " except that it is followed by the conjunction *na*, i.e. *kuwa na*, to be with, to have. *Awele na welu mkulungwa*, he had a large garden, etc.

Adverbs

The adverb follows the word it qualifies :—

Tongola chikotopele, speak truly.

Anilima namene, he cultivated extensively.

Verbs in the infinitive and substantives may be made to serve as adverbs by the use of the preposition *kwa* and *ya* :—

Kwa kupenda, scornfully.

Kwa ulemwa, idly.

Many adverbs may be translated by *namene*, very, or exceedingly, etc., which intensifies the word to which it is joined. Numerous others may be expressed by *chikotopele*, which has the significance of " well ", " nicely ", etc. (This latter is made from the verb *kukatapala*, to be good, beautiful, useful, etc.)

Prepositions

There are very few prepositions in Kimakonde. *Na, ni* mean along, with, and by of the agent following a passive verb. *-a*, with the appropriate prefix, is used as " of ". *Kwa*, to, for, from, at, used only with proper names : *Kwa Himba*, at Himba's. *Pa, ku, mu, (m)* are used of places at, in, to, from, etc. : *Pa* for rest at, *ku* for motion, *mu* for inside. " From " is expressed by *kuuka*, to go or to come out, if it refers to place, and by *kutanda* or *kutandalika* if it refers to time. *Pa* and *mu* are also used with the infinitive to express " during ", " in ", or " while ". Other prepositions are made from adverbs and also by the use of the applied form of the verb.

Adverbs

above, *muha*.
absolutely, *namene*.
afterwards, *lukoto*.
again, *kuwila*.
alone, *weka*.
always, *madu wohe*.
apart, *panyenje*.
aside, *panyenje*.

backwards, *kunyuma.*
below, down, *pahi.*
certainly, *chikotopele.*
,, *hawasana.*
daily, *madu wohe.*
dawn, *kuliamba.*
even, *mpaka.*
every, *bola, konohi.*
everywhere, *pohepohe.*
exactly, *hawasana.*
far, far off, *kulehu.*
fast, *peya.*
finally, *kumalila.*
first, *hoti.*
formerly, *tangu.*
forward, *mujo.*
further, *kulehu.*
gently, *polepole.*
here, *apa.*
hereafter, *kanyuma kwake.*
immediately, *mwanda umo.*
,, *hambi-hambi.*
inside, *ng'andi.*
just here, *opopo apa.*
lengthwise, *chamleu.*
little, *kadiki.*
merely, only, *ndu.*
more, *kupita.*
,, *kupunda.*
much, *kuinjipika.*
near, *kupepekela.*
,, *kuwandikila.*
,, *pepi.*
no, *nanga, ndulu.*
now, *hambi, nano, uwino.*
often, *mianda yohe.*
on the right, *kumkono.*
on the left, *kuinchinda.*
on purpose, *namani.*
perhaps, *padochi, panji.*
presently, *lukoto.*
privately, *kumtemela.*
publicly, *pameho.*
quickly, *peya.*
so (in this manner), *uwila, cha.*
sometimes, *panji.*
soon, *nahoti kadiki.*
thus, *uwila.*
to-day, *nelo.*
together, *pamo.*
to-morrow, *luundu.*
truly, *chikotopele.*
very, *namene.*
well, *chikotopele.*
within, *ng'andi.*
without, *pawelo.*
yes, *elo.*

Adverbs of Time

that day, *lina'ngo iduwa.*
all day long, *iduwa kucha.*
day before yesterday, *madudi.*
yesterday, *lido.*
to-day, *nelo.*
to-morrow, *luundu.*
day after to-morrow, *paliamba.*
2nd day after to-morrow, *paliambapo.*
3rd day after to-morrow, *mtondo.*
some days ago, *madudidudi chihi.*
daybreak, *kuliamba.*
daytime, *muhi.*
this year, *namyaka.*
last year, *machedu.*
year before last, *machedu pala.*
next month, *mwedi wa neka.*
very early, *uliamba namene.*

Conjunctions

also, *na*.
although, *namachi, mayika*.
and, *na*.
and I, etc., *nawinangu, nawinako*, etc.
as, *muchi*.
because, *kwa liyongo, kwa chani*.
both, *-ohe -wili*.
but, *nenga, heka*.
either, or, *ame*.
except, *ikawe*.
for, *kwa*.
if, *kona*.
like, as, *malinga, muchi*.
now, *kambi*.
perhaps, *panji*.
since, *tangu*.
that, *chidoni, mkuchi*.
then, *uwino*.
therefore, *kwa nepo*.
till, *mpaka*.

Prepositions

above, *muka mwa*.
according, *muchi*.
after, *lukota lwa, koka*.
among, *ching'ati cha*.
aside, *panyenje pa*.
because, *pa kuchidachi cha*.
before, *mayo mwa*.
behind, *mnyuma mwa*.
beside, *chiwinandika cha*.
between, *ching'ati cha*.
concerning, *cha*.
except, *ikawe*.
instead of, *pa mbuto pa*.
near *pawinandika pa*.
on, *muka mwa*.
since, *tangu*.
so far as, up to, till, *ku mpika*.
together with, *pamo na, chamo cha*.
within, *mkati mwa*.
without, *pavelo pa*.

Vocabulary

Kimakonde—English

The following vocabulary is not meant to be at all complete. It is merely meant as a beginning, and also as a help in the translation of the tales which are given at the end of these notes.

Adjectival roots and numbers, etc., which require the subjective or class prefix are shown with a hyphen in front, *-angu*, my, which, of course, must have the class prefix agreeing with the subject: *chinu ch-angu*, my thing, etc.

Substantives which require the possessive case are shown with a hyphen following: *ady-*, wife, *ady-angu*, my wife.

The verb is shown with the stem first and the *ku-* of the infinitive following: *chela, ku-*, to cut.

No attempt has been made to give the derivatives of the verb;

a knowledge of Kiswahili or some other Bantu language is presumed, and the principles are the same.

As before stated, the *i*, which is so often in front of the substantives in Class III, is often either omitted or not heard; therefore substantives of this class will be found either under *i* or *n*.

Ample examples of the use of verbs, substantives, adverbs, prepositions, etc., will be found in the tales at the end of these notes.

ady- (with possessive), wife.
-ake, his, hers, its.
-ako, your (thy).
alumbu, sister.
amama, mother.
anambuye, master.
anano, they, these (of persons).
-angu, my.
angokwe, mother.[1]
-ao, their.
apa, here.
atata, father, parents.
awala, they, those (of persons).
aya, he, she.
ayula, he, she.
bana, *ku-*, to afflict, oppress, etc.
baniha, *ku-*, to cause affliction, etc.
banika, *ku-*, to be afflicted, etc.
bola, every, all.
buluka, *ku-*, to come or go out.
cha, thus, so, in this manner, etc
chaka, year.
chakani ? when ?
chakulya, food.
chala, finger, toe.
chamani ? what sort ? what ?
chamlehu, lengthwise.
changa, size, position.
chani ? what ?
cheketa, *ku-*, to cut.
-chekulu, old.
chela, *ku-*, to cut.
chema, *ku-*, to call.
chengula, *ku-*, to cut hair.
chi, *ku-*, to say.
chidiu, cork, plug.
chidole, a girls' dance.
chidonda, a sore, ulcer.
chiha, a bundle of grass.
chihakau, misfortune, ill-luck.
chihako, a hunt with nets.
chihamula, a comb.
chihoko, a ford.
chihima, a well.
chihunino, elbow.
chihoba, smallpox.
chihongahonga, quarrelsome.
chihulu, the bladder.
chihundo, a knot.
chikongo, a club.
chikota, millet stalk.
chikotopele, good, well, truly, nicely, etc.
chikula, *ku-*, to raise up.
chikung'u, sort, kind, species, etc.
chilambo, earth, country, village.
chileu, beard.
chilo, night.
chilongo, a water-vessel.
chima, *ku-*, to close, fasten ; hate.
chimbomba, adults' dance.
chimbwehedi, a shadow.
chimula, *ku-*, to open, unfasten.
chindulu, cassava leaf.

[1] This by analogy with other languages should mean "your mother", as *amama* "my mother". These distinctions, still observed in Zulu, tend to become obsolete in the Eastern Bantu languages.

chinemba, friendship.
ching'udula, *ku-*, to catch in two hands.
chingulimba, calt of leg.
chinu, thing.
chipeda, bee-hive
chipepeta, a fan.
chipeto, a sifting-basket.
chipula, a knife.
chiputu, girls' initiation rites.
chitali, iron.
chitama, cheek.
chitehi, a bird's nest.
chitelehi, envy, jealousy.
chitengu, a chair.
chitika, *ku-*, to jump, leap.
chitipu, beer-drinking dance.
chitongo, the penis.
chitumba, water-gourd.
chituta, a dust-heap.
chiumbi, a screen used in hunting.
chiwalawala, a scorpion.
chiwanga, drought.
chiwolo, the penis.
chokapala, *ku-*, to become small.
chokodi, fruit.
chona, *ku-*, to see.
chonga, *ku-*, to talk, converse.
chuma, a bead.
chuni, a bird.
chuuli, a fireplace.
dachi ? how ?
dau, bare, naked, useless.
denga, *ku-*, to build.
dima, *ku-*, to extinguish.
dimba, *ku-*, to be black.
dimboyi, twisted rope.
dimbwe, sand.
dimene, beans (*mbaaxi*).
dimong'o, strength, courage.
dimu, spirit, imp, jin.
dimwedo, beans (*choroko*).
ding'opedi, idiocy.
ding'udika, *ku-*, to coil.
ding'uka, *ku-*, to go round.
ding'unde, beans (*kunde*).
diuka, *ku-*, to be changed.
diwika, *ku-*, to faint, collapse.
diwila, *ku-*, to prevent, hinder.
doba, *ku-*, to be tired.
dobola, *ku-*, to extract, pull up.
dong'a, *ku-*, to clap hands, catch.
dowola, *ku-*, to bore.
dukuladukula, *ku-*, to tickle.
duma, *ku-*, to prevent, hinder.
duwani ? when ?
-dyoko, little, small.
dyuha, *ku-*, to revive.
elewa, *ku-*, to accept, like, agree.
elo, yes.
enda, *ku-*, to enter, go inside.
-ene, having.
eneledya, *ku-*, to spread, infect.
enelela, *ku-*, to abound, extend.
-enu, yours.
-etu, ours.
gulugusa, *ku-*, to fail after promise.
gumila, *ku-*, to groan.
hahula, *ku-*, to rub.
hakalanga, *ku-*, to be bad, dirty, etc.
hama, *ku-*, to move.
hambi, now, immediately, at once.
hana, *ku-*, to prepare field for crops.
hapukana, *ku-*, separate, divorce.
hauka, *ku-*, to withhold.
haula, *ku-*, to say, speak, praise, warn, etc.
haulila, *ku-*, to advise, tell, etc.
hawasana, truly, certainly, etc.
haya, *ku-*, to grind.
heka, *ku-*, to laugh.
hekelela, *ku-*, to rejoice.
heki, but.
hengelela, *ku-*, to approach, draw near.
hepa, *ku-*, to gather (of fruit)

hikalila, ku-, to guard, defend.
hila, ku-, to finish, cease.
himba, ku-, to dig.
hingilila, ku-, to push, shove, roll.
hita, ku-, to refuse, deny.
hiyala, ku-, to be left, remain.
hoti, first, i.e. *linda hoti*, wait first.
hulula, ku-, to be able, defeat.
huma, ku-, to go or come out.
humana, ku-, to meet.
hunga, ku-, to tie, fasten, fix.
hunika, ku-, to cover.
hunikula, ku-, to uncover.
hwa, ku-, to die, come to an end.
hwihwilila, ku-, to fill in (as of holes).
hwika, ku-, to arrive at, reach.
ida, ku-, to come, arrive.
ida na, ku-, to bring.
iduwa, sun, day.
ihomba, fish.
ihomelo, a rafter.
ihuti, a gun.
ikala, ku-, to stay, live, dwell, etc.
ikuta, ku-, to be full with eating.
ima, ku-, to withhold.
imanda, boiled rice.
imba, ku-, to sing; to cover.
imbedo, an axe.
imbeyu, a seed.
imbowo, a pumpkin.
imembe, a fly.
imete, a ring.
imila, ku-, to stand.
iminda, a bag of salt.
imuka, ku-, to awake.
imula, ku-, to awaken.
imula, nose.
inambo, a trap.
indala, hunger.
indila, a road or path.
indonya, a lip-ring.
induwa, thirst; a flower.
ing'ande, house.
ing'anga, a guinea-fowl.
ing'anya, a debt.
ing'ole, a dance.
ing'ondo, war.
ing'opedi, a sacrifice at grave.
ing'ou, a banana.
ing'uo, cloth.
ing'ung'uni, a bug.
ing'uwa, lightning.
inikila, ku-, to set a trap.
injalahu, brown ant (*siafu*).
injenjema, mosquito.
inondo, star.
inongo, testicle.
inundu, wrist, ankle.
inyama, animal, flesh.
inyati, buffalo.
inyedi, a snail.
inyolo, a sacrifice.
inyuchi, a bee.
inywele, a grain.
isimbo, a stick.
isungulu, beam, ridgepole.
iteso, adze.
iwa, ku-, to steal.
iwhio, kidney.
iyong'o, a maggot.
kadiki, a little.
kadimu, an imp, spirit, jin.
kalala, ku-, to be bitter.
kalamuka, ku-, to be clever, cunning.
kalawa, ku-, to wash hands.
kalewa, ku-, to be drunk.
kalipa, ku-, to scold, rebuke, etc.
kama, ku-, to tighten, squeeze.
kameka, ku-, to know, understand, recognize.
kamula, ku-, to catch, hold.
kandika, ku-, to be rotten, bad.
kangana, ku-, to be astonished, wonder.
kanyuma, afterwards.

katopadya, ku-, to prepare, arrange, put in order, clean, etc.
katopala, ku-, to be good, useful, etc.
kaya, village.
kodya, ku-, to meet: put on fire.
kodyana, ku-, to meet.
kohomola, ku-, to cough.
kola, ku-, to be sharp.
-kole, female.
koloma, ku-, to snore.
koma, ku-, to beat, hit.
komadya, ku-, to be hard, difficult.
komana, ku-, to fight.
kombola, ku-, to redeem.
komola, ku-, to arrive at.
kona, like, as, if, etc.
kona luono ku-, to sleep.
konda, ku-, to flourish.
kongopala, ku-, to be old (of persons).
kongowela, ku-, to crow.
-kongwe, female.
konohi, every, all.
kopa, ku-, to borrow.
kuhwa, death (to die).
kuinchinda, on the left hand.
kula, ku-, to grow (of persons).
kulehu, far, far off.
kuliamba, dawn.
-kulungwa, great, chief.
kumba, ku-, to cheat, deceive, etc.
kumbukila, ku-, to remember, recollect.
kumbula, ku-, to gather (of people).
kumbusa, ku-, to remind.
kumeho, face.
kumkono, on the right hand.
kunambawe, place of departed.
kundanya, ku-, to add, mix.
kunguluka, ku-, to talk, converse.
kungumika, ku-, to respect, obey, etc.
kunyuma, backwards.
kupula, ku-, to singe.
kuta, ku-, to cry.
kuwa, ku-, to pluck (as a fowl).
kuwila, again.
kwachi ? where ?
kwama, ku-, to micturate.
kwela, ku-, to climb.
kwima, ku-, to be erect.
ladya, ku-, to lay down.
laga, ku-, to be afflicted.
lagasa, ku-, to afflict, annoy.
laila, ku-, to take leave of, to order.
lamba, ku-, to lick.
lambila, ku-, to tell lies, deceive, cheat, etc.
langa, ku-, to breed.
langita, ku-, to breed.
langudya, ku-, to show.
langula, ku-, to be light.
lauka, ku-, to turn.
-lehu, long.
leka, ku-, to leave, forsake, pardon, etc.
lekelela, ku-, to balance on head, be beaten, baffled, etc.
lelula, ku-, to break.
lemba, ku-, to write.
lembela, ku-, to want, desire, look for, etc.
lenga, ku-, to slice.
libongo, fœtus.
licheye, bank of river.
lichinga, a hill.
lidembe, a grave.
lidewelano, an agreement.
lidodo, a leg.
liduku, greed, avarice.
liduwa, the sun, day.
lienga, ku-, to congeal.
liha, ku-, to feed.
lihamba, a leaf.
lihaula, ku-, to boast.
lihengo, a gap in hill or forest.
lihinga, ku-, to bathe.

lihiye, a locust.
lihunda, ku-, to learn.
lihunde, a cloud.
lihundu, knee.
lihuniko, a cover.
lihuto, froth.
lii, an egg.
likahi, bark.
likambatu, a foot.
likande, house.
likandi, a sleeping mat.
likolo, root, mother.
likumba, a wall.
likumbi, male initiation rites.
likumi, ten.
likungwa, a dance.
,, a drum used at girls' initiation rites.
likutu, ear; drum used at the boys' initiation rites.
likuwa, a crowd, company.
likwanda, a scar.
likwipi, eyebrow.
lilambila, ku-, to pretend.
lilangudya, ku-, to learn.
lilanda, ku-, to cure.
lilawa, ku-, to rise early.
lilenga, a descent.
lilongo, an arrow.
lilowe, voice, sound, a word.
lima, ku-, to cultivate.
limbende, skin.
limbidya, ku-, to forbid, hinder, etc.
lina, name.
linda, ku-, to wait, guard, etc.
lindimuka, ku-, to begin, commence.
linga, ku-, to try, attempt, measure, etc.
lingoma, a drum.
linq'ombe, a fruit.
lingwele, an ape.
linjembe, a hoe.
lino, a tooth.
linoha, the liver.
linowela, ku-, to be pleased.
linyewe, the jaw.
liohi, smoke.
lipa, ku-, to pay.
lipapa, a potsherd.
lipenjele, a fruit.
lipesa, space, opportunity.
lipianda, the afterbirth.
lipinda, ku-, to crouch.
lipiri, an adder.
lipitihu, the stomach.
lipondo, a hole in ground, trench.
lipote, an abscess.
lisinga, ku-, to thank.
lisinga, the heart.
liso, eye.
lisuwele, measles.
litanda, a lake, pool.
litapa, ku-, to boast.
litimbe, a plot, garden.
litutinga, dust.
litwene, a drop.
liu, ashes.
liulo, evening.
linto, a place.
liwala, the shoulder.
liwalila, ku-, to forget.
liwambula, the spleen.
luwangahindi, a pumpkin.
liwangwa, a bone.
liwata, ku-, to tread.
liwele, the breast.
luwelu, a garden; sickness
luwio, a fence.
liyanga, a stone.
liyongo, reason, cause.
lokota, ku-, to pick up.
lola, ku-, to behold, look at, take care, etc.
lolela, ku-, to examine, expect.
lomba, ku-, to marry (man).
lombwa, ku-, to marry (woman)

londola, ku-, to follow, reap.
longa, ku-, to sue.
longana, ku-, to accompany.
longela, ku-, to tell.
longoledya, ku-, to guide.
longolela, ku-, to guide, go before.
lopola, ku-, to collect.
lota, ku-, to dream.
lowa, ku-, to be wet.
lowela, ku-, to wither.
luagala, a fence.
luambamoyo, the diaphragm.
luau, a net.
luhole, uncleared space in field.
luhunde, a valley.
luka, ku, to fly, leap, jump.
lukombe, claw, finger-nail.
lukope, an eyelash.
lukoto, afterwards.
lukou, desire, lust.
lukundu, anus.
lukuni, a piece of firewood.
lukwedu, urine.
lulimi, tongue.
lulomo, a beak, lip.
luma, ku-, to bite.
luma, a crack.
lumaju, famine.
lumbata, ku-, to hunt.
-lume, male.
lumula, ku-, to break.
luono, sleep.
lupembe, horn.
lupia, a rupee, money.
lupuso, a trick, joke.
lutano, a story, proverb.
lutawi, a branch of tree.
luuko, a spoon, ladle.
luumu, a razor.
luundu, to-morrow.
luupi, darkness.
luwani, a split or forked stick used for cooking with over fire.
luvungo, a village, town.
lya, ku-, to eat.
machedo, last year, old.
machili, soot.
madu wohe, always, every day.
mageni, gift.
mahuta, oil.
mala, ku-, to please.
majajuli, saliva.
makana, chaff.
makwedu, bloody urine.
mala, ku-, to know, understand, etc.
mali, riches (slaves).
malila, ku-, to finish, complete, etc.
malinga, like, as, if.
malombe, maize.
mangupa, centiped.
matana, leprosy.
mati, an aunt.
matoha, ku-, to fell, knock down.
matoka, ku-, to fall.
matumbo, bowels, intestines.
matumbo kudolola, diarrhœa.
,, ,, *miadi*, dysentery.
mavi, dung.
mauele, milk.
mbadya, ku-, to fill.
mbango, a cave.
mbelenga, transparent.
mbila, ku-, to drink.
mbokonyola, ku-, to rob, take by force.
mbote, hire, wages.
mbula, rain.
mburukuta, a bat.
mcheche, four.
mchehe, hyena.
mchila, a tail.
mchiwa, an orphan.
mdidi, rope.
mdyoko, a youth.
medi, water.
mela, ku-, to grow.

mepo, air.
miadi, blood.
mila, *ku-*, to swallow.
mili, body, pl. *miwili*.
minya, *ku-*, to milk.
mipa, I.
mkambi, potato.
mkanga, mouth.
mkoko, a wild beast; also a "what's-its-name".
mkongona, a line, boundary.
mkongwe, a woman.
mkono, arm.
mkuchi, a spear.
mkuka, a corner.
mkule, a house rat.
mkulu, elder brother.
mkuteleka, a cook.
mkwedu, a tamarind tree.
mlingongo, a fence.
mlongola, a guide.
mmahi, a woman.
mmamana, small black ant.
mmidi, an enemy.
mmongo, the back; an enemy.
mmuli, a firebrand.
mnamu, a brother-in-law.
mnanga, a vein.
mnango, a door.
mnemba, a boy.
mnenqeu, a small water pot
mneule, bean (*fiwi*).
mnhiwani, child of father's sister.
mnone, a slave.
mnonji, a baobab tree.
mnume, a man.
mnung'u, a brother.
mnungu, god.
mnyanja, a friend.
mnyudi, gravy.
mnyunga, a freeman.
-mo, one.
mogo, cassava.
moto, fire.
moura, *ku-*, to shave.
mpaka, a boundary; even, until.
mpapa, wind.
mpekeho, firesticks (to make fire by friction).
msapata, a youths' dance.
msukulu, a child (grandchild?).
mtano, a story, proverb.
mtenga, a pole for two loads.
mtima, heart.
mtuho, a corpse.
mtukulu, a key.
mtuli, a mortar.
mtumwa, a slave.
mtutu, barrel of gun.
mtw- (*angu*), etc., husband.
mtwani? what sort?
muchi, like, as, if, sort, class, species.
muha, above, on top.
muhi, day.
mukw- (*angu*), etc., father-in-law.
mumba, an arrow.
mumuna, *ku-*, to touch.
munda, abdomen, internals.
munu, a man, person.
munya, *ku-*, to mix.
munyu, salt.
muto, a river.
mutwe, head.
muwa, bellows.
muyo, forward, in front.
mw- (*angu*), etc., companion.
mwachi? where?
mwadachi? why? what for?
mwadila, *ku-*, to empty.
mwadilanya, *ku-*, to scatter.
mwanda, a journey.
mwawi, an oath (trial by ordeal).
mwedi, the moon, month.
mwene, the owner.
mwenedi, a neighbour.
mwepo, you.

mwihi, a pestle.
mwipw- (*angu*), etc., nephew.
mwiwa, a thorn.
nahaku, a girl.
nahanga, calf of leg.
nahoti kadiki, soon, after a little.
nama, *ku-*, to escape, get well.
namadi, purpose, in order that.
namahihi, an owl.
namalowe, an echo.
namata, *ku-*, to cohere.
namatidya, *ku-*, to compel.
nambili, a partridge.
namene, very, exceedingly, etc.
nane, I, me.
nanga, no.
nangala, child of mother's brother.
nang'e, he, she.
nangu, I, me.
nani ? who ?
nano, now.
nanoha, *ku-*, to exceed, excel.
-napi, black.
-naswi, white.
nawinang'o, they, them.
ndomondo, hippo.
ndu, only, merely.
ndubu, no, not at all.
ndundu, a small drum.
-nehuwi, red.
nelo, to-day.
-nemwa, idle, lazy.
nenga, but.
ng'alangata, *ku-*, to dazzle, shine.
ng'andi, inside.
ng'awanga, dog.
ng'ongwe, a hut.
ng'ulu, *ku-*, to put at one side.
nguŋa, rust.
ninjipika, *ku-*, to be sufficient.
-nji, other.
njoni, so and so, etc. (*fulani*).
nowa, *ku-*, to be sweet, pleasant.
ntani ? what sort ?
numilanga, widow, bachelor.
nuna, *ku-*, to be fat.
nunga, *ku-*, to smell bad.
nungidya, *ku-*, to smell sweet, nice.
nungu, navel.
nusa, *ku-*, to smell.
-nuwhi, white.
nyakula, *ku-*, to carry.
nyalula, *ku-*, to circumcise.
nyanyula, *ku-*, to lift up, raise.
nyawalime, the shin.
nyehe, a flight of birds.
nyelembuka, *ku-*, to melt.
nyema, *ku-*, to avoid.
nyeta, *ku-*, to be fat.
nyhango, an island.
nyhano, five.
nyitu, forest.
nyokonya, *ku-*, to bawl, make a noise.
nyongo, a snake.
oda, *ku-*, to take care of.
-ohe, many.
-ohe-ohe, all.
ona, *ku-*, to feel, see, etc.
ona, *indala*, *ku-*, to be hungry.
ona, *induwa*, *ku-*, to be thirsty.
ona, *lipamba*, *ku-*, to be doubtful.
ondonga, *ku-*, to destroy.
oneka-, *ku-*, to appear, be visible.
opopo, just here.
pa, *ku-*, to bear fruit.
pahi, below, at bottom.
paka, *ku-*, to anoint.
pala, *ku-*, to peck, scratch.
pambilila, *ku-*, to fasten.
pameho, in public.
pamo, together.
panago, place.
panda, *ku-*, to plant.
panji, perhaps.
panya, *ku-*, to hit, strike.

panyana, ku-, to fight.
panyenje, aside, apart.
papata, ku-, to follow.
pasula, ku-, to tear, split.
pata, ku-, to get.
patuka, ku-, to hang down.
pawelo, without, outside.
pewidya, ku-, to be there.
peda, ku-, to beat, surpass, exceed, excel.
pelekedya, ku-, to send.
pembedya, ku-, to entice, comfort, pray.
penda, ku-, to scorn, despise, disobey.
pepeka, ku-, to be thin.
pepekela, ku-, to be near, approach.
pepi, near.
peya, fast, quickly.
peyapeya, ku-, to be light (not heavy).
piha, ku-, to hide.
pilikana, ku-, to hear, obey.
pilikanila, ku-, to listen, attend.
pilila, ku-, to endure.
pima, ku-, to measure.
pinda, ku-, to fold.
pindikula, ku-, to overturn, revenge.
pindikulya, ku-, to change.
pita, ku-, to pass.
podochi, perhaps.
poha, ku-, to escape, be saved.
pohepohe, everywhere.
pohidya, ku-, to save.
poka, ku-, to rob, take by force.
polepole, gently, slowly.
ponda, ku-, to pound, crush.
posa, ku-, to betroth.
pota, ku-, to twist (as rope).
pukuta, ku-, to wipe.
pumya, ku-, to take away.
punda, ku-, to excel, surpass, exceed.
punga, ku-, to blow (wind).
pungula, ku-, to decrease.
pungudya, ku-, to cause to decrease.
pwatana, ku-, to fight.
pweteka, ku-, to hurt, ache.
pya, ku-, to be burned.
pyayila, ku-, to sweep.
sa, ku-, to take.
salila, ku-, to remain, be left.
samira, ku-, to load gun.
soma, ku-, to read.
sonala, ku-, to be vexed, angry.
sulula, ku-, to drip, leak.
sululanga, ku-, to drip, trickle.
suma, ku-, to buy, sell.
taha, ku-, to look for, search.
tahuka, ku-, to be perverse, deny, disagree, etc.
tahukana, ku-, to argue.
takatuka, ku-, to arise, start.
tambala, ku-, to creep.
tamwa, ku-, to like, love, want, accept.
tamwana, ku-, to agree.
tanda, ku-, to begin.
tandalika, ku-, to begin.
tangu, formerly, ago, since.
tang'una, ku-, to chew, eat.
tapika, ku-, to vomit.
tata, father, parent.
-tatu, three.
tatua, ku-, to be fat.
taya, ku-, to place in, put.
taya, dimuna, ku-, to breathe.
teka, medi, ku-, to draw water.
-telehi, jealous, envious.
teleka, ku-, to cook.
tema, ku-, to cut firewood.
tenda, ku-, to do, make.
tendewala, ku-, to kneel, worship.
tepa, ku-, to bend.
tetele, ku-, to cackle.
tetemela, ku-, to tremble.

teula, ku-, to take off fire, serve food.
tewedya, ku-, to endanger.
teya, ku-, to trap.
tima, ku-, to delay.
timbangida, ku-, to destroy.
tingina, ku-, to be shaken.
ting'inya, ku-, to shake.
tipuka, ku-, to run away.
titimila, ku-, to enter, go into.
toha, ku-, to feel, touch.
tokota, ku-, to be boiled.
tondola, ku-, to choose.
tongodya, ku-, to ask in marriage.
tongola, ku-, to say, speak.
tonya, ku-, to rain, drop.
,, to scratch with claw.
tosa, ku-, to be enough.
tota, ku-, to sew.
tukana, ku-, to abuse.
tukuta, ku-, to run.
tula, ku-, to set down.
tumbula, ku-, to be thick, disembowel.
tungunyuka, ku-, to melt.
twa, ku-, to pound in mortar.
ubila, semen.
uchehe, white ants.
uchi, honey.
uchokapala, smallness.
udya, ku-, to ask.
udyaudya, ku-, to question.
udyoko, youth.
ugoni, sexual intercourse.
uhakwa, dirt, filth.
uhawi, witchcraft.
uhimba, lion.
uhinini, gums.
uhu, flour.
uka, ku-, to come forward, arise, etc.
ukatapala, goodness, beauty, etc., usefulness.
ukolowani, deceit.
ukoti, neck.
ukunyumika, politeness.
ukwapa, armpit.
ula, ku-, to be ripe, to undress.
ulalo, bridge.
ulamba, fraud, deceit, trickery.
ulemwa, idleness, laziness.
uliamba, morning, dawn.
uliani ? who ?
ulinda, hair.
ulombi, marriage state.
ulongo, earth.
ulwele, sickness, disease.
umaka, a cat.
umbutuka, a buck.
umi, life.
unama, life.
unembo, an elephant.
ung'ambe, a tortoise.
ung'uku, a fowl.
unguruwe, a pig.
unone, slavery, service.
unonopa, hardness, difficulty.
unyanga, a buck.
unyima, a monkey.
uomdola, clay (potter's).
upinde, a bow.
usuwi, a leopard.
uta, ku-, to drag.
utotole, brain.
utumbo, abdomen.
uungu, gunpowder.
uuya, mercy, pity.
uwahi, cowardice; mushroom.
uwila, so, in this manner, thus, etc.
uya, ku-, to go back, return.
uyanja, friendship.
wa, ku-, to fall.
wa, ku-, to be, become.
wa, na, ku-, to be with or have.
wadya, ku-, to clothe.
wahi, grass.

wako, you.
wala, beer.
wala, ku-, to wear, put on clothes.
walala, ku-, to wound, kill.
walula, ku-, to rend, tear.
wanani ? who ?
wandikila, ku-, to approach, draw near.
wauka, ku-, to bruise.
waula, ku-, to skin.
wawa, ku-, to itch.
waya, them, they.
wea, ku-, to blow (with mouth).
weda, ku-, to carve.
weka, by self, alone.
weleka, ku-, to bear children.
welekwa, ku-, to be born.
welu, field, garden.
wepo, you.
whena, ku-, to go.
whenawhena, ku-, to walk.
whepa, we, us.
whetu, we, us.
wiha, ku-, to be vexed, angry.
-wihi, fresh, raw.
wika, ku-, to put, place.
wika, ku-, nangawi, to be benumbed.
-wili, two.
wimba, ku-, to swell; thatch.
wimbula, ku-, to unthatch.
wina, ku-, to play, dance.
wing'a, ku-, to give.
winganga, ku-, to drive away, chase.
wino, now, at once.
yaha, ku-, to bury, throw away, lose.
yahika, ku-, to be lost.
yahula, ku-, to yawn.
yaka, ku-, to burn (of fire).
yalula, ku-, to clothe.
yambukila, ku-, to answer.
yangata, ku-, to assist, help.
yanguhania, ku-, to hasten, do quickly.
yang'ula, ku-, to answer, reply.
yanyanya, ku-, to pour.
yauka, ku-, to boil water.
yaukidya, ku-, to boil.
yawanya, ku-, to divide.
yedya, ku-, to taste; imitate, mimic; refresh.
yehidya, ku-, to consider, think.
yela, ku-, throw at.
yeleng'ana, ku-, to alter, exchange.
yocha, ku-, to burn, roast.
yoha, ku-, to frighten.
yomboka, ku-, to cross over.
yomola, ku-, to dip.
yonga, ku-, to suck.
yopa, ku-, to fear, be afraid.
yota, moto, ku-, to warm oneself.
yowela, ku-, to rest.
yowolela, ku-, to rest.
yhuma, ku-, to buy, sell.
yukila, ku-, to go out, etc.
yuma, ku-, to be dry.
yuwa, ku-, to beg, beseech, plead.

VOCABULARY

English—Kimakonde

In the following vocabulary the substantives and verbs are given separately—English first and then Kimakonde. As already noted elsewhere, the verb may have other meanings than are given here; these can only be learned by experience.

In the case of substantives the change from the singular to the plural is shown.

Prepositions, adverbs, adjectival roots, numerals, conjunctions, etc are given along with the notes.

Verbs

The infinitive is made by prefixing *ku-* to the stems given below :—

abandon, *leka*.
abide, *ikala*.
able, to be, *hulula*.
abound, *enelela*.
abuse, *tukana*.
accept, *elewa*.
,, *tamwa*.
accompany, *longana na*.
accomplish, *malila*.
ache, *piweteka*.
add, *kundanya*.
addled, to be, *kandika*.
advise, *haulila*.
afflict, *bana*.
,, *lagasa*.
afflicted, to be, *banika*.
,, ,, *laga*.
afraid, *yopa*.
agree, *tamwana*.
allow, *leka*.
alter, *yeleng'ana*.
angry, to be, *sonala*.
,, ,, *wiha*.
annoy, *banika*.
anoint, *paka*.
answer, *yambukila*.
,, *yang'ula*.
anxious, to be, *wa na lipamba*.
appear, *oneka*.
approach, *hengelela*.
,, *wandikila*.
,, be near, *pepekela*.
argue, *tahukana*.
arise, *uka* ; *takatuka*.
arrange, *katopadya*.
arrive, *hwika* ; *komola*.
articulate badly, *tongola chitata*.
ascend, *kwela*.
ashamed, to be, *ona dihoni*.
ask, *udya*.
assist, *yangata*.
astonished, to be, *kanganika*.
attempt, *linga*.
attend, *pilikana*.
avoid, *ngema*.
await, *linda*.
awake, *imuka*.
awaken, *imula*.
bad, to be, *hakalanga*.
baffled, to be, *lekelela*.
balance on head, *lekelela*.
banish, *winganga*.
bathe, *lihinga*.
bawl, *nyokonya*.
be born, *welekwa*.
be there, *pawidya*.
be vexed, *wiha*.
bear children, *weleka*
bear fruit, *pa*.
beat, *koma* ; *panya*.
,, surpass, *peda* ; *punda*.
beaten, to be, *pedile* ; *lekelela*.
become, *wa*.
beg, *yuwa*.
begin, *tanda* ; *tandalika*.
,, *lindimuka*.
behold, *lola*.
believe, *kameka*.
bend, *tepa*.
benumbed, to be, *wika nangwi*.
beseech, *yuwa*.
betroth, *posa* ; *tongodya*.
bid farewell, *laila*.
bind, *hunga*.
bite, *luma*.
blow (wind), *punga*.

blow (mouth), *wea*.
boast, *litapa* ; *lihaula*.
bore, *dowola*.
borrow, *kopa*.
boil, *yaukidya*.
boil water, *yaukia*.
boiled, to be, *tokota*.
break, *lumula* ; *lelula*.
break, rend, *walula*.
breathe, *taya dimuma*.
breed, *langa* ; *langita*.
bring, *ida na*.
bruise, *wauka*.
build, *denga*.
burn, *yocha* ; *yaka*.
burned, to be, *pya*.
bury, *yaha*.
buy, *yhuma* ; *suma*.
cackle, *tetela*.
call, *chema*.
care, take of, *oda*.
care, take, *lola* ; *lolohidya*.
carry, *nyakula*.
carve, *weda*.
catch, *kamula*.
,, one hand, *dong'a*.
,, two hands, *chingidila*.
cease, *leka*.
change, *pindikulanya*.
changed, be, *diuka*.
chase, *winganga*.
cheat, *lambila* ; *kumba*.
chew, *tang'una*.
chide, *kalipa*.
choose, *tondola*.
circumcise, *nyalula*.
clap hands, *dong'a*.
clean, *katopadya*.
climb, *kwela*.
close, *chima*.
clothe, *wadya* ; *yalula*.
cohere, *namata*.
coil, *dingudika*.
collapse, faint, *diwika*.
collect, *lopola*.
come, *ida*.
,, out, *huma* ; *buhuka*.
comfort, *pembedya*.
compel, *namatidya*.
complete, *malilila*.
confess, *itikila*.
congeal, *lienga*.
consider, *yehidya*.
cook, *teleka*.
copy, imitate, *yedya*.
cough, *kohomola*.
cover, *hunika* ; *imba*.
crawl, *tambala*.
cross over, *yomboka*.
crouch, *lipinda*.
crow, *kongowela*.
crush, *ponda*.
cry, *kuta*.
cultivate, *lima*.
cure, *lilaula*.
cut, *chela* ; *cheketa*.
,, firewood, *tema*.
,, hair, *chengula*.
,, (carve), *weda*.
dance, *wina*.
dazzle, *ngalangata*.
decay, *kandika*.
deceive, *lambila*.
decrease, *pungula*.
decreased, be, *pungulya*.
defeat, *hulula*.
defend, *linda*.
delay, *tima*.
deny, *hita* ; *tahuka*.
depart, *uka*
descend, *suluka* ; *sulupuka*.
desire, *lembela*.
despise, *penda*.
destroy, *ondonga* ; *timbangida*.
die, *hwa*.
difficult, to be, *komadya*.

dig, *himba*.
dip, *yomola* ; *lihidya*.
disembowel, *tumbula*.
disobey, *penda*.
dispute, *tahukana*.
divide, *yawanya*.
divine, *laudya ihango*.
divorce, *hapukana*.
do, *tenda*.
doubt, *ona lipamba*.
drag, *uta*.
draw near, *henqelela*.
„ water, *teka meli*.
dream, *lota*.
drink, *mbila*.
drip (saliva), *sululanga*.
drive away, *winganga*.
drunk, to be, *kalewa*.
eat, *lya*.
empty, *mwadila*
end, *malila*.
endanger, *tewedya*.
endure, *pililila*.
enough to be, *tosa*.
„ (eat), *ikuta*.
entangled, *dinqulidya*.
enter, *enda* ; *titimila*.
entice, *pembedya*.
escape, *nama* ; *pona*.
examine, *lolela*.
exceed, excel, *nonoha, peda, panda*.
exchange, *yeleng'ana*.
expect, *lolela*.
explain, *haula*.
extend, *enelela*.
extinguish, *dima*.
extract, *dobola*.
fail, *kosa*.
„ after promise, *yulugusa*.
faint, *diwika*.
fall, *wa* ; *matoka*.
fasten, *hunga* ; *pambilila*.
fat, to be, *nyeta* ; *nuna*.
fear, *yopa*.
feeble, to be, *yanda*.
feed, *liha*.
„ child, *taya*.
feel, *ona*.
fell, *matoha*
fight, *pangana* ; *komana*.
fill, *mbadya*.
„ as of holes, *hwihwilila*.
find, *ona* ; *chona*.
finish, *malila* ; *hila*.
flourish, *katopala* ; *konda*.
fly, *luka*.
fold, *pinda*
follow, *papata* ; *londola*.
forbid, *kalipa*.
forget, *livalila*.
forgive, *leka*.
forsake, *leka*.
frighten, *yoha*.
gather (people), *kumbula*.
„ (fruit), *hepa*.
get, *pata*.
„ drunk, *kalewa*.
„ up, *takatuka* ; *uka*.
„ well, *nama*.
give, *wing'a*.
go, *whena*.
„ away, out, etc., *uka* ; *huma*.
„ back, *uya*.
„ before, *longolela*.
„ out, *yukila* ; *buhuka*.
„ round, *dinquka* ; *teng'enedya*.
good, to be, *katapala*.
grind, *haya*.
groan, *gumila*.
grow (persons), *kula*.
„ (plants), *mela*.
guard, *kikalila* ; *lindilila*.
guide, *longoledya*.
hang down, *patuka*.
hard, to be, *komadya*
hasten, *yanguhania*.

hate, *chima*.
have, *wa na*.
heal, *namya*.
hear, *pilikana*.
help, *yangata*.
hide, *pha*.[1]
hinder, *limbidya*.
hit, *panya* ; *koma*.
hold, *kamula*.
hungry, to be, *ona ndala*.
hunt, *lumbata*.
hurt, *pweteka*.
ill-treat, *tenda chiyeye*.
imitate, *yedya*.
increase, *punda*.
infect, *eneledya*
inherit, *twala mapala*.
insult, *tukana*.
itch, *wawa*.
journey, *whena*.
judge, *lamula*.
jump, *chitika* ; *luka*.
kill, *ulaya* ; *walala*.
know, *kameka*.
present tense irregular *maite*.[2]
laugh, *heka*.
lay down, *ladya*.
leak, *sulula*.
learn, *lilangidya* ; *lihunda*.
leave, *leka*.
,, (divorce), *hapukana*.
lick, *lamba*.
lie down, *lala*.
lift up, *nyanyula*.
light, to be, *langala*.
,, (not heavy), *peyapeya*.
like, love, *tamwa*.
limp, *humbaila*.
listen, *pilikanila*.
live, dwell, etc., *ikala*.
load gun, *samira*.
look at, *lola*.
,, for, *taha*.
,, after, *lolohidya*.
lose, *yaha*.
lost, to be, *yahika*.
love, *lembela* ; *tamwa*.
lower, *sulusa*.
make, *tenda*.
marry, *lomba*.
,, (of woman), *lombua*.
measure, *pima* ; *linga*.
meet, *kolyana* ; *humana*.
melt, *nyelembuka*.
,, *tungunyuka*.
micturate, *kwama* [Steere : *pwama*].
milk, *minya*.
mimic, *yedya*.
mistake, *kosa*.
mix, *munya* ; *kundanya*.
move, *hama*.
murder, *walala*.
obey, *kungumika*.
open, *chimula*.
order, *laila*.
overturn, *pindikula*.
pardon, *leka*.
pass, *pita*.
pay, *lipa*.
peck, *pala*.
pick up, *lokota*.
place aside, *ngula*.
,, put, *wika* ; *taya*.
plant, *panda*.
play, *wina* ; *ngana*.
plead, *yuwa*.
please, *mala*.
pleased, to be, *nowela*.
pluck (fowl), *kuwa*.
,, (fruit), *hepa*.
pound, *ponda*.
,, in mortar, *twa*.

[1] Steere : *pihya*, caus. of *picha*.
[2] This is really the perfect of another verb *maya*.

pour, *yanyanya*.
praise, *tapa* ; *haula*.
pray, *yuwa* ; *pembedya*.
prepare, *katopadya*.
,, field, *hana*.
pretend, *lilambila*.
prevent, *diwila* ; *duma*.
pull up, *dobola*.
pull, *uta*.
push, *hingilila*.
put in, *taya*.
quarrel (argue), *tahukana*.
,, fight, *panyana*.
,, ,, *pwatana*.
question, *udyaudya*.
rain, *tonya*.
raise up, *chikula*.
reach, *hwika*.
read, *soma*.
reap, *londola*.
rebuke, *kalipa*.
receive, *pochela*.
recognize, *hapulanya*.
recollect, *kumbukila*.
redeem, *kombola*.
refresh, *yedya*.
refuse, *hita*.
,, a person, *limbidya*.
regret, *juta*.
rejoice, *hekelela*.
,, *hangalala*.
,, be pleased, *linowela*.
remain, *ikala*.
,, be left, *hiyala* ; *salila*.
remember, *kumbukila*.
remind, *kumbusa*.
remove, *hama*.
reply, *yambukila* ; *itikila*.
respect, *kungumika*.
rest, *yowela*.
,, cause to, *yowelela*.
return, *uya*.
revenge, *pindikula*.
revive, *dyuha*.
ripe, to be, *ula*.
rise, *imuka*.
,, early, *lilawa*.
roar, *tongola*.
roast, *yocha*.
rob, *poka* ; *mbokonyola*.
roll (as stone), *hingilila*.
rot, *kandika*.
rub, *hahula*.
run, *tukuta*.
,, away, *tipuka*.
save, *poha*.
saved, to be, *pohidya*.
say, *tongola*.
,, *haula* ; *chi*.
scatter, *mwadilanya*.
scold, *kalipa*.
scorn, *penda*.
scrape, *weda*.
scratch, *pala*.
,, with claw, *tonya*.
search, *taha* ; *lembela*.
see, *chona* ; *ona*.
sell, *suma*.
send, *pelekedya*.
separate, *yawanya*.
set down, *wika* ; *tula*.
,, on the fire, *kodya*.
,, trap, *inikila*.
sew, *tota*.
shake, *ting'inya*.
shaken, be, *ting'ina*.
sharpen, *nola*.
shave, *mowa*.
shoot gun, *omba ihuti*.
show, *langudya*.
shut door, *chima*.
sing, *imba*.
singe, *kupula*.
sit down, *ikala*.
skin, *waula*.
sleep, *kona luono*.

slice, *lenga*.
small, become, *chokapala*
smell, *nusa*.
,, sweet, *ningidya*
,, bad, *nunga*.
snore, *koloma*.
sow, *panda*.
speak, *tongola*.
split, tear, *walula*.
stand, *imila*.
stay, *ikala*.
steal, *iwa*.
stick, *kadamba*.
strike, *panya*.
stumble, *kuwala*.
suck, *yonga*.
sue for debt, *longa ing'anya*.
sufficient, be, *ninjipuka*.
surprise, *kangana*.
surprised, be, *susuka*.
swallow, *mila*.
sweep, *pyayila*.
swell, *wimba*.
take, *twala* ; *sa*.
,, away, *pumya*.
,, leave of, *laila*.
,, off clothes, *ula*.
,, a pot off fire, *teula*.
talk, *kunguluka* ; *chonga*.
taste, *yedya*.
teach, *fundisa*.
tear, *walula* ; *pasula*.
tell, *longela* ; *kaulila*.
,, lies, *lambila*.
tempt, *linga*.
thank, *lisinga*.
thatch, *wimba*.
think, suppose, *yehidya*.
thirsty, be, *ona induwa*.[1]
threaten, *yoha*.
throb, *dukuladukula*.
throw, *yaha*.
,, at, *yela*.
,, away, *yaha*.
tickle, *dikadika*.
tie, *hunga*.
tighten, *kama*.
tired, be, *doba*.
touch, *mumuna*.
,, feel, *toha*.
trap, *teya*.
tread, *liwata*.
tremble, *tetemela*.
trickle, *sulula*
try, *linga*.
turn, *pindikula* ; *lauka*.
twist, *pota*.
uncover, *hunikula*.
understand, *mala*.
undress, *ula*.
unfasten, *chimula*.
unfold, *dingula*.
unthatch, *wimbula*.
vexed, be, *sonala* ; *wiha*.
visible, be, *oneka*.
vomit, *tapika*.
wait, *linda*.
waken, *imula*.
walk, *whenawhena*.
wander, *tambatamba*.
want, *lembela*.
warm oneself, *yota moto*.
warn, *haula*.
wash, bathe, *lihinga*.
wash clothes, *puta*.
,, hands, *kalawa*.
,, things, *wahula*.
watch, *lindilila*.
wear, *wala*.
wet, be, *lowa*.
wipe, *pukuta*.
wither, *lowela*.

[1] Can this be connected with *induwa* "sun"?

withhold, *ima* ; *hauka*.
wonder, *kangana*.
worship, *tendiwala*.
wound, *walala*.
write, *lemba*.
wrong, do. *tenda hekelenga*.
yawn, *yahula*.

Substantives.

abdomen, *n'umbo*.
  ,, *munda*.
abscess, *lipote*, pl. *ma-*.
adder, *lipiri*, pl. *ma-*.
adultery, *ugoni*.
adze, *iteso*, pl. *di-*.
affair, *ing'anga*, pl. *di-*.
agreement, *lidewelano*, pl. *ma-*.
air, *mepo*.
animal, *inyama*, pl. *di-*.
ankle, *inunda*, pl. *di-*.
ant (red), *injalahu*, pl. *di-*.
  ,, (black), *mmamana*, pl. *mi-*.
anus, *lukundu*, pl. *ding'*.
ape, *linqwele*, pl. *di-*.
arm, *mkono*, pl. *mi-*.
armpit, *ukwapa*.
arrow (wood), *lilonga*, pl. *ma-*.
  ,, (iron), *mumba*, pl. *mi-*.
ashes, *liu*.
aunt, *mati*.
avarice, *liduku*.
axe, *imbedo*, pl. *di-*.
bachelor, *numilanga*, pl. *wa-*.
back, *mmongo*, pl. *mi-*.
bag, *muhuko*, pl. *mi-*.
bag of salt, *iminda*, pl. *di-*.
bamboo, *mbalu*, pl. *mi-*.
banana, *ing'ou*, pl. *di-*.
  ,, bunch of, *mutwe*, pl. *mi-*.
bank of river, *licheye*, pl. *ma-*.
baobab, *mnonji*, pl. *mi-*.
bark, *likahi*, pl. *ma-*.
barrel, *lipipa*, pl. *ma-*.
  ,, of gun, *mtutu*, pl. *mi-*.
bat, *mburukuta*.
bead, *ckuma*, pl. *vy-*.
beak, *lulomo*, pl. *dind-*.
beam, *isunqula*, pl. *di-*.
bean (*kunde*), *ding'unde*.
  ,, (*fiwi*), *mwende*.
  ,, (*mbaazi*), *dimene*.
  ,, (*choroko*), *dimwedo*.
beard, *ckdeu*, pl. *vi-*.
beauty, *ukatapala*.
bedstead, *chinanda*, pl. *vi-*.
bee, *inguchu*, pl. *di-*.
  ,, hive, *chipeda*, pl. *vi-*.
beer, *wala*.
bellows, *muwa*, pl. *mi-*.
bird, *chuni*, pl. *vy-*.
  ,, (flight of), *nyehe*.
bladder, *chihula*, pl. *vi-*.
blood, *miudi*.
body, *mili*, pl. *miw-*.
bone, *liwangwa*, pl. *ma-*.
border, *mpaka*, pl. *mi-*.
bow, *upinde*.
boy, *mwemba*, pl. *wa-*.
boyhood, *udyoko*.
brain, *utotole*.
branch, *lutawi*, pl. *ma-*.
breast, *liwele*, pl. *ma-*.
bridge, *ulalo*.
brother, *mmung'u*, pl. *an-*.
  ,, elder, *mkulu*.
  ,, younger, *mw-*.
  ,, -in-law, *mnamu*.
buck, *unjanga* ; *umbutuka*, pl. *di-*.
buffalo, *inyati*, pl. *di-*.
bug, *ing'ung'uni*, pl. *di-*.
bunch of grass, *chika*, pl. *vi-*.
bush, *nyitu*.
cassava, *mogo*, pl. *mi-*.

cat, *umaka*, pl. *di-*.
centipede, *mangupa*, pl. *na-*.
calf of leg, *nahangu*.
,, *chingulimba*, pl. *vi-*.
cave, *mbango*, pl. *mi-*.
chaff, *makana*.
chair, *chitengu*, pl. *vi-*.
cheek, *chitama*, pl. *vi-*.
child, *mwana*, pl. *wa-*.
,, *msukulu*, pl. *wa-*.
,, of mother's brother, *nangala*.
,, of father's sister, *mnhiwani*.
chin, *chiyewa*, pl. *vi-*.
class (sort), *muchi*.
claw, *lukombe*, pl. *di-*.
clay, *ulongo*.
,, for pottery, *wondola*.
cloud, *lihunde*, pl. *ma-*.
club, *chikong'o*, pl. *vi-*.
cock, *ung'uku nanume*.
comb, *chihamula*, pl. *vi-*.
companion, *mwa-*, pl. *awa-*.
company, *likuwa*.
cook, *mkuteleka*, pl. *wa-*.
cork, *chidiu*, pl. *vi-*.
corner, *mkuka*, pl. *mi-*.
corpse, *mtuhi*, pl. *mi-*.
country, *chilambo*, pl. *vi-*.
,, *kaya*, pl. *ma-*.
cover, *lihuniko*, pl. *ma-*.
cowardice, *uwahi*.
crack, *luma*, pl. *dinj-*.
crocodile, *mbulu*, pl. *di-*.
dance, *ing'ole*, pl. *di-*.
dances :—
chiputu (female initiation).
likumbi (male initiation).
chitipu (beer drinking).
msapata (youths' dance).
chidole (girls' dance).
likungwa (promiscuous intercourse used to take place at this dance. This is seldom played now; its place is taken by—
chimbombo (adults' dance)).
darkness, *luupi*.
daughter, *mwana mkongwe*, pl. *wa-*.
dawn, *uliamba*.
day, *muhi*.
death, *kuhwa*.
debt, *ing'anga*, pl. *di-*.
deceit, *ukolowani*.
descent, *lilenga*, pl. *ma-*.
desire, *lukou*.
diaphragm, *luambamoyo*.
diarrhœa, *matumbo kudolola*.
disease, *ulwele* ; *liwelu*.
dog, *ng'awanga*, pl. *di-*.
door, *mnango*, pl. *mi-*.
drop, *litwene*, pl. *ma-*.
drought, *chiwanga*.
drums :—
ligoma (small).
likutu (used in *likumbi*).
likungwa (used in *chiputu*).
ndunda.
dung, *mavi*.
dust, *litutinga*.
,, heap, *chituta*, pl. *vi-*.
dysentery, *matumbo kudolola miadi*.
ear, *likutu*, pl. *ma-*.
echo, *namalowe*.
egg, *lii*, pl. *mai*.
elbow, *chihinino*, pl. *vi-*.
elephant, *unembo*, pl. *di-*.
enemy, *mmidi*, pl. *wa-*.
,, *mmongo*, pl. *wa-*.
envy, *chitelehi*.
evening, *liulo*.
eye, *liso*, pl. *meho*.
eyebrow, *likwipi*, pl. *ma-*.
eyelash, *lukope*, pl. *ding'-*.
face, *kumeho*.
famine, *lumaja*.
fan, *chipepeta*, pl. *vi-*.

father, *tata*, pl. *a- wa-*.
  ,, -in-law, *muk-*.
fence, *mlingongo*, pl. *mi-*.
  ,, *liwio*, pl. *ma-*.
field, *welu*, pl. *ma-*.
  ,, *litumbe*, pl. *ma-*.
filth, *uhakwa*.
finger, *chala*, pl. *vy-*.
fire, *moto*, pl. *mi-*.
firebrand, *mmulu*, pl. *mi-*.
fireplace, *chuuli*, pl. *vy-*.
firesticks, *mpekeho*, pl *mi-*.
firewood, *lukuni*, pl. *ding-*.
fish, *ihomba*, pl. *di-*.
flour, *uhu*.
flower, *indawa*, pl. *di-*.
fly, *imembe*, pl. *di-*.
fœtus, *libongo*.
  ,, (afterbirth), *lipianda*.
food, *chakulya*, pl. *vy-*.
foot, *likambatu*, pl. *ma-*.
ford, *chihiko*, pl. *vi-*.
forest, *nyitu*.
forked stick, *luwani*, pl. *dim-*.
fowl, *ung'uku*, pl. *di-*.
fraud, *ulamba*.
freeman, *mnyunga*, pl. *wa-*.
friend, *mnyanja*, pl. *wa-*.
friendship, *uyanja* ; *chinemba*.
froth, *lihulo*.
fruit, *chokodi*, pl. *vy-*.
fruits :—
  lipenjele.
  ling'ombe.
gap, *luhengo*, pl. *di-*.
garden, *liwelu*, pl. *ma-*.
gift, *mageni*.
girl, *nahaku*, pl. *nama*.
glans, *nduuga*.
goods, *mali*, pl. *di-*.
gourd, water, *chitumba*, pl. *vi-*.
grain, *inyele*, pl. *di-*.
grass, *wahi*.
grave, *lidembe*, pl. *ma-*.
gravy, *mnyudi*.
guide, *mlongola*, pl. *wa-*.
guinea-fowl, *ing'anga*, pl. *di-*.
  ,, *nambali* ?
gums, *uhinini*.
gun, *ihuti*, pl. *di-*
gunpowder, *uunga*.
hair, *ulinda*.
  ,, on body, *liundiundi*, pl. *ma-*.
hardness, *unonopa*.
head, *mutwe*, pl. *mi-*.
heart, *mtima*, pl. *mi-*.
  ,, *lisungu*, pl. *ma-*.
hill, *lichinga*, pl. *ma-*.
hippo, *ndomondo*, pl. *di-*.
hire, *mbote*.
hoe, *lijembe*, pl. *ma-*.
hole in ground, *lipondo*, pl. *ma-*.
honey, *uchi*
horn, *lupembe*, pl. *di-*.
house, *likande*, pl. *ma-*.
  ,, *ing'ande*, pl. *di-*.
hunger, *indala*.
hunt (with net), *chihako*, pl. *vi-*.
husband, *mtw-*, pl. *wa-*.
hut, *ngong'we*, pl. *di-*.
hyena, *mchehe*, pl. *di-*.
idiocy, *ding'opedi*.
idleness, *ulemwa*.
imp (jin), *dimu* ; *kadimu*, pl *na-*.
iron, *chitali*, pl. *vi-*.
island, *nyhanga*.
jaw, *linjewe*, pl. *ma-*.
journey, *mwanda*, pl. *mi-*.
jungle, *nyhityu*.
key, *mtukula*, pl. *mi-*.
kidney, *iwhio*, pl. *di-*.
knee, *lilundi*, pl. *ma-*.
knot, *chihundo*, pl. *vi-*.
knife, *chipula*, pl. *vi-*.
lake, *litanda*, pl. *ma-*.
land, *chilambo*, pl. *vi-*.

laziness, *ulemwa*.
leaf, *lihamba*, pl. *ma-*.
,, of cassava, *chinduli*.
leg, *lidodo*, pl *ma-*
leisure, *lipesa*.
leopard, *usuwi*, pl *di-*.
leprosy, *matana*.
lid, *lihuniko*, pl. *ma-*.
life, *umi* ; *unama*.
lightning, *ing'uwa*
line, *mkono'gono*, pl. *mi-*.
lion, *uhimba*, pl. *di-*.
lip-ring, *indonya*, pl. *di-*.
liver, *linoha*, pl. *ma-*.
locust, *lihiye*, pl. *ma-*.
lung, *pahu*, pl. *ma-*.
maggot, *iyong'o*, pl. *di-*.
maize, *malombe*.
man, *munu* ; *mwume*, pl. *wa-*.
marriage (state), *ulombi*.
master, *anambuye*, pl. *wa-*.
matter, pus, *uchila*.
measles, *lisuwele*.
meat, *inyama*, pl. *di-*.
medicine, *mtela*, pl. *mi-*.
mercy, *uuya*.
milk, *mawele*.
millet, *dimule*.
misfortune, *chihakau*.
money, *rupia*, pl. *dimia*.
monkey, *unyima*, pl. *di* .
month, *mwedi*.
moon, *mwedi*, pl. *mi-*.
morning, *uliamba*.
mortar, *mtuli*, pl. *mi-*.
mosquito, *injemjema*, pl. *di-*.
mother, *amama* ; *anyokue*.
mouth, *mkanya*.
mushroom, *uwahi*.
nail, finger, *lukombe*.
name, *lina*, pl. *mena*.
navel, *nungu*.
neck, *ukoti*.
neighbour, *mwenedi*, pl. *wa-*.
nephew, *mwipw-*, pl. *wa-*.
nest, *chiteki*, pl. *vi-*.
net, *luau*, pl. *dinjau*.
night, *chilo*.
nose, *imula*, pl. *di-*.
oath (ordeal), *mwawi*.
oil, *mahuta*.
opportunity, *lipesa*.
orphan, *mwana mchiwa*, pl. *wa-*.
owl, *namahihi* ; *liuku*.
owner, *mwene*, pl. *w-*.
path, *indila*, pl. *di-*.
penis, *chitongo*, pl. *vi-*.
,, *chiwolo*, pl. *vi-*.
people, *wanu*.
pestle, *mwihi*, pl. *mi-*.
pig, *unguruwe*, pl. *di-*.
place, *liuto* ; *panango*.
,, of departed, *kunambawe*.
pole for two loads, *mtenga*, pl. *mi-*.
politeness, *ukungumika*.
pool, *litanda*, pl. *ma-*.
potato, *mkambi*, pl. *mi-*.
potsherd, *lipapa*, pl. *ma-*.
proverb, story, *mtano*, pl. *mi-*.
,, ,, *lutano*, pl. *dinano*.
pumpkin, *imbowa*, pl. *di-*.
,, *liwangahindi*, pl. *ma-*.
rafter, *ihomelo*, pl. *di-*.
rain, *mbula*.
rat, house, *mkule*, pl. *mi-*.
razor, *luumu*.
reason, *liyongo*.
rice, *imanda*.
ridgepole, *isungulu*, pl. *di-*.
ring, *imete*, pl. *di-*.
river, *muto*, pl. *mi-*.
root, *likolo*, pl. *ma-*.
rope, *mdidi*, pl. *mi-*.
,, twisted, *dimboyi*.
rust, *ngunja*.
sacrifice, *inyolo*, pl. *di-*.

sacrifice, *ing'opedi*, pl. *di-*.
saliva, *majujuli*.
salt, *munyu*.
sand, *dimbwe*.
scar, *likwanda*, pl. *ma-*.
screen used in hunting, *chiumbi*, pl. *vi-*.
scorpion, *chiwalawala*, pl. *vi-*.
seed, *imbeyu*, pl. *di-*.
semen, *ubila*.
sense, *ding'ano*.
service, *unone*.
shadow, *chimbwehedi*, pl. *vi-*.
shin, *nyamwalime*.
shoulder, *liwala*, pl. *ma-*.
sickness, *ulwele*; *liwelu*; *uula*.
sifting basket, *chipeto*, pl. *vi-*.
sister, *alumbu*.
size, *changa*.
skin, *limbende*, pl. *ma-*.
slave, *mnone*; *mtumwa*.
sleep, *luono*.
sleeping-mat, *likandi*, pl. *ma-*.
smallness, *uchokapala*.
smallpox, *chihoba*.
smoke, *liohi*.
snail, *inyedi*, pl. *di-*.
snake, *nyongo*, pl. *mihongo*.
so-and-so, *njoni* (Sw. *fulani*).
son, *mwana*, pl. *wa-*.
soot, *machili*.
sort, kind, *chikung'u*.
spear, *mkuchi*, pl. *mi-*.
spleen, *liwambala*, pl. *ma-*.
spoon, *luuko*, pl. *dinjuko*.
stalk of millet, *chikota*, pl. *vi-*.
star, *inonda*, pl. *di-*.
stick, *isimbo*, pl. *di-*.
,, pointed for digging holes, *ihenje*, pl. *di-*.
stomach, *lipitihu*, pl. *ma-*.
stone, *liyanga*, pl. *ma-*.
strength, *dimong'o*.
strife, *ing'ondo*.
such and such, *njoni*.
sun, *iduwa*; *liduwa*
tail, *mchila*, pl. *mi-*.
tamarind tree, *mkwedu*, pl. *mi-*
testicle, *inongo*, pl. *di-*.
thing, *chinu*, pl. *vi-*.
thirst, *induwa*.
thorn, *mwiwa*, pl. *mi-*.
thumb, *chikongo*, pl. *vi-*.
toe, *chala*, pl *vy-*.
tongue, *lulimi*, pl. *dindimi*.
tooth, *lino*, pl. *meno*.
tortoise, *ung'ambe*, pl. *di-*.
trap, *inambo*, pl. *di-*.
trench, *lipondo*, pl. *ma-*.
trick (joke), *lupuso*.
ulcer, *chilonda*, pl. *vi-*.
uncle, *mjomba*.
uncleared part of field, *luhole*.
urine, *makwedu*.
,, bloody, *lukwedu*.
valley, *luhunde*, pl. *di-*.
vein, *mwanga*, pl. *mi-*.
vessel, water, *chitumba*, pl. *vi-*.
village, *kaya*, pl. *ma-*.
,, *luwungo*.
voice, word, *lilowe*, pl. *ma-*.
wall, *likumba*, pl. *ma-*.
war, *ing'ondo*.
water, *medi*
,, -pot, *chilongo*, pl. *vi-*.
,, ,, small, *mnengeu*, pl. *mi-*.
well, *chihima*, pl. *vi-*.
what's-its-name, a, *mkoko*; *njoni*
white ant, *ucheche*.
widow, *numilanga*.
wife, chief, *nyhano*.
,, (others), *ady-*.
wild beast, *mkoko*.
wind, *mpapa*.
wisdom, *ding'ano*.
witchcraft, *uhawi*.

woman, *mkongwe*, pl. *wa-*.
„ *mmahi*.
woman who has borne children, *likolo*.
work, *madengo*.
wrist, *inunda*, pl. *di-*.
yard fence, *jinjili*.
„ *luagala*.
year, *chaka*, pl *vy-*.
youth, *udyoko*.
„ a, *mdyoko*, pl. *wa-*.

NOTES ON VARIOUS WORDS

Many words have meanings which can only be learned by experience. In these notes a few words are dealt with in order to show that the English given in the vocabularies does not exhaust the meaning of the Kimakonde word.

Ku-uka, to go or come out, to arise. This verb is very frequently used in the narrative to start a sentence: in such cases it may be translated as "then", "and", or "came forward".[1] *Kuka unembo kuchi "Welu wangu"*. *Kuka usungula kuchi "Welu wangu"*. Then the elephant said, or coming forward the elephant said, "My garden." And the hare said, or coming forward said, "My garden." The past tense is also often used in the same manner: *aukile*, he came forward, etc.; *waukile*, they came forward, etc. Very often it need not be translated, but is used much the same way as the Kiswahili *bassi*; although it may even follow the Kimakonde *bahi*: *Bahi, waukile anyama kuchi*, then the animals came forward and said, or the animals said, etc.

Wamba, but it was, that is to say. This is used when an explanation is given in a tale for the benefit of the person who may not understand: *Bahi, iduwa ulitenda piu, aukite usungula kuchi "Wepo mchehe katwale moto ula" wamba iduwa*, the sun was sinking, and the hare said "You hyena go and get that fire" (aside), but it was the sun. "*Nangu ngulembela chiwele munda wa adyalo*" *wambo libongo*, "I want that which is inside your wife" (explanation), that is to say (*libongo*), the unborn child.

Iduwa, day or sun.

Note.—This word nearly always takes the prefix *l* and not *i*: *iduwa limo*, one day, and not *iduwa imo*.[2]

Ku-ikala, to stay, to remain, or to live with. This becomes in the infinitive *kwikala*, and when used with a personal pronoun the

[1] Cf. in Swahili, the formula with which tales begin, *Paukwa pakawa*. See Taylor, *African Aphorisms*, p. 108.

[2] Properly belonging to Class V—cf. Yao *lyuwa*, Kinga *ishuwa*, etc. See Vocabulary, where the form *liduwa* is given as well as *iduwa*.

pronoun is enclitic: *kwikanawe*, to stay or live with him; *nang' nalembela mwanalo ngwikanawe*, I want your child that I may live with her.

Ku-penda. This verb has a very different meaning in Kimakonde to that which it bears in Kiswahili. It has the meaning of "to scorn", "dislike", "think nothing of", and, in consequence, "to disobey."

Ku-lembela. This verb has a variety of meanings, all of which however, are connected with each other: to want, to like, to accept to agree, to look for, etc. Also by use of this verb followed by the infinitive a future tense may be formed: *nalembela kuwhena, ulembela kuwhena*, etc., I want to go, also means I shall go.

Ku-haula, to say. This verb also has a great many meanings to say, to speak, to warn, to explain, to praise, and in the applied form of the verb it may mean to say to, to tell, to advise, etc.

Substantives in Class VI

As already shown, the substantives in Class VI begin with *lu-* in the singular and change the *lu-* into *di-* to form the plural. It would almost appear that the *di-* is really *din-* or *dinj-*; the *-j-*, however, is not felt except when the root of the substantive begins with a vowel. This would account for apparent irregularity in forming the plural. The explanation is that the class which corresponds as plural to the sixth or *lu-* class is Bleek's 10th (here called 3rd plural). The prefix of this is *lin-*, *zin-*, *n-*, therefore it is *din-*, not *di-*, which is here prefixed to the root and produces the various modifications to which sounds following *n-* are subject, as explained on p. 419.

nk = *ng'*	*likunde*	pl. *dinkunde*	forms *ding'unde*.
,,	*likulungwa*	*linkulungwa*	,, *ling'ulungwa*.
nl or *nt* = *nd*	*lutawi*	*dintawi*	,, *dindawi*.
,,	*lulomo*	*dinlomo*	,, *dindomo*.
nw = *mb*	*luwani*	*dinwani*	,, *dimbani*.
	luuma	*dinjuma*	Here the plural in full is shown, i.e. *dinj-*.
	luau	*dinjau*	
	luuko	*dinjuko*	

Note.—*Rupia* (or *lupia*) is put into this class and forms the plural *dimia*.

Ku ida, to come. By the use of the causative form with *pa-* prefixed can be made a kind of verb with the meaning to be there, *kupawidya*. *Papawidya mwana*, there was a child. This is some-

times used at the beginning of tales. *Apawidya*, there was a man, or he was there. *Akapawidya*, there was not a man, or he was not there.

Ku-kameka, to know or understand. The present tense of this verb is irregular, although the regular form is sometimes used. The most frequently used is *amaite* (perfect of *maya*, given by Steere), he knows, or he who knows, etc.; *akamaite*, he does not know; *mkamaite*, you do not know or understand.

Ku-whena, to go. For the subjunctive there is an irregular form in use, *ndeko*, let us go.

Likuwa, a crowd or company, used with *lyohe* which precedes it. *Lyohe likuwa kukana*, the whole crowd or company denied.

Chikung'u uchimo, used as "in the same manner" or "as before". *Wana kuimba chikung'u uchimo*, the children singing as before.

Ku-lambila, to deceive. By using the reflexive form of this verb it is made to express to pretend, *kulilambila*. *Mchehe alindimwike kulilambila kuwula matwe*, the hyena began to pretend a sick headache.

-nga, *-nanga*, suffixed to the verb a plural meaning is made: *Ikala*, stay; *ikalanga*, stay ye; *whena*, go; *whenananga*, go ye; *mkusulupukanga*, coming down, descending (plural); *kutukutanga* (*kutukutanga*), running away (plural).

Ku-namba. This verb is used as an auxiliary to form the "not yet" tense. It seems to be used very seldom by itself, and even then another verb is understood; it seems to mean *bado* when used in the negative. *Unilya? Nikanamba*. Have you eaten? Not yet. *Nikanamba kuwhena*, I have not done yet. *Nikanamba kutongola*, I have not spoken yet

The particle *-na-* inserted between the *ku-* of the infinitive and the stem gives the idea of motion. This is probably simply the tense prefix of the present tense *-na-*. *Ku-chema*, to call: *ku-m-chema*, to call him; *ku-na-m-chema*, to go and call him (when the idea of motion is desired to be expressed). This is also sometimes used in the participle form *mkunakomola*

To speak or say, *ku-tongola*, past tense *tongwele*. In the narrative forms of speech there are many methods of expressing the idea of say, said, saying, etc. Examples using the verb *kutongola* with its various abbreviations:—

Atongwele dono "*Ngulembela*". He said "I want".

Atongwedono "*Ngulembela*". He said "I want".

Atedono "*Ngulembela*". He said "I want".

Note.—The word *dono* frequently follows the verb with the meaning

of thus or so. It becomes part of the verb, and need not always be translated.

Sometimes *kuchi* follows the *dono*: it means saying, and very often need not be translated as it is a reduplication. *Atongwele dono kuchi* "*Ngulembela*". He said thus saying "I want".

Kuchi may be used by itself to denote saying, or in conjunction with the verb to say, or with *dono* or all three together (as above).

Aukile kuchi dono "*Muchi dachi chituhukana?*" He came forward saying "Why this arguing?" *Aukile kuchi* "*Whena ku'mawelu*". He came forward saying "Go to the garden".

It also may be used like a verb *ku-chi*, to say, and have its personal prefix. *Nguchidono*, I say; *nguchi*, I say; *achidono* "*Nikatamwa*", he said "I do not want", etc.

It may also be used to denote "that", i.e. *pawawene kuchi umotweke*, when they saw *that* it was fallen down, etc.

Ku-leka, to leave, etc. This verb appears to have a variety of meanings, which, although closely allied, may be rather difficult to understand at once. Among those frequently met with the following are commonest: and the result was, what followed, then followed, afterwards, all used with the sense of something resulting from what has just happened before:—

Kuleka wagawana nawe lingwele. The result (of something just happened) was his sharing with the ape.

Animwadilanga lu kuleka ilutuma. He scattered the ashes, the result of which was dust.

Usuwi akatukuta mwanda kwawe kuneka usungula wapona. The leopard ran away home leaving the hare healing (or the result was that the hare was saved).

Wakahapukana kuleka wawhena kwao. And they separated, afterwards going home.

Bahi, uhimba papulikene mwila watongola usungula, akatakuta mwanda kuneka *munu nawe usungula akamwingangi uhimba. Uhimba nanga kumwona mwila,* kuleka *munu wawhena kwawe na adyawe.* When the lion heard what the hare said he ran away, *with the result that* the man and the hare chased him. The lion was not seen again, *afterwards* the man went home with his wife.

U-.—*U-* seems to be often prefixed to a word for the sake of euphony[1]: *U-nembo*, an elephant; *u-suwi*, a leopard; *u-sungula*, an hare, etc. *Achinguwomi ungulima* or *ngulima*, etc.

[1] More probably it is the result of regarding animals as persons—see *ante*, pp. 418, 421. In the tales both forms of plural occur side by side.

The *u-* of the substantives in the singular is dropped in the plural: *Unembo, dinembo*; *usuwi, disuwi*; *usungula, disungula*, etc.

Modifying termination of verb to form past tense.—There are two ways of forming the past and perfect tenses. The simplest way is to use the tense prefix *-ni-*: *Nanwehena*, I went; *uniwhena*, you did go, etc. The other way is by adding to or modifying the termination of the verb. The following list may be of some help in showing how the stem is modified:—

1. Verbs ending in *a-a* or *e-a* change *a-a* or *e-a* to *e-e*:—

kupilikana, to hear	changes to	*pilikene*.
kupweteka, to hurt	,,	*pweteke*.
kutamwana, to agree	,,	*tamwene*.
kuwalala, to kill	,,	*walele*.
kukotapala, to be good, useful, etc.	,,	*kotapele*.
kutahukana, to argue	,,	*tahukene*, etc.

2. Verbs ending in *o-a* change the *o-a* into *we-e*:—

kukomola, to arrive at,	changes to	*komwele*.
kutongola, to speak	,,	*tongwele*.
kutondola, to choose	,,	*tondwele*, etc.

3. Verbs ending *u-a* change *u-a* into *wi-e*:—

kuhulula, to be able	changes to	*hulwile*.
kukumbula, to gather	,,	*kumbwile*.
kuyakula, to carry	,,	*yakwile*.
kusulupuka, to descend	,,	*sulupwike*, etc.

4. Most verbs ending in two syllables seem to change their endings into *-ite*:—

kupita, to pass	changes to	*pite*.
kununa, to be fat	,,	*nunite*.
yaka, to burn	,,	*yakite*.
kulanga to breed	,,	*langite*.
kulola, to look	,,	*lolite*.
kutenda, to do	,,	*tendite or tendile*.
kulima, to cultivate	,,	*limite*.

5. Verbs of more than two syllables ending in *-ila* change to *-ile*:—

kuyambukila, to answer	changes to	*yambukile*.
kulindilila, to wait for	,,	*lindilile*.
kupililila, to endure	,,	*pililile*.
kuliwalila, to forget	,,	*liwalile*, etc.

6. Verbs ending in *-dya* change into *-didye* :—

kukodya, to meet	changes to	*kodidye*.
kukomadya, to be difficult	,,	*komadidye*.
kukotopadya, to arrange	,,	*kotopadidye*, etc.

A few of the exceptions are given below :—

kuteula, to take off fire	changes to	*teulile*.
kutwala, to take	,,	*twete*.
kuholoka, to come or arrive	,,	*holeke* or *heleke*.
kuleka, to leave	,,	*lekile*.
kuona, to see, etc.	,,	*wene* or *wenite*.
kuuka, to come out or forward, etc.	,,	*ukile* or *ukite*.
kukwela, to climb	,,	*kwedidye*.
kumalila, to finish, etc.	,,	*malidile*.

(To be continued.)

THE ARAB INVASION OF KASHGAR IN A.D. 715

By H. A. R. Gibb

NOTHING is more disconcerting to the student of early Muslim history than the way in which Tabarī and the other historians alternate between detailed and comprehensive narrative and jottings of the most meagre and involved nature, filled out, in some cases, by picturesque but obviously legendary tales. These faults, which are to a large degree inherent in the method of compilation from oral tradition, come out most clearly in the narrative of the brilliant series of campaigns by which the Arab general Qutayba ibn Muslim conquered and annexed the lands eastward from Herāt and the Oxus to the Pamīr, during the reign of the Umayyad Caliph Walīd I (A.D. 705–15). Thus we are given a fairly sufficient account of the long drawn out operations against Bukhārā, but none of the actual conquest and colonization of the city: much of the expeditions against various princes subject to the kingdom of Tukhāristān, but practically nothing of the annexation of Tukhāristān itself.

Up to the year 712, however, it is possible to follow the actual course of the conquests culminating in the capture and colonization of Samarqand. The story of this decisive campaign is elaborately and clearly told, but the extension of the conquests across the Jaxartes in the next three years is related by Tabarī only in brief and confused accounts. It is from the laconic notices of the earlier historian Ya'qūbī, for instance, that the attempted reconquest of Samarqand by the Northern Turks in the following winter has been brilliantly reconstructed by Barthold.[1] But neither Ya'qūbī nor his contemporary Balādhurī add very much more to our knowledge of the events.

The situation of the Jaxartes provinces in the year 713 may be briefly described. The kingdoms of Shāsh (Tashkent) and Farghāna maintained a precarious existence as semi-independent states subject to the Northern Turks, the latest of the ephemeral Turkish empires which flourished in what is now Siberia during periods of weakness in Chinese foreign policy. The Northern Turks, however, engaged in

[1] *Die Alt.-turk. Inschriften u. die Arab Quellen*, p. 11 (St. Petersburg, 1899).

constant warfare with the Türgesh tribes in the Ili valley were practically powerless to intervene effectively in their affairs. Together with this, the princes of Shāsh and Farghāna, like all the other rulers in Central Asia, regarded themselves as vassals of China in virtue of the Chinese protectorate proclaimed over them in 659, but at the moment the internal weakness of China prevented any enforcement of her claim. Internally, the two kingdoms appear to have been in constant feud, and both suffered from chronic anarchy.

By crossing the Jaxartes, therefore, Qutayba challenged both the Turkish and Chinese pretensions more definitely than he had done hitherto. The accounts given by Ṭabarī are that in the year 713 he divided his forces in two, one of which under his own command defeated the Farghanians and captured their chief cities, Khujanda, Farghāna, and Kāshān, while the other, composed chiefly of the levies raised in Transoxania, was successful in capturing Shāsh. In the following year he undertook a second expedition "into Shāsh", but on hearing of the death of his patron Ḥajjāj he returned to his headquarters at Merv. As the death of Ḥajjāj took place in June (Shawwāl, A.H. 95) it is probable that the expedition was already far advanced. Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje, p. 422) preserves a tradition that Qutayba captured Isbījāb, an important trading centre some 100 miles north of Shāsh. It would seem, then, that, whether or not a second conquest of Shāsh was necessary, Qutayba's plan of campaign was to follow up the very important trade-route which led from Turfan down the Ili valley, along the northern edge of the Thian-Shan mountains, through Tokmak and Tarāz (Aulié-ata) into Shāsh and Samarqand. The economic importance of controlling this trade-route may have been less in his mind, however, than its strategic value as the road by which the Central Asian Turks debouched on Transoxania.

The death of Ḥajjāj deeply affected Qutayba's position although he had received a kindly and appreciative letter from the Caliph confirming his appointment and making him directly subordinate to Damascus. It is unnecessary here to discuss the deep-seated factional tendencies of the Arabs, which showed themselves nowhere in an uglier light than in Khurāsān, on which Qutayba's army was based.[1] The general himself was not supported by any of the powerful parties, and his Arab troops resented his growing partiality for the Persians. All these elements of disaffection had been held in check by Ḥajjāj

[1] See Wellhausen, *Das Arab. Reich* (Berlin, 1902), chap. viii, esp. p. 273.

so completely that Qutayba himself seems to have been largely unaware of his danger.

This summary helps to make clear the circumstances under which the campaign of 715 was projected and opened. The account which Ṭabarī intends to convey is that Qutayba marched first into Farghāna and from there led an expedition to Kashgar, with complete success. At this stage he received a request from the king of China to send an embassy to the Chinese court. Qutayba selected twelve of the leaders for this mission. The legend naively relates how these ambassadors made such an impression on the king that he sent formal tokens of submission. Beneath the characteristic layer of *fakhr*, however, there is a basis of fact. The Chinese records contain a notice of an Arab embassy which visited the capital in 713 and caused consternation by refusing to kowtow before the Emperor. Nevertheless the ambassadors were favourably received, but no indication is given of the purpose or achievement of their mission. The accuracy of the Chinese date is confirmed by the statement in Ṭabarī himself (ii. 1280. 3) that the ambassadors were sent to the Caliph Walīd on their return, which must therefore have occurred between the death of Ḥajjāj and the end of 714. We may conjecture that the embassy was intended either to dissuade the Chinese from assisting the Turks or to make mutual arrangements with regard to the silk-trade, a matter peculiarly important to Samarqand and Bukhārā.

There is thus *prima facie* evidence that Ṭabarī's account of the expedition of 715 contains a confused and unreliable tradition in at least one respect. It remains now to consider the invasion of Kashgar, which has hitherto been generally accepted as historical. In this case no such easy contradiction is possible, but I hope to show that the whole weight of evidence is decisively against it.

In the first place, of the three earlier historians whose works have come down to us not one mentions this expedition to Kashgar. The silence of Dīnawarī is perhaps hardly remarkable, but both Ya'qūbī and Balādhurī omit all reference to it, though they give fairly full accounts of Qutayba's campaigns. Ya'qūbī quotes only the local tradition of Khurāsān, utilized also by Ṭabarī (see below), that "Qutayba penetrated far into Farghāna", while Balādhurī quotes the summaries of two authorities, Abū 'Ubaida (422, 13 f.) and Abū 'Ayyāsh al-Hamadhānī (422, 7 f., and 431, 16 f.), neither of which include Kashgar in the list of conquests. Nor does Narshakhī, almost contemporary with Ṭabarī, mention such an expedition in connexion with Qutayba,

though he relates his "martyrdom" in Farghāna (ed. Schefer, p. 57). Even when we turn to Ṭabarī himself, in spite of the tarjama (1275, 15) افتتح قتيبة بن مسلم كاشغر وغزا الصين "Qutayba captured Kashgar and raided China", we find that the statement is not borne out by the authorities on which it professedly rests.

The first narrative is quoted from Al-Madā'inī (1276, 2 ff.):

مضى الى فرغانة وارسل الى شعب عصام من يسهّل له الطريق الى كاشغر وهى ادنى مدائن الصين فاتاه موت الوليد وهو بفرغانة

"He marched to Farghāna and sent forward to the pass of 'Iṣām pioneers to clear the way for him to Kashgar, which is the nearest of the cities of China, but the news of Walīd's death reached him while he was at Farghāna." Al-Madā'inī therefore credits Qutayba with the intention of raiding Kashgar, but definitely refrains from saying that the intention was carried out.

The narrative of Abū Mikhnaf is vague and confused (1276, 17 ff.):

بعث قتيبة كثير بن فلان الى كاشغر فسبى منها سبيا فختم اعناقهم مما افاء الله على قتيبة [ثم رجع قتيبة] وجاء هم موت الوليد

"Qutayba sent Kathīr (or Kuthaiyir) ibn Fulān (i.e. son of So-and-so) to Kashgar and he took a number of them captive and placed his seal on their necks, namely of that which God gave as booty to Qutayba. [Then Qutayba returned] and there reached them the news of Walīd's death." It will be seen that though it is claimed that Kashgar was actually raided, the exploit is attributed not to Qutayba with his army but to a small force under an unknown leader. The clause in brackets, besides being in contradiction to the other narratives and clearly out of context, is missing in one MS. and in the redaction of Ibn al-Athīr: it is noteworthy also that Ibn Khaldūn transcribes the whole passage thus: بعث مقدّمه الى كاشغر فغنموا وسبوا وختم اعناق السبى

"He (i.e. Qutayba) sent his advance guard to Kashgar and they made booty and prisoners, and he sealed the necks of the prisoners."

Ṭabarī quotes finally the local tradition of Khurāsān on a double *isnād*, in almost the same words as are used by Ya'qūbī:

وغل قتيبة حتى قرب من الصين "Qutayba penetrated so far into Farghāna as to approach the borders of China." This passage seems to be taken by Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn to refer to the main army under Qutayba himself, though the former retains Tabarī's tarjama.

It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Tabarī read into his authorities a meaning which they did not support. Wellhausen (op. cit., p. 272) states that the expedition is "auch durch gleichzeitige Lieder vielfach bestätigt". I have been unable to find any of these poems. There are two verses which mention Qutayba in connexion with China. One occurs in a poem of Tirimmāḥ in praise of Yemen, quoted in Tabarī (1302, 18): قتلوا قتيبة . . . بالمرج مرج الصين "They slew Qutayba at the meadow, the meadow of China," and the second in Yāqūt's Mu'jam al Buldān (ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 730, 8, s.v. Balanjar), in praise of Bāhila, the tribe to which Qutayba belonged: وان لنا قبرَيْن قبر بلنجر وقبر بصين أُستَانَ يالك من قبر "Two graves are ours, the grave of Balanjar, and a grave in China: alas! what a grave was that." But as both these verses speak of Qutayba's death, which undoubtedly took place in Farghāna, they can hardly be regarded as confirming the tradition.

In the second place, there are grave chronological difficulties. It is well known how, on hearing of the death of the Caliph Walīd, Qutayba, knowing that his successor Sulaymān was his implacable enemy, after some attempted negotiations on both sides, openly revolted. On finding the army disinclined to follow him he completely lost his head and roused a mutiny in which he was killed. The death of Walīd took place at latest in February, 715, and the news must have reached Farghāna by the end of April. Wellhausen (p. 274, n. 2) remarks that it could hardly have reached Farghāna before July, but the statement is not borne out by the Arabic writers. The post covered the distance from Baṣra to Merv, some 400 farsakhs, in twenty days (Tab. 1035); from Damascus to 'Irāq, via Ar-Raqqa, was a much shorter distance, and from Merv to Farghāna only 147 farsakhs. It is incredible that Qutayba should not have made arrangements for a rapid system of communications, and two months is ample time to allow for the receipt of the news. The authorities all agree that Qutayba was at Farghāna when it arrived, and he could

not therefore have already set out on his expedition. In any case the high passes into Kashgar would barely be passable for caravans, let alone an army, before the end of April. The historians give the most contradictory accounts of the events that followed, but it is evident that some months were spent in an attempt at negotiation and that in the meantime Qutayba was left with an insubordinate army in an extremely awkward position. It may well be that small forces had already been sent out in various directions and some preparations for the main campaign set on foot, but an arduous expedition with the whole army was out of the question in these circumstances. It is difficult, moreover, to see what, beyond booty, Qutayba stood to gain by such an expedition, in comparison with the risks it involved. Further, it is agreed on all sides that Qutayba was killed in Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 96, or the following month, i.e. August or September, by which time only the smallest of raiding parties could have returned from Kashgar to Farghāna, even in the improbable case of meeting no opposition.

This chronological point is of great importance when we come to examine the Chinese records, which, as is well known, do not hesitate to record foreign expeditions into the Tarim basin. It happens that there is an important reference to the Arabs in Farghāna in this year, which has sometimes been taken to substantiate the narrative of Ṭabarī[1]: "The Tibetans and Arabs, acting in concert, nominated a certain A-leao-ta king [of Farghana], and sent troops to attack Farghāna. The troops of the [deposed] king having been defeated, he fled to Kucha to ask help. . . . The governor put himself at the head of 10,000 troops from the neighbouring barbarian tribes, marched several thousand li to the west of Kucha, and subdued several hundreds of cities. He made forced marches, and in the same month [according to Chav., p. 291, the eleventh month = December] he attacked A-leao-ta near the United cities [Lien-Ch'ang, now unidentified but apparently in Kashgaria] and after an eight hours' battle took these three cities and killed or captured over a thousand men. A-leao-ta with some horsemen fled into the mountains. . . . Chinese prestige made the western countries tremble. Eight kingdoms, including the Arabs, Samarqand, Shāsh, and Kapisa, sent embassies with their submission."

[1] Translated from Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue Occidentaux* (St. Petersburg, 1903), p. 148, n. 3.

The one thing quite clear about this strange and obviously boastful narrative is that it has no connexion with anything reported by Tabarī. Its general bearing I hope to discuss in a later article on Chinese notices of the Arabs, but for the present purpose it should be noted that while on the one hand Tabarī says nothing of Tibetan support or of a battle with the king of Farghāna, so also the Chinese make no reference to an Arab attack on Kashgar. It is not even said that there were Arabs fighting on the side of A-leao-ta. More important, however, is the date of this event. If on the arrival of the deposed king the governor of Kucha immediately collected the available local forces to make a forced march against his rival, and yet with all his haste the battle did not take place until December, it is obvious that the events related in Farghāna did not take place until the late autumn. But by that time Qutayba was dead and his army disbanded. The reconciliation of the two narratives, on the supposition that they deal with one and the same event, seems to me impossible.

The evidence is thus entirely against the authenticity of the tradition that Qutayba invaded Kashgar. But there is no doubt that it was not a pure invention of the historian Tabarī; we may take it rather that by his time it had become a floating legend which he attached to his earlier sources and perpetuated by the authority of his name. Its origin may perhaps be traced to more than one source. "Sīn," for one thing, was to the Arabs less the name of a definite country than a vague term for "The Far East". How indefinite it was may be seen from the two verses quoted above on the death of Qutayba, or even more surprisingly in an early writer's reference to the battle of Tarāz as having taken place in "Sīn".[1] It is in this sense that the saying attributed to Yazīd b. Muhallab (Balādhurī, 336, 13 f.) is to be understood: قبّح الله قتيبة ترك هاؤلاء وهم فى بيضة العرب واراد غزو الصين اوقال وغزا الصين "God curse Qutayba: he left these people [the inhabitants of Jurjān] alone though they live in the heart of Arab territory, and sought to invade China," or according to another account "he invaded China". In course of time such a statement as "Qutayba invaded Sīn" would naturally become defined as "Qutayba captured Kashgar", that being the nearest and best-known Chinese city in later times.[2]

[1] Ibn Taifūr, *Kitāb Baghdād*, vi (ed. H. Keller, Leipzig, 1908), p. 8, l. 12.

[2] On the development of traditions to explain poetic allusions see Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, 183.

Or something of this may perhaps be traced to attributing to Qutayba the legendary exploits of the Tubbas of Yemen, as popularized by Wahb b. Munabbih and other story-tellers. Compare the verse quoted in Ṭabarī (1304, 15): بمن انجنا اهل كلّ مدينة من الشرك حتى جاوزت مطلع الشمس "With our spears we gained as our booty the people of every city of unbelief, until they overpassed the place of the sun's rising."

According to the Chinese records, however, there was a descent on Kashgaria in 717 by the Türgesh in which bands of Tibetans and Arabs joined (Chav., 284, n. 2). It is more than possible that the memory of this raid was preserved and attached to the popular narratives of the exploits of Qutayba. But however the tradition may have arisen, it lost nothing in the course of centuries. To what astounding lengths it was ultimately carried may best be seen in the version given by Vambéry (quoting probably from a late Turkish recension of Ṭabarī) in his *History of Bokhara* :—

"Having conquered Farghāna, Qutayba pressed along the old road through the Terek pass into Eastern Turkestan. Here he encountered the princes of the Uigurs who in default of union amongst themselves were easily conquered one after another. . . . We are told that the Arabs extended their incursions into the province of Kan-su, and it is a source of no little pride to the present inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan that Turfan, on the very first appearance of the Arabs, embraced Islam."

One can only wonder what the legend might have come to had Qutayba actually invaded China.

A BRITISH SCHOOL OF INDIAN STUDIES IN INDIA

Read at the joint session of the Royal Asiatic Society, Société Asiatique, American Oriental Society and Scuola Orientale, Reale Università di Roma, 5th September, 1919.

By J. Ph. Vogel, Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Archæology at the University of Leiden (Holland).

[*At the Conference of Orientalists held at Simla in July*, 1911, *under the auspices of the Government of India, a scheme was proposed by Sir Denison Ross for an Oriental Research Institute to be established in Calcutta. The Institute in question was intended to offer facilities for the higher branches of Oriental study to both Indians and Europeans, but owing to the war and other reasons the scheme was never carried into effect. For full particulars the reader is referred to the Government Report on the Conference of Orientalists held at Simla, July*, 1911, *printed in the same year at the Government Central Branch Press, Simla.*]

THE subject to which I venture to invite your attention is not altogether new to the members of the Royal Asiatic Society. Three years ago, at a meeting of the Society on 14th March, 1916, with Sir Charles Lyall in the chair, when the Campbell Memorial Gold Medal was awarded to Professor Macdonell, of Oxford, the latter in his reply touched upon the desirability of creating, on behalf of British Sanskrit scholars, some opportunity of study and research in India. "The only remedy," Professor Macdonell said,[1] "seems to be the establishment of a school of research for Europeans at some centre of Sanskrit learning, preferably Benares, like the School of Classical Archæology at Athens or the French School at Hanoi in Indo-China. It will be a reproach to this country if we cannot establish something of this kind in India, with all our obligations to advance education and learning in connexion with the ancient civilization and literature of the vast Indian Empire."

I understand that shortly afterwards a committee was appointed, including Sir Charles Lyall, Professor Macdonell, and Dr. Thomas, to consider the question, but that after two or three meetings, as the war was on, the committee did not formulate any definite proposals.

[1] *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for the year 1916, p. 589.

Professor Macdonell's proposal should be warmly welcomed, I am sure, not only by British Sanskritists, but also by Sanskrit scholars from other countries. The present gathering, therefore, seems to afford a fit opportunity for reopening the discussion of a question of so wide an interest for Indian studies. There is, moreover, a circumstance which in my opinion is bound to render such a discussion fruitful. When first making his proposal three years ago, Professor Macdonell mentioned the *École Française d'Extrême-Orient* as an example of a research institute such as, in his opinion, is wanted for India. Now we have the rare privilege of seeing in our midst a number of distinguished French scholars who have been closely associated with the French school of Hanoi, including M. Finot, who during so many years has directed the work of that model institution. I am sure that their advice will be of the greatest value, and that such an opportunity ought not to be lost.

On the other hand, we regret the absence of Sir John Marshall, the head of the Archæological Department of the Government of India, as his advice in this matter would be of the utmost importance. Of his interest in Professor Macdonell's proposal we may be sure. In fact, I believe that Sir John Marshall might almost claim it as his own. For I remember very distinctly that a few years after he had assumed his post as Director-General, he himself formulated a scheme for a Research Institute on the lines of the British School at Athens.

The fact that the idea of such an institution is advanced from different sides and by such competent men goes far to prove that a British School for India will fill a real and long-felt want.

If we review all that has been achieved in India in the field of archæological and philological investigation since the days when Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784), there is certainly some cause for legitimate pride. The progress made in every department of Indian studies has been enormous.

Of late years several provincial societies have been founded which devote themselves to the study of the archæology, history, and philology of India.[1] The papers published by those societies reach, on the whole, a very fair standard of scholarship, and this is all the more

[1] The Societies in question are the Panjab Historical Society (founded in 1910), the Burma Research Society (1911), the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (1916), the Hyderabad Archæological Society (1916), and the United Provinces Historical Society (1917). At Bombay there exists since many years a branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Each of these societies publishes its own journal.

creditable if we take into account that the contributors are, as a rule, not professionals, but amateurs (I use this word here in the best sense) —officials and others who devote their scanty leisure hours to some favourite subject of study, such as ethnology, folk-lore, or numismatics. Very often their writings have a great originality and freshness, drawn as they are not from the reading of many books but from the direct observation of Indian life.

A very large share in the progress of philological research is taken by the scientific departments of the Government of India—the Archæological, Ethnographical, and Linguistic Surveys. If there is anything which most clearly shows the enlightened principles by which the Indian Government is guided, it is certainly the maintenance of those departments.

It is well known what splendid opportunities for research—I mention it with a feeling of great personal gratitude—the Archæological Survey of India has offered to scholars of various nationality—American, Austrian, Dutch, French, German, Hungarian, and Norwegian, as well as British and Indian. In this connexion there are two points to which I wish to draw your attention.

If we survey the history of archæological research in India, we are struck by a very remarkable similarity with the course of antiquarian investigations in Egypt. Whereas Mariette could devote himself entirely to the fascinating work of exploration and discovery, his great successor, Sir Gaston Maspero, had to give a large share of his attention to the more urgent but far less attractive task of conservation.[1]

The same has happened in India. There Sir Alexander Cunningham had very much the same position as Mariette held in Egypt. Assisted by a small staff he wandered from one ancient site to the other, explored and excavated, and published his reports which abound in startling discoveries and brilliant identifications, but which on the whole cannot lay claim to finality. Cunningham was the great pioneer.

[1] "Le successeur de Mariette, M. Maspero donna de 1881 à 1886, au Service des Antiquités, une direction vraiment scientifique dont le succès fut facilité par la réorganisation profonde de l'Egypte moderne qui suivit l'occupation anglaise. M. Maspero eut le courage de proclamer que les fouilles ne devaient venir qu'en second rang dans les préoccupations du Service : le but essentiel était de déblayer à fond les monuments ; de les *conserver* et de les faire connaître ; il était temps de substituer aux reconnaissances superficielles une méthode d'exploration complète et de publication intégrale. De ce jour, il exista vraiment un service de conservation des antiquités égyptiennes." (A. Moret, *Au temps des Pharaons*, 2ième édition, Paris, 1912, p. 16.)

The position of the present Director-General of Archæology very different. In 1885, the year of Cunningham's retirement, preservation of the ancient monuments had been entrusted to Archæological Survey and gradually had become the chief task of officers of that department, while antiquarian research was relega to the second place. There is, certainly, every reason to rejo that the Indian Government, especially under the Viceroyalty Lord Curzon, has fully acknowledged its obligations in the upkeep the ancient monuments of the country. In fact, I believe there hardly any branch in which its enlightened policy has met with universal and enthusiastic approval on the part of the India population.

At the same time it will be readily understood that the chang conditions tend in no small degree to restrict the opportunities fo research. That even now such opportunity is not wholly wanting proved by the series of carefully prepared and well-illustrated Annua Reports which Sir John Marshall had published since 1902–3, and o which twelve volumes have appeared. But I know at the cost of how great an exertion these volumes are produced, and how hard it often is to obtain the necessary contributions even with the co-operation of a dozen or more archæological officers. It seldom happens that one of these officers can snatch the necessary leisure from his office routine work to compose a monograph on some building or group of buildings, and thus add another volume to the New Imperial Series of Archæological Reports. This is certainly much to be deplored. For, however highly students of India's past will appreciate the Annuals which give a clear account of the progress of archæological exploration, the final monographs on distinct monuments or groups of monuments are not less necessary. These volumes can no longer be produced at the same pace as in the days of Dr. Burgess, who was not hampered by conservation work nor by a big office and a never-ceasing flow of official correspondence.

There is yet another point to be mentioned. When I joined the Archæological Survey in 1901, the six posts of Superintendents (or Surveyors as they were then called) were exclusively held by Europeans with the exception of Burma. At present four out of the now existing Superintendents are Indians.

The fact that a sufficient number of well-qualified Indian archæologists is found (nearly all of them received their training from Sir John Marshall personally) is bound to cause satisfaction among the

members of a society which includes so many Indians and is so anxious to appreciate Indian scholarship.

At the same time we cannot be blind to the fact that, as more posts in the Archæological Survey are being filled by Indians, the opening for European Sanskritists for employment in the department is constantly decreasing and will still further decrease in the future.

I have spoken of the Archæological Survey at some length, because of the scientific departments of the Government of India this is the only one with which I am well acquainted. As regards the Ethnographical and Linguistic Surveys, there are others among the members of the Royal Asiatic Society who are intimately associated with them, and who will, I hope, favour us with an expression of their opinion.

But I believe I may confidently include the branches of research represented by those departments, if I assert that the number of European scholars in India who can devote themselves entirely to the great task of exploration, who can follow up a certain subject of inquiry, who can become real experts in some special department of studies, is exceedingly small.

Yet the work to be done is enormous. Indeed, it is so vast that, even taking into account the ever-growing scientific interest among Indian scholars, they can never hope to accomplish the hundredth part of it without assistance from abroad, even if in a spirit of narrow nationalism they wished to monopolize those inexhaustible mines of the ancient civilisation of their country. But of this there is little fear. For I know well that the best representatives of Indian learning highly appreciate all that has been achieved by European scholarship in the investigation of India's past, and that they will heartily welcome their co-operation in the future.

In fact the possibilities of philological research in India are without limits. Let me only quote the eloquent words spoken nearly twenty years ago by a man who has taken such a large share in the work of this Society—Professor Rhys Davids.

"It is no disparagement," he said, "to the paramount importance and undying interest of Greek scholarship to say that, in the course of four centuries of devoted labour, the mine has been almost exhaustively worked. In Oriental study the nuggets lie still on the surface. In the older studies, for each new document or fragment discovered, there is a small army of workers. In Oriental study, for

each new worker there are a hundred MSS. as yet unread, a hundr inscriptions as yet undeciphered." [1]

What great discoveries may still be made in the field of the ancie literature of India is proved by the recent publication of no l than thirteen Sanskrit dramas by the South Indian scholar, Ganap Sastri. These plays, which their editor ascribed to Bhāsa, include t prototype of that gem of the Old Indian drama, the *Little Clay Car* And how many texts are there which have been known for numbe of years and still await a critical edition!

When Professor Rhys Davids asserted that for each new epigraph there are a hundred inscriptions as yet undeciphered, this estimate w by no means exaggerated. Let me only mention that in the pett Himalayan Hill-State of Chamba, which is about equal in size t Montenegro, it has been my good fortune to discover 130 inscription in Śāradā and Tānkarī, of which only the first instalment has ye been edited. All these inscriptions it was possible to discover without a single stroke of the spade. How many hundreds—or shall we say thousands?—are waiting to be brought to light by excavation?

But let us not imagine for a moment that with regard to those numberless inscriptions which have been brought to notice in the course of a century of exploration nothing more remains to be done. In a meeting like the present there is no need to lay stress upon the excellent work accomplished in India by epigraphists like Prinsep, Bühler, Kielhorn, Fleet, and Hultzsch. They have set a standard of thorough and accurate scholarship which is still maintained by the various contributors to that excellent periodical the *Epigraphia Indica*,[2] now placed under the editorship of Dr. Thomas. Among those contributors there is a considerable number of Indian scholars, whose genius seems to be particularly well adapted to this branch of research. Let me only mention the name of Venkayya, who once held the post of Government Epigraphist, and who has furthered our knowledge of South Indian inscriptions in no small degree.

But side by side with the *Epigraphia Indica* there exists another big

[1] T. W. Rhys Davids, "Oriental Studies in England and Abroad"—(*Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. ii, p. 9.

[2] A. M. Meerwarth, "The Dramas of Bhāsa: a literary study"—*Jl. Proc. A.S.B.* (N.S.), vol. xiii (1917), pp. 261–79. Max Lindenau, *Bhāsa-studien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des altindischen Dramas*, Leipzig, 1918. Cf. also Professor Barnett's remarks, *JRAS.* for 1919, p. 233.

[3] A new series, the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, is devoted to the editing of the Arabic and Persian inscriptions found in India.

publication devoted to Indian inscriptions—the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, of which only two volumes have so far appeared. The first volume, which deals with the Asoka inscriptions, was written by Sir Alexander Cunningham, but became obsolete very soon after its publication in 1877; Volume III, Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, published at Calcutta in 1888, is a lasting monument of that scholar's learning, and will never lose its value; although a vast number of fresh inscriptions of the Gupta period have come to light since it was written.

The example set by Dr. Fleet ought to be followed. Side by side with the *Epigraphia Indica*, in which inscriptions from all parts of India are edited as they come to light or find competent persons to edit them, we want that other series—the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*—each volume of which has to deal in as final a manner as possible with the inscriptions of a certain period or of a certain dynasty. In this manner we ought to obtain a series of well documented monographs on the Kushāṇas, and the Pallavas, the Gaharwārs and the Chandellas, and all those great ruling houses of ancient India which have passed away, leaving the records of their deeds engraved in copper and stone.[1]

The field of archæological exploration, too, offers infinite possibilities of discovery. Since the reorganization of the Archæological Survey under Lord Curzon the work of excavation has been the exclusive domain of the officers of that Department. Such a limitation was, indeed, absolutely necessary after the irreparable harm done in previous years by amateurs and treasure-seekers. It is, indeed, infinitely better to leave an ancient site undisturbed than to abandon it to incompetent enthusiasm or unscrupulous rapacity. I trust, however, that if a really competent person were to come forward and offer his assistance to the Archæological Department in this important work, his help would not be declined.

However that may be, the spadework still to be done in India is practically unlimited. Cunningham directed his attention chiefly to the sacred sites of Buddhism described by Hiuen Tsiang and, in general, he carried on his excavation only until he had found sufficient evidence to enable him to identify the locality with one of the places

[1] Some years ago steps were taken by the Director-General of Archæology to continue the series with the aid of some competent German scholars. I do not know what progress has since been made, but it is very much to be feared that the war has had a disastrous effect on this undertaking.

mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim. We may safely say that there is hardly any site which he has completed.

It is only recently that Sir John Marshall has inaugurated a new era in the history of archæological exploration in India by attacking some of the large city sites, such as Taxila.

But if we turn our eye to the numberless ancient monuments which lie scattered over the face of India, what an enormous task still awaits the student of architecture. How many buildings still remain to be described. Let me take only one instance. The plains to the south of Delhi are covered with mosques and mausoleums which embody the history of the capital city of India from the times that it was wrested from Prithi Rāj by the Moslem invaders. On this wonderful group of monuments familiar to every tourist there exists no work except Sayyid Ahmad's *Āsār-us-Sanādīd* (in Urdu), and Fanshawe's *Delhi Past and Present*, both books which were meritorious for the time in which they were written, but hardly come up to the requirements of modern research.[1] I know that it has been the ideal of some of the Superintendents of Muhammedan buildings who have followed each other in such quick succession, to write a work on the architecture of ancient Delhi, but how could they possibly find the necessary repose for such an undertaking, since their whole time was taken up by the heavy duties of conservation?

The museums of India, too, contain a mass of material which has only very partially been explored. Some of the smaller collections have been catalogued. But there is ample room for detailed studies of practically every class of antiquities: prehistoric implements, sculptures, and pottery, coins and gems, seals and sealings, arms and tools, dress and ornaments, frescoes and miniatures.

If we now direct our attention to the study of the modern languages of India, it will be scarcely necessary to recall the great work done by the Linguistic Survey of India under the able direction of Sir George Grierson. The work has, I believe, been almost exclusively done by Europeans, to whom nearly all the existing grammars and dictionaries of modern Indian dialects are due. In fact, on the part of Indian scholars there is a remarkable want of interest in this department of studies which yet is of such great importance for their national life.

[1] Recently the following has appeared:—Fr. Wetzel, *Islamische Grabbauten in Indien aus der Zeit der Soldatenkaiser 1320–1540*, Leipzig, 1919. *Mit 1 Kartenskizze von Alt-Delhi und 350 Abbildungen auf 83 Tafeln und im Text (33ste Wissensch. Veröffentl. der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft).*

In their boundless admiration for the Sanskrit, the venerable mother of Indian languages—if I may use this not wholly accurate metaphor—they are apt to foster a certain contempt for the daughter languages of to-day. Their attitude reminds us of that of our own ancestors with regard to Latin.

At a Conference of Orientalists held at Simla in July, 1911, when the scheme for an Oriental Institute for India was being discussed, and it was proposed to have a chair for the vernaculars too, one of the most distinguished representatives of Indian scholarship scouted the idea by saying: "The vernaculars can take care of themselves."

There is every reason to hope that this curious attitude will be abandoned and that in the future the Indians will take a larger share in the scientific investigation of their own national languages. In fact, during the last thirty years much more attention has been given by native scholars to the vernaculars than heretofore, especially at Calcutta, Benares, and Bombay. Anyhow, notwithstanding the splendid work of the Linguistic Survey, much remains to be done, and for the present certainly it will largely have to be done by Europeans. Let me only mention such curious remnants of the earliest group of Indian languages as the Kanāwarī (or Kanauri) of the Satluj valley and the three dialects of Lahul which still linger on in some of those remote vallevs of the Western Himalaya and which are as sure to vanish and perhaps with less delay than the frescoes of Ajanta.

In the case of those frescoes measures can be taken (and are actually being taken) to retard the natural process of decay. But no human agency can save those little islands of aboriginal speech from being gradually overflowed by the surrounding Indo-Aryan dialects. *Est periculum in mora.*[1]

As regards the future of linguistic research in India Sir George Grierson writes to me: "In India there are representatives of six great families (some with two or three branches) embracing 179 languages. To cope with these, or even with the principal of these, a large staff would be required. Teachers would be wanted for the study of the philological history of each family. There is a great field open for research here. I believe that new facts

[1] Cf. Sten Konow's article *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. III, part I, pp. 430–41. A vocabulary of the Kanauri was published by the Rev. Grahame Bailey in the *Journal* of the R.A.S. for 1910, pp. 659–705, and for 1911, pp. 315–64. "A Brief Grammar of the Kanauri Language" by the same scholar appeared in the *Zschr. der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft*, vol. lxiii (1909), pp. 661–87.

of great importance, both ethnological and philological, would brought to light from the scientific study of the languages of t Himālaya (at present all classed as Tibeto-Burman) and of t languages of Burma. Gleams of light have come even to me this point. Then there are the great literary languages. Th literatures require much more thorough investigation than the have hitherto received. Some of the principal Aryan languag have received some attention, but other languages—high literary and spoken by millions of people (such as Burmese a Shan)—have been almost entirely neglected. What can be mo important than the study of a nation's literature? The history a nation's literature is a history of its intellectual and religious life."

Ethnology, anthropology, and folk-lore open yet another field investigation. The learned societies which now exist in almost ever province of India devote a great deal of their attention to those studies. They can do excellent work by publishing materials which their members can collect in the various districts of the province.

Special mention should be made of the work done by Mr. William Crooke, C.I.E., in Northern India, and by Mr. Edgar Thurston in the South. In the Punjab valuable material has been collected and published by Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Sir Richard Temple, and by Mr. H. A. Rose. In the last issue of the R.A.S.'s *Journal* the last-mentioned scholar wrote in the course of his review of a revised edition of the *Gazetteer of Kulu*: "Little has been added to our knowledge of caste in Kulu since Sir J. B. Lyall and Mr. Alexander Anderson described its system, but an intensive local study of caste and folk-beliefs in the subdivision would doubtless yield a rich harvest and throw much light on primitive Hinduism as a social and religious organisation."

Would not this remark apply to many another district of India?

James Darmesteter has left us his splendid work *Chants populaires des Afghans*. Sir Richard Temple has given us his large collection *Legends of the Punjab*. But these two works represent only two provinces of India, and even they are not exhaustive.

There is, indeed, hardly any country in the world which offers a vaster scope for ethnographic and folk-lorist research than India with its wonderful variety of races and religions, castes and customs, beliefs and superstitions, of which so much has been preserved from the very dawn of civilisation.

I have tried to give some idea of the amount of research work still

to be done in India, and the agencies now available to undertake it. My survey has been necessarily brief and incomplete, but it will suffice to show how great a disproportion there exists between work and workers. On the one hand, unlimited possibilities of work of the greatest scientific interest, and, partly, of a decidedly urgent nature. On the other hand, a very devoted but very small band of workers, the great majority of whom are amateurs. Let me repeat that I have great admiration for the work they produce often under very trying circumstances. But there is a danger in excessive dilettantism, and it is a danger from which India has not entirely escaped. One sometimes meets with pseudo-scientific publications which in no other civilised country would be tolerated.

What India wants is a Research Institute in which a number of scholars—specialists in the various branches of learning with which we are dealing—could devote themselves entirely to the great task of investigating India's past and present, without being hampered by engrossing official duties or by the burden of office work. What wonderful results such an institution even with a very limited number of workers can produce is proved by the *École Française d'Extrême Orient*, which Professor Macdonell most appropriately mentioned when advancing his scheme three years ago.

It will not be out of place to give here an outline of the history and working of that School. It was founded in 1899 by the Governor-General, M. Doumer, under the name *Mission Archéologique d'Indo-Chine*, a designation which in the year following was changed into *École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. It was first established at Saigon, the seat of the supreme Government of Indo-China, but subsequently it followed the central government to Hanoi.

In the Government Order of 15th December, 1898, the aim of the School is defined in the following terms:—

1°. De travailler à l'exploration archéologique et philologique de la presqu'île indo-chinoise, de favoriser par tous les moyens la connaissance de son histoire, de ses monuments, de ses idiomes.

2°. De contribuer à l'étude érudite des régions et des civilisations voisines, Inde, Chine, Malaisie, etc.[1]

Considering the vast scope of the programme contained in these two articles, one will be struck by the exceedingly small number of

[1] *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. 1 (1901), pp. 67 sq. See also the more detailed programme, as laid down by M. Emile Senart in his letter to the Director on the occasion of the founding of the School. *Ibidem*, pp. 10 sq.

men by whom it was to be carried out. Originally the School consisted only of a Director, appointed for six years, a Secretary-Librarian and a few *pensionnaires* appointed for one year with the possibility of yearly extensions. The number of these *scholarship-holders* was not to exceed three! Both the Director and the *pensionnaires* are appointed by the Governor-General on the recommendation of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*. The *pensionnaires* may be either promising students who devote themselves to the study of India or the Far East, or scholars whose researches render a stay in the East desirable. Besides, officials or other residents of the Colony who are engaged in some special branch of inquiry can be temporarily attached to the School.[1]

Thus at the conclusion of the first year the whole personnel of the School consisted of M. Louis Finot as Director, a Secretary-Librarian, one *pensionnaire* (M. Pelliot), and two members temporarily attached.

But now we notice a gradual and constant development, the scholars becoming professors, and thus making room for fresh scholars who become professors in their turn. Thus in the course of the second year M. Pelliot is appointed Professor of Chinese. M. Foucher joined the School in 1901, and in March, 1902, the Architect, M. Parmentier, *pensionnaire* since July, 1900, is put in charge of the archæological survey with the designation of *Chef du service archéologique*. Three new scholars arrive, of whom one, M. Maitre, in 1905, is made Professor of Japanese, and another, M. Ed. Huber, Professor of Indo-Chinese Philology in February, 1912. A fourth chair is that for the history and archæology of Annam—filled by M. Léonard Aurousseau since December, 1914. It goes without saying that not each scholarship-holder can become a professor. Some of them return home enriched with a knowledge which can only be acquired on the spot, and which, no doubt, will bear fruit in some educational or other profession in France. Others receive employment in the Colony. M. Aurousseau, previous to his professorship, was tutor to the King of Annam, and M. Boudet, appointed *pensionnaire* in March, 1917, became in November of the same year Director of Archives and Libraries of Indo-China. A case which deserves special mention is that of M. George Coedès, a pupil of Professor Sylvain Lévi, and one of the most brilliant members of the École Française. After having joined the School in

[1] By Government Order of 10th March, 1902, it was decided that correspondents of the School should be appointed. See *B.E.F.E.O.*, vol. ii (1902), p. 234.

October, 1911, he succeeded three years later to the Chair of Indo-Chinese philology which the premature death of M. Huber had left vacant. In November, 1917, he was deputed to Siam, and in January, 1918, his services were placed at the disposal of the Siamese Government, which appointed him Chief Librarian of the National Library of Bangkok.

Thus we see the teaching imparted by the School widely diffused and at the same time put to advantage in various ways both within and outside the Colony.

We saw that the programme of the School comprised not only the investigation of Indo-China, but also of neighbouring countries. For this purpose a special travelling fund was instituted at the outset and evidently on a very liberal scale, as it has enabled the professors and scholars of the School to carry out scientific missions to India, Burma, Siam, China, Japan, and Java. Especially in the matter of these deputations the Government of Indo-China have shown an enlightened understanding of the requirements of scientific research which has benefited the work of the School in no small degree. Let me only mention the deputations of M. Finot to India, of M. Foucher to Java, of M. Pelliot and M. Henri Maspero to China, and of M. Maitre to Japan.

The vast amount of scientific work of a very high order accomplished by the French School of Hanoi is embodied in the *Bulletin*, of which the eighteenth volume has just been completed. Besides, there is a stately series of excellent monographs, including fully illustrated descriptive lists of monuments of Kambodia and Annam by E. Lunet de Lajonquière and F. Parmentier respectively, an archæological atlas of Indo-China by the former, Foucher's standard work on the Græco-Buddhist sculpture of Gandhāra, and, last not least, Chavannes' *Mission Archéologique dans la Chine du Nord*.[1]

Finally mention should be made of the important library belonging to the School, the three museums established at Hanoi, Tourane, and Phnom-penh and devoted respectively to the art of Tonkin, Champa, and Kambodia which are likewise managed by the French School. The great task of preserving the ancient monuments of the country is also entrusted to the officers of that Institution.

[1] In 1917 the School brought out a *Liste des publications et tables du Bulletin* (1901–15).

I have endeavoured to give you some idea of the remarkable activit of the French School of Hanoi, because it clearly shows what a institution of this kind can perform and how the work ought to b done. The conditions and requirements of research work in Indi differ, no doubt, in many respects from those in Indo-China. Bu with due regard to those differences, it seems to me that if a Britis Research Institute were to be established in India, the French Scho of Indo-China might well be taken as an example.

As to its general character it ought essentially to be a Research Institute. This would mean that the professors should not be require to lecture, nor to examine, but should merely guide the students in their researches, besides, of course, devoting themselves to their own work of investigation.

It seems to me that the School ought to occupy itself with the following subjects. Sanskrit (Vedic and classic) and Pali, archæology, epigraphy, and numismatics; Arabic and Persian; the modern languages of India; ethnology, anthropology, and folk-lore.

This would mean about twelve chairs at least, for the vernaculars cannot adequately be represented by less than three teachers. But the Institute could very well start with a limited staff, the scholars gradually developing into professors, as was done with such signal success by our French colleagues in Further India.

The number of scholars, too, ought to be restricted, as only in this manner will it be possible to secure the election of first-rate men. They will, no doubt, be selected in the first place from among graduates of British Universities, but a young architect with special qualifications of scholarship and taste could occasionally be nominated. As regards the nomination of professors and scholars, the Royal Asiatic Society could very suitably take the leading part, which in the case of the French School is assigned to the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*.

As a centre of scientific research the proposed Institute would, no doubt, attract many workers in India. In the first place, I am thinking of members of the Civil Service and of the Department of Education engaged in some special subject of inquiry which they could best pursue under the auspices of the British School. To missionaries, too, the School would offer distinct advantages in connexion with the study of languages and religions.

Professor Macdonell, three years ago, mentioned Benares as a most suitable place for his proposed Research College. I shall be the

first to acknowledge the great significance of Benares as a great centre of Sanskrit learning; but it occurs to me that what is really wanted is a retreat during the months of the hot season when field-work in the plains becomes impossible. On that account I am convinced that Simla, however little Indian it may be, or some other hill station, would be a far more suitable place than even the sacred city on the Ganges. It is true that, in the popular estimation, Simla is mostly associated with fêtes and frivolity (a place more for subscriptions than for inscriptions, was the word of a Russian Sanskritist), but the officers of the Archæological Survey are there to testify that under the deodars it is possible to work and study, even at Benmore, notwithstanding the curse pronounced, as Rudyard Kipling has it, by the Simla dancers on their sometime dancing floor. Apart from the cool climate, which during the hot season is indispensable to the average European for congenial mental work, it is the presence of the Central Archæological Office which ought to cause a decision in favour of Simla in preference to other hill stations. We can scarcely hope that Sir John Marshall, the heavy burden of whose office is known to me, would be able to take an active part in the work of the School. But his advice and support would be indispensable, and I am convinced that both the School and the Archæological Survey could profit by close co-operation. It goes without saying that everything pertaining to archæological investigations in the field ought to remain under the full control of the Director-General of Archæology.

Anyhow, the hot season is the time when the results of the field-work will have to be worked out and in which the necessity of a centre —a quiet building with a library and, perhaps, residential quarters— would be most strongly felt. During the cold season, on the contrary, I imagine the inmates of the School scattered over all India, each engaged in his special investigation: one at Benares reading some particular *Śāstra* with the assistance of a *pandit*; another examining MSS. in the libraries of the South; a third describing some group of monuments or taking part in the excavation of some big city site under the direction of Sir John Marshall; a fourth studying some little-known dialect of Upper Burma; and a fifth investigating the castes and customs of some district of the Bombay Presidency.

These are only the general outlines. It would be out of place at the present moment to go into further detail, especially since three years ago the R.A. Society appointed a special committee to draw up a scheme. There are several points of great practical importance on

which I have not touched, such as the provision of funds and the relation of the proposed Research Institute to the Government of India. On these points I do not feel competent to express an opinion.

In the present paper I have considered the question from a scholar's point of view, and it has been my aim to show what vast scope India still offers for archæological and philological investigation and how highly desirable it is that a Research Institute should be established under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

STUDIES IN KURDISH HISTORY

By G. R. Driver, Magdalen College, Oxford

[At the beginning of these articles the writer desires to express his obligations to Professor D. S. Margoliouth for much assistance and especially for giving him access to the unpublished sheets of his edition of *Ibn Miskawaih*, and to Shaikh M. H. 'Abd-ur-râziq for many references in the Arabic historians, especially in the *Kâmil* of Ibn-ul-Athîr.]

1. The Origin and Character of the Kurds

ALTHOUGH even at the present day nothing is certain in regard to the origin of the Kurds, even less was known to ancient writers, whose accounts are purely mythical. They were, however, generally so little studied that speculation on this question does not seem to have become common until a comparatively late period, and even then to have been almost exclusively confined to eastern scholars. The solitary exception from this rule is Strabo, the Greek geographer of the last century before Christ, who in his article on Gordiæa, a district probably to be identified with a part of Kurdistân, provides an eponymous hero, Gordys the son of Triptolemus, as the ancestor of the Gordyæi.[1]

The Arabic writers on the subject are more explicit. Mas'ûdî, the geographer, who lived and wrote in the middle of the tenth century, gives a fairly full account of their origin, but is careful to point out that he regards such theories as tentative, and in part as purely legendary. He prefaces his statements by warning the reader that there is no certainty on such a subject and then offers the information which he has amassed for what it is worth. According to some authorities, he says, the Kurds are descended from Rabî'ah ibn Nizâr ibn Ma'add ibn 'Adnân ibn Bakū ibn Wâ'il. At a very early date they separated themselves from the Arabs in consequence of certain events, which are left unmentioned, and settled in the mountains and valleys near the towns of Persia and elsewhere. There they forgot their original speech and adopted a foreign language, and since then each tribe has spoken its own peculiar dialect. Others, however, claim that the Kurds are sprung from Mudar ibn Nizâr and are of the

[1] Strabo, *Geographica*, xvi. 1, 25, p. 747, and xvi. 2, 5, p. 750, which is copied by Stephanus Byzantinus, *Ethnica* (ed. Meineke), vol. i, p. 211.

race of Kurd ibn Mard ibn Sa'ṣa'ah[1] ibn Hawâzin, and that they migrated from their own original home, wherever that may have been, in the distant past as the result of their quarrels with the Ghassânî. Others, again, add that they are the descendants of Rabî'ah and Mudar who withdrew into the mountains in search of water and pasturage and abandoned their native language owing to their contact with strangers; and this is supposed to account for their preference for a life among the mountain ranges of Persia and Kurdistân. The last is the story which Mas'ûdî regards as the most probable, apparently because it agrees with the traditions handed down from immemorial ages among certain tribes living as far apart as Syria and Adharbaijân. But he adds two other legends which he has heard in the course of his inquiries. The first of these is that some trace their ancestry back to slave-girls belonging to King Solomon. When this monarch, the story ran, was deprived of his crown, certain of these girls, who were infidels, bore children by a demon named Jasad; Solomon, on his restoration by God to royal power, learnt of these children whom the demon had begotten and *drove them forth*[2] into the mountains and valleys, together with their mothers. There they increased and multiplied exceedingly, and became the ancestors of the Kurdish race. The last version given by Mas'ûdî is quite different. According to it there was once a tyrant named Ḍaḥḥâk dhu-'l-Afwâh on whose shoulders there had grown two serpents which fed upon human brains. The Persians, infuriated at the massacres perpetrated by the followers of Ḍaḥḥâk in the endeavour to keep the serpents supplied with their proper diet, raised a considerable force, at the head of which they put the *jinn* 'Afrîdûn. This 'Afrîdûn seized Ḍaḥḥâk and banished him to Mount Danbâwand, but the tyrant's chief minister succeeded daily in slaughtering a man and a ram, whose blood he mixed and fed thereon the two serpents. Finally those Persians who escaped this fate fled into the mountains and adopted the lives of savages; and there they married and bore children, by whom they became the parents of the Kurds.[3]

[1] In Kurd ibn Mard it is clear that Kurd is a fictitious eponymous hero, but the supposed descent from Mard may be due to a recollection of some connexion with the ancient Mardi (see vol. II, pt. II, p. 200 of this *Bulletin*).

[2] The Arabic word for "drove forth" here used is *karrada*, from the root *kard*; the story, which is due to the similarity of sound between Kurd and *kard*, is merely an example of popular etymology.

[3] Mas'ûdî, *Murûj-udh-Dhahab* (ed. de Meynard and de Courteille), vol. III, ch. xlvi, pp. 249-53. The same author elsewhere gives several variants, claiming that the founder of the Kurdish race was Kurd ibn Isfandiyâdh ibn Manûshahr

Turning from the regions of mythology to those of ethnology, the historian finds scarcely less uncertainty in the theories put forward by the early inquirers on the racial connexions of the Kurds. Abu-'l-Fidâ, himself a Kurd, states that he has heard it claimed that the Kurds were Arabs or Nabataeans, while others held them to be Persian Arabs, from the similarity between their manner of living and that of the ordinary nomad Arab: but he seems himself to class them with the Jîlî and the Dailamî as a Persian race.[1] Ibn Baṭûṭâ, the traveller, records that he was told in Persia that the Kurds were of Arab origin,[2] in which view Ibn-ul-Athîr concurs.[3] Other opinions are those of Abu-'l-Faraj, who identified the Kurds with the Lurs,[4] and of some Armenian writers, who seem to have confused the Kurds and the Medes.[5]

The Kurds must certainly be connected with the Kardûchi mentioned in Xenophon and the Gordyæi mentioned in other Greek and Latin authors, with the Kordukh or Kortschaikh of the Armenians and the land of Gardû of the Aramaic and Syriac writers. It seems also very likely that, even if they do not go back to the old Persian race of Iranian origin, they at least are closely related to the modern Persians. Their language, *kurmanjí*, is a *patois* of Persian, which it still closely resembles and which proclaims clearly their Iranian origin. In speech and racial characteristics the Kurds are related to the

or Kurd ibn Mard ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah ibn Ḥarb ibn Hawâzin, or that they are the issue of Sabi' ibn Hawâzin or of Bakr ibn Hawâzin, while others believed that their first parent was called Rabi' or Bakr ibn Wâ'il (*At-Tanbîh wa-'l-Ashrâf*, ed. de Goeje, in *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, vol. VIII, pp. 88–91).

Ibn Khallikân mentions two variant forms of the legend, according to one of which the ancestor of the Kurds was a king of Yaman named 'Amr-ul-Muzaikiyah who migrated into Persia and according to the other Kurd ibn 'Amr ibn Âmir (*Wafayât-ul-A'yân*, ed. de Slane, vol. III, pp. 514–15).

The story of the serpents, allegorized into tumours, is repeated in Al-Ansâri (*Nukhbat-ul-Dahr*, ed. Charmoy, p. 19), and that deriving the Kurds from 'Amr king of Yaman in the *Qâmûs* (vol. I, p. 682).

[1] Abu-'l-Fidâ, *At-Tawârîkh-ul-Qadîmah* (ed. Fleischer), vol. IV, p. 145.

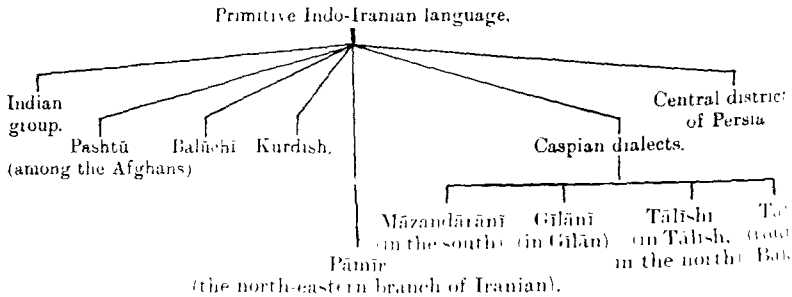
[2] Ibn Baṭûṭâ, *Voyages* (ed. Defremery and Sanguinetti), vol. II, pp. 22–3.

[3] Ibn-ul-Athîr, *At-Târîkh ú-'l-Kâmil* (ed. Tornberg), vol. I, p. 70.

[4] Abu-'l-Faraj, *Târîkh-ul-Duwal* (ed. Pococke), p. 564. This error is probably caused by the presence of a large Kurdish element in the population of Luristân (*Qâmûs*, *loc. cit.*), where it is said that the Kurds were the dominant element at the time of its invasion by the Shâh 'Abbâs I in A.D. 1606. The Lurs are now thought to be aboriginal Persians with an admixture of Semitic blood in their veins; their language is a dialect of Persian and does not differ materially from Kurdish, which is also a *patois* of Persian.

[5] See Haitun (*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents Arméniens*), vol. II, pp. 225, 343–4. The same writer seems to imply in several passages that Media was the proper home of the Kurds (*ibid.*, pp. 127, 267).

Lurs, but the two races are in no wise to be identified with th[em] in spite of the statement, quoted above, of Abu-'l-Faraj. The follow[ing] table of the various branches of the Iranian languages will appr[ox]imately illustrate the racial affinities of the Kurds[1] :—



To form a correct estimate of the numbers of the Kurds is [an] impossibility, but various conjectures have been made by travellers while others have endeavoured to compile figures from the utterly unreliable statistics of the Turkish Empire. Réclus put the total at 1,800,000 in A.D. 1884, but Socin has disputed this figure as being far too high.[2] Quatremère estimated the Turkish Kurds at 1,650,000, the Persian Kurds at 800,000, and those in Russia at 50,000.[3] The writers in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* put the number of Kurds in Caucasia at 99,836, from the figures returned in the latest available statistics of the Russian Empire.[4] In north-western Persia there are said to be some 800,000 or 900,000 Sunnî Muslims, of whom the majority are Kurds,[5] while no statistics based on a racial system appear to be available for Turkey; but the followers of the various creeds in Asia Minor, Kurdistân, and Armenia at the last census were found to be 10,030,000 Muslims, 1,144,000 Armenian Christians, 1,818,000 Christians of other denominations, and 249,000 Jews, exclusive of a miscellaneous body of adherents of diverse unimportant creeds.[6]

[1] See Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, vol. i, pp. 99–113, from whom this table is copied. See also E. B. Soane, "Notes on the Phonology of Southern Kurmanji" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1922, pp. 191–226, and the opinions of Justi, Darmesteter, and Socin there cited.

[2] Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie*, p. 342.

[3] Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits dans la Bibliotheque du Roi* (Paris), vol. xiii, pp. 305 ff.

[4] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Caucasia, vol. v, p. 548, and Russia, vol. xxiii, p. 874.

[5] *Ibid.*, Persia, vol. xxi, p. 199.

[6] *Ibid.*, Turkey, vol. xxvii, p. 427.

Another estimate for Northern Kurdistân is given in the following statistics of the six Armenian Provinces of Turkey, compiled in 1912 by the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople [1]:—

	Population.	Per cent.
Turks	666,000	25·4
Kurds	424,000	16·3
Other Muslim races	88,000	3·4
Armenians	1,018,000	38·9
Other Christian races—		
Nestorians, *etc.*	123,000	4·8
Greeks, *etc.*	42,000	1·6
Other religions—		
Qizilbâsh	140,000	5·3
Zâzâ, *etc.*	77,000	2·9
Yazîdî	37,000	1·4
	2,615,000	100·0

According to Turkish statistics, the total population of the six provinces is 3,528,400. The Kurdish population is much underrated by the Armenian Patriarchate: a Russian estimate in 1914 gave the number of Kurds in the two *wilâyât* of Wân and Bidlis as about 473,000.

The latest statistics for the population of Mesopotamia are the following [2]:—

Arabs	1,450,000	Armenians	57,000
Kurds	380,000	Yazîdî	21,000
Turks and Turkmans	110,000	Chabaks	10,000
Persians	70,000	Circassians	8,000
Jews	60,000	Sabians	2,000
Syrian Christians	60,000	Miscellaneous	10,000
Total	2,238,000		

The Kurds are split up into countless tribes, of three hundred of which Mas'ûdî is said to have recorded the names, and these again [3] are divided into numerous sub-tribes, clans, and families.[4] Some of these

[1] See *Armenia and Kurdistân* (No. 62 of the "Handbooks prepared under the direction of the Foreign Office"), p. 7.

[2] See *Mesopotamia* (No. 63 of the "Handbooks prepared under the direction of the Foreign Office"), p. 8.

[3] Al-Ansârî, *Nukhbat-ul-Dahr* (ed. Charmoy), p. 19.

[4] The technical names for the tribes and their subdivisions are the following: *'ashîrah*, large tribe; *qabîlah*, moderate-sized tribe; *fâ'ifah*, clan; *khânah*, 'tent' or family living in a fixed residence; *ahl châdîrî*, or *ahl khaimah*, tent-dwellers;

tribes live a nomad and others a settled life, in spite of many attempts to induce the former to settle down and occupy themselves with farming and other forms of agricultural life. Idris, the lieutenant of the Sultan Salîm I (A.D. 1502–20), in pacifying Kurdistân after the conquest of that country, found the rich arable lands almost deserted and the mountains bristling with the castles of independent chieftains of various races, between whom there still burnt the flames of age-long feuds. He therefore compelled the Kurds to settle on the vacant lands and divided the country into *sanjaq* governed by Turkish officials and, in the more inaccessible parts of the hill-country, by the local chiefs. This policy gave rest indeed to the land, but favoured the growth of Kurdish influence and power which is reflected in the pages of Sharaf-ud-Din's history and which was always to be a source of anxiety to the Turkish Government. It was not, however, until the middle of the last century that the Kurds began to show any real signs of abandoning their nomad manner of life.[1]

When Kurds and Armenians occupy adjacent territory, the former are almost invariably found occupying the high ground, while the latter cling to the valleys and especially to the cities. But the hill-tribes generally descend to the lower slopes and plains in winter, when on account of the cold the heights become uninhabitable both by man and beast. The two races, however, remain unabsorbed by the surrounding Turks, for whom both alike evince the utmost detestation. The attitude of the Kurd towards his neighbours is well reflected in some of his popular sayings. Many proverbs e.g. "like the word of a Turk" and "as importunate as the Turkish taxes", express his contempt for the lying Turk and his hatred for the oppressive administration of his government. The Armenian he regards in the same light as that in which the European looks upon the proverbial "dirty Jew", and this spirit is exemplified by reference to the petty huckster as a person "with finger-nails like an Armenian". The Arab he dislikes as a common plebeian, saying of him: "do not unduly encourage an Arab or he will come and defile your cloak," and: "the Arab is like a fly; the more you drive him away, the more insistent he becomes." The Persian receives in like manner a measure of good-natured scorn: "like a Persian sword," which is double-edged and therefore able to

kûchar, nomads; *akinji*, settled labourer. The terminations *-ân*, *-î*, *-ânî*, *-lî*, or *-lû* are usually attached to the tribal names (Jaba, *Recueil de notices et Récits Kourdes*).

[1] For the results of compelling nomads to lead a sedentary life see Sir M. Sykes, *The Last Heritage of the Caliphs*, pp. 403 ff.

strike friend and foe indiscriminately, and "as effete as the Persian army" are both maxims referring to his unreliable character.[1]

In spite, however, of the carefully preserved distinctions of race,[2] there are a few mixed Turkish and Kurdish tribes, chiefly in Cilicia, where Kurds and Turkmân tribes have similar customs and manners and often live together with a common tribal organization. The principal mixed tribes are Barbas-'Ashîrâti, the Turkmân-Sirkintlî, the Kurd-Jarîd, the Karsant-'Ashîrâti, and the Manamanji-'Ashîrâti. Both races were nomad until forced by the government about sixty years ago to build villages and adopt a more orderly mode of life: but the nomadic instinct is still strong within them, and often impels them to leave their homes and wander. Their occupation is still principally the tending of flocks and herds on the slopes of the mountains, and very few have as yet settled in the towns and villages of the plains: those who have done so for the most part live as pedlars or earn a precarious livelihood by smuggling tobacco. They seldom work for hire, and their sole industry is the weaving of coarse rugs and mats. In character these mongrel Kurds are harsh and cruel and easily roused to fanaticism, though they are described as having a strict sense of honour; those in whom the Turkmân blood flows more strongly are said to exhibit a kindlier disposition. But it is not improbable that the intermingling of distinct races, as is often the case, has brought out the worst characteristics of both. The women go unveiled and are allowed great freedom, but most of the hard manual labour falls on them. Many of these Cilician Kurds migrate to the plains in the harvest season, often going as far as Diyârbakr in search of casual employment, and for this purpose they assemble in the markets of Tarsus, 'Adânah and other cities, and hire themselves out to the local farmers on weekly contracts.

The testimony of all ancient writers about the habits and character of the ordinary Kurd is unanimous. Then as now they were savages, dwellers in the mountains, steppes and valleys, tenders of oxen, sheep, and horses, "behaving, as do the Arabs and Turks, like cattle and, like cattle, trampling on whatever they possess," in the words

[1] Quoted from Noel, "The Character of the Kurds as illustrated by their Proverbs and Popular Sayings," in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. i, pt. iv, pp. 79-90.

[2] It is said that many of the Kurds in Armenia practise mutilation or disfigurement of the head with a view to emphasizing their distinction from the surrounding peoples (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, under *Mutilation*, vol. xix, p. 100), but the present writer has been unable to find any confirmation of this statement

of an anonymous Syriac writer.[1] Another writer refers to their churlish disposition,[2] and Mas'ûdî mentions that they were in his day a pastoral people, who recalled their scattered herds in the mountains by blowing a kind of rough wind-pipe.[3] Many a traveller also who has gone on his way among them, from Xenophon and the Ten Thousand Greeks onwards, has warned his readers against their predatory habits. Ibn Jubair enters a special caution against those in the Jazirah, whose territory he crossed and whom he calls "a pest from Mausil to Naṣîbin and Dunaiṣar, committing highway robbery and busied in ruining the country".[4] At-Tanûkhî, writing in the eleventh century, tells how his caravan was plundered by a party of Kurds, who took whatsoever they could find,[5] and Al-Hamadânî seems almost to regard the name "Kurd" as synonymous with "robber" in a passage in one of his epistles, where the only distinction that he can draw is that, whereas robbers despoil the *aukâf*, or pious benefactions bequeathed for the use of the poor, the Kurd only robs the weak.[6] Nor do modern explorers differ from the opinions expressed by their predecessors, and Marco Polo calls them "an evil generation, whose delight it is to plunder merchants".[7]

Oppression of the weak and treachery, then, were the characteristics which attracted the attention of ancient writers. And that they were not averse from over-reaching their neighbours, over whom fortune had given them the upper hand, is well shown by the following story. Ibn-ul-'Amîd told the Arabic historian Ibn Miskawaih that he and Rukn-ud-Daulah were in A.D. 951 caught by some Kurds in an awkward position, whence they could not extricate themselves, and were in the utmost distress from lack of provisions for themselves, their soldiers, and their beasts, none daring to show himself outside the camp. All supplies had been cut off, and the only food obtainable had to be purchased from individual Kurds who brought it into the camp by night and sold it at extortionate prices. A Kurd would come with a sack, nose-bag or other vessel, containing flour and sell it; but when he had gone on his way with the price in his

[1] *Causa Causarum*, written in the eleventh or twelfth century (ed. Kayser), p. 67*b* (=Syr. 150, Germ. 194).

[2] Al-Yâqûbî, *Al-Buldân*, in *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (ed. de Goeje), vol. vii, p. 236.

[3] Mas'ûdî, *Murûj-udh-Dhahab*, vol. viii, ch. 122, p. 90.

[4] Ibn Jubair, *Riḥalah* (ed. de Goeje), p. 240 (= 141).

[5] At-Tanûkhî, *An-Nishwâr* (ed. Margoliouth), p. 190.

[6] Al-Hamadânî, *Epistles* (ed. Bairût), p. 172.

[7] Marco Polo, *Travels* (ed. Yule), vol. i, p. 62.

purse and the sack was emptied, it was found as often as not that the amount of flour which they had seen in it barely covered the surface, all beneath being earth. Thus they did with wheat also and barley, playing many tricks of a similar nature on their helpless victims.[1] In other cases, indeed, it was found that not even the chiefs could refuse a bribe, according to the statement of Ibn-ul-Athîr, and many perchance deemed it advisable to pacify them with a gift.[2]

Such being the character that they bore, it is not surprising to find that the name Kurd became a term of abuse, and At-Tabarî has preserved examples of this usage, wherein a man reproached his enemy with the taunts "O thou Kurd, brought up in the tents of the Kurds",[3] and "O thou son of an harlot, reared in the tents of the Kurds",[4] as the bitterest and most shameful insults at his command. And the feeling of the Arab for his turbulent neighbour can be divined from the eastern equivalent of the English saying "when Greek meets Greek", the Arabic proverb that "a Kurd will scoff at a soldier".[5]

It is, however, as soldiers and mercenaries that the Kurds have generally been most esteemed.[6] Among the ancients they were ever accounted, as in the days of Xenophon, excellent slingers[7] and archers[8]; yet a study of their history serves but to show that they invariably proved unreliable, even as the Sultan 'Abd-ul-Hamîd (A.D. 1876–1909) lately found them. For he took the rash step of enrolling some in a body of irregular cavalry, called the *hamidiyah*,[9] for service both as troops and as police, while others were enlisted in the *cheté*, which was little more than an organized band of brigands for use in the Balkan wars. This *hamidiyah*, however, was of very little use; for in the war of A.D. 1877–8 it never went into action, being entirely occupied in collecting loot; and, when a general mobilization for manœuvres was ordered, it had to be abandoned owing to the passive resistance of the Kurds, who refused to report themselves for duty in an undertaking from which they saw no chance of reaping any profit. The

[1] Ibn Miskawaih, *Tajârib-ul-Umam* (ed. Margoliouth), vol. ii, p. 140.

[2] Ibn-ul-Athîr, *op. cit.*, vol. ix, p. 263.

[3] At-Tabarî, *Annals* (ed. Noldeke), p. 11.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 279.

[5] Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, vol. iii, p. 398.

[6] See the Syriac *Life of Mâr Yahbalâhâ* (ed. Bedjan), ch. xviii, pp. 186–7, and ch. xix, p. 201, for their employment as hired infantry.

[7] Suidas, *Lexicon* (ed. Gaisford), vol. ii, p. 1979.

[8] Haitun praises the skill of the Kurds round Mârdîn as archers (*Documents Arméniens*, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 131–2).

[9] Sir M. Sykes, *The Last Days of the Caliphate*, pp. 420–1.

organization aimed at winning the affections of the tribes by allowing them extraordinary licence under a semi-military guise; its officers could only be tried by a regular court martial, and in any conflict with the civil authorities they were invariably supported by the Sublime Porte. The only consequence of these privileges was an increase in lawlessness, and one of the darkest stains in Kurdish history is the facility with which these people allowed themselves to become the tools of the Young Turks in carrying out the Armenian atrocities.

The nomadic habits of the Kurd are bad for the development of the land: for not only do they not allow them to practise agriculture themselves, but they also inculcate in them a contempt for those who have settled down, and their continual depredations on their more civilized neighbours make farming so hazardous and unprofitable that many a fertile tract of country now lies waste. At the same time it must be admitted that the inefficiency of the Turkish civil occupation has offered no hope of security to those who would fain settle permanently on the land. Though in some parts the Kurds have become sedentary and work on the soil, they are thoughtless for the morrow, while ignorant distrust of modern appliances is crowned by oriental indifference to progress. One of the main causes of this inveterate nomadism is perhaps to be sought in the love of horses, which they breed in vast herds in the highlands of Armenia and which force them to travel much; for the horse, which is born high in the hilly country, has to be brought down to the plains in winter for the sake of the milder climate. Besides the rearing of horses, the Kurds keep sheep and goats in vast numbers but, unlike the Arabs, no camels; for the camel can only live in the plains, while the Kurd shuns the hot low-lying sandy wastes which are the Arab's home. The sedentary Kurd grows every kind of farm-produce, while those who dwell in the cities are weavers and smiths: but these also, and especially those who occupy the smaller villages in the hills, are lawless and addicted to robbery; and they pay their taxes only at irregular intervals or elude them entirely, for many are ready to revert to nomadism if an opportunity offers itself. When, however, Kurdish families have been working on the land for several generations, they often constitute the finest class in the country. They are sturdy, capable men, and frequently enlist in the army or the police. In the lower districts they are now becoming peaceful citizens, but those who live in the more remote districts, and in particular the inhabitants of the mountainous country between 'Irâq and Persia, are still hardly subject to any control.

These latter spend the winter from October to February in villages or in camps in the plains on the eastern bank of the Tigris. In March the semi-nomads move into tents until the harvest is over, and in June they migrate with their flocks and herds to the lofty pastures on the mountain-plateaux from the Argut Dâgh to the Aurumân Dâgh; the pure nomads leave the plains somewhat earlier, before the harvest. Similar movements take place from the plain of Mausil to the high tablelands round lake Wân, between which and Hamadân they are able to live in comparative plenty. These tribes, both nomadic and semi-nomadic, eke out their somewhat scanty living by exacting blackmail from their sedentary neighbours and from passing travellers and, if hard pressed by the local authorities, do not shrink from seeking refuge across the frontier. In Luristân and Persia proper the Kurds grow corn, especially round Kirmânshâh, and live a sedentary life: they are, notwithstanding, hardy fighters. The summer they spend in tents beside their villages or on the roofs of their houses for the sake of the cool air, only in the winter retiring into the warmth of their cottages. Their villages also are often fortified with a strong blockhouse for defence against less peaceful tribes.[1]

The tribal tie, though very weak among the urban Kurds, is a powerful bond of union amongst all other classes, exerting its greatest force among those whose lives are completely nomadic. But small parties frequently break away from the larger whole in order to join other groups; for no hesitation is felt by a tribe in receiving additions to its numbers. The small tribes are of little importance and only act through the orders of the main body. Each tribe is controlled by an *'aghâ* or chief, whose power depends ultimately on his qualifications for holding office, although he relies also on the support and influence of his near relations, who form a kind of advisory council and by the loss of which he is rendered powerless. Yet the authority of a chief has often been paralysed by an obstinate minority, which can only be coerced at the expense of a blood-feud which is at all costs to be avoided, for the inevitable result is the weakening and often the virtual extermination of the whole tribe. In some cases a religious significance is attached to the chiefs, who in consequence usually exercise a wider sway beyond the limits of their own tribe. The Muslim Kurdish chiefs of Sulaimâniyah, for instance, are invested with a religious authority which confers on its holders a wide secular

[1] On the natural and commercial products of Kurdistân see the present writer's article in the *Asiatic Review*, vol. xvii, No. 52, pp. 695–700.

power. As a general rule the *aghā* must belong to one family, although the office is not strictly hereditary. On the death of a chief the head men of the tribe meet to elect his successor, paying careful attention to the candidate's fitness to rule. If they disagree, the result often is that the tribe breaks up and the various parties unite with other tribes in the neighbourhood or migrate to a different locality.

Public opinion in a tribe only sets towards the preservation of tradition, by which all are bound. The only sanctions of tribal society are ancient custom and the blood-feud, and it is regarded as a honourable duty to carry on the feud until full vengeance has been exacted. This spirit is reinforced by such proverbs as: "The enemy of the father will never be the friend of his son" and: "Do not leave the account with your enemy unsettled,"[1] which every Kurd is taught in earliest childhood. Nevertheless, before the aggrieved party has recourse to such a feud, a private dispute is generally referred to the chief or to a holy man or to the tribal council for arbitration, but the dissatisfied litigant will often set the award aside and open a feud by murdering his opponent. A quarrel may, however, be settled by the payment of a sum of money, though this course is apt to be regarded as tantamount to a confession of weakness and therefore to be avoided. But it is important to bear in mind that all such feuds are laid aside for an indefinite period in face of a common danger menacing the whole tribe. Yet there are other laws making for security of life, of which the foremost is the duty to a guest or to a tribesman who throws himself on a man's protection. These ordinanaces would indeed prove an intolerable burden were it not for the restraint which prevents a man from adopting such a course except in the direst extremity. An equally favourable point in the character of the Kurd is his high ideal of the sanctity of marriage, in which he stands on a higher plane than the Muslim. Kurdish women are comparatively free to come and go as they like; they are wooed and won by open courtship, for in almost all tribes they are unveiled. In the resulting union the wife plays no secondary part and is regarded as "the pillar of the house". Most Kurds marry early in the hope, it is said, of living to enjoy the company of grown-up children, upon whom they look as "the fruit of the house", according to a Kurdish popular saying. The morality of their women is famous, and almost all tribes punish adultery with death; prostitution is almost unknown, and it is even asserted that

[1] Noel, *loc. cit.*

here is no word in Kurdish for a prostitute, who is called a "Persian woman" in the east, a "Russian" in the north, and a "Turk" in the west of Kurdistân.[1]

The courage of the Kurd is undisputed, and it has been inculcated in him from earliest youth that "arms are but half the battle", while death, or at least death in battle, is hardly feared. Their love of independence has struck all observers from Xenophon, who has recorded that the Kardûchi were not subject to the king of Persia but apparently autonomous,[2] down to Gibbon, who calls them "a people hardy, strong, savage, impatient of the yoke, addicted to rapine and tenacious of the government of their national chiefs"[3]; and Major Noel records as one of their most time-honoured adages: "Do not knock at anyone's door and no one will knock at yours." The last-mentioned writer adds that they are clean livers, to whom unnatural vices are unknown, addicted neither to the use of alcohol nor of opium, and that over-indulgence at the table is strongly condemned. Their pleasures are simple and all connected with the flesh, "which they eat, which they ride, and with which they sleep." They have also a shrewd appreciation of the practical value of wealth, even though adversity has taught them its snares. Of religion they do not think much, and most references to it and to its professors in their proverbs are supercilious or mocking. Their treachery the same writer considers to be really the result of the hard conditions under which they live, the constant and bitter inter-tribal feuds, and of the fact that their country has been for centuries overrun by invaders who have never shown sympathy with or consideration for its inhabitants, while their practical turn of mind tends to convey a sense of callousness to people who are not themselves orientals.[4] But these points, although they should be thrown into the scale in forming a just estimate of the national character of the Kurd, can hardly be accounted an adequate excuse for the countless acts of treachery, of robbery and of murder with which the pages of their history are stained. Of the arts of civilization and of literature, as of political ability, the Kurds have none. They have never organized the administration of their own country, nor have they

[1] Noel, *loc. cit.*

[2] Xenophon, *Anabasis*, V. v, 17.

[3] Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. lx.

[4] Noel, *op. cit.* For the character of the modern Kurds see also Sykes, *The Last Heritage of the Caliphs*, Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan*, and Millingen, *Wild Life among the Kurds*.

shown any capacity for cohesion between the varied tribes who aggregate forms the Kurdish nation. The only Kurd, the illustrio Saladin, who was able to form an empire strong enough to defy western world relied on Arab arms and Muslim fanaticism rather th on the loyalty of his own kith and kin. And the kingdom thus form did not long survive its creator; for the quarrels which seem eradicable among Kurds were kindled into flames among his so immediately after their father's death and brought about the spee dissolution of his life-work. And so, to account for the remarkab phenomenon of the sudden rise of the house of Aiyûb and its equal sudden downfall, the modern historian is tempted to suspect t presence of other than purely Kurdish blood in the veins of the gre champion of Islâm.

The opinions expressed by Rich agree with those of othe authorities. Writing after long residence in Kurdistân,[1] he said tha from what he had seen of Kurdish gentlemen both at Baghdâd and i their own country, he was inclined to think very favourably of them manners and their hospitality, although he found their habit of staring at strangers very disconcerting. They are eager for information and always ready to talk on politics, the affairs of England and France interesting them particularly; but they are diffident of themselves. Though not usually boisterous among themselves, they are given frequently to emitting loud shrieks for no apparent reason. Bold but unscientific horsemen, they twist, turn, and pull their horses without mercy, and ride hard, whatever the nature of the ground, thereby making their horses restless, vicious, and bad-tempered.

In physique the Kurd is well-made and active, very like the Persian in general appearance. The face is oval, the features sharp, and the nose prominent; the mouth and chin are somewhat receding, the eyes deep-set, dark, and intelligent; the brow is ample and clear, slightly receding; but on the whole the features are more delicate than those of the Persians, especially the hands and fingers, which are small and slender. The women are very pretty when young, but their features become sharp like those of men when only in their prime and their beauty soon withers. They are almost always unveiled, the use of the veil being exceptional and restricted to certain tribes; they are not in the least degree cautious to hide themselves and even admit male servants into their houses, and, although

[1] Rich, *op. cit.* (1836). Amongst his books in the British Museum, it should be added, is a still unpublished *Târîkh-ul-Akrâd* which he obtained in Kurdistân.

one of the women wear veils of black horsehair, it is rarely pulled down over the face except by women of high rank or when it is desired to ignore anyone's presence. They are treated as equals by their husbands and regard with contempt the lavish estate of Turkish women. But it is not unknown for a chief to force poor parents to bestow on him their daughter for temporary gratification, and then to divorce her or marry her to a servant in order to make way for another wife. Another noticeable feature in their character on which the same writer has remarked is their pride in their ancestry and the attachment of all classes to their chiefs, whom they will follow even into exile. But the chief never hides his sense of superiority to his subjects, nor does the subject either resent this attitude or dare to infringe upon the prerogatives which belong of right to the chief.

It remains but to mention the attainments of the Kurds in literature, and this will not long detain the reader, for they have no written language. They speak, as has already been said, *kurmânji*,[1] a *patois* of Persian, which is supplemented to a certain extent with words borrowed from Arabic to express ideas unfamiliar to the native Kurd.[2] Of this there are several dialects, notably that of the Muqrî Kurds,[3] the Auromânî dialect on the Turco-Persian frontier opposite Baghdad, and the Gûrânî dialect. This latter, though a dying language, is still spoken by the Aurumânî, Rîjâb and Kandûlah tribes and by sections of the Sinjâbî, Gûrânî, and Bâjilân tribes, but it is gradually giving place to *kurmânji*. It is, however, not strictly a Kurdish language like *kurmânji* which has its own distinct grammatical forms, vocabulary, and idiom, but merely a variant of old Persian, perhaps long separated from the mother-tongue, yet one which has also borrowed freely from *kurmânji*: of all the dialects it is probably the least affected by modern Persian, whereas on the contrary it borders closely on the dialect of the northern Lurs. But its most interesting point is its connexion with Zâzâ, the degraded, semi-barbarous speech of certain low, almost undeveloped, classes of Kurds in central

[1] A noteworthy peculiarity of the Kurd is his tendency to clip words: *e.g.*, *Mammâ* for *Mahmûd*, *Shamsdînân* for *Shams-ud-Dînân*.

[2] See E. B. Soane, *Kermanji Grammar*, Yosef Pasha, *Dictionnaire Kurde-Arabe* (Stambul), and Schindler, *Beitrage zum Kurdischen Wortschatze* in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xlii. pp. 73–9, for works dealing with the language.

[3] See O. Mann, *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen: Ergebnisse einer von 1901 bis 1903 in Persien ausgefuhrten Forschungsreise*, of which the first part deals with the Muqri dialect.

Kurdistân. Zâzâ is not a *kurmânjî* language at all from wh however, owing to its own inadequacy to express any but the simp ideas, it has been compelled largely to borrow. It is, in fact, an ar survival, and seems to be entirely unaffected by the modern Per speech.[1]

With these limitations of speech it is not surprising to find t the Kurds have failed to develop a national literature or to show a interest in literature. To this rule the Aiyûbî Kurds form exception. To Saladin poems were addressed on various occasions a certain Ibn 'Unain, who had been banished from Damascus, obtain permission from Al-'Âdil to return by composing in that prin honour a b autiful elegy,[3] and Tâj-ul-Mulûk, Saladin's nephew, praised by the Arabic biographer as a man of talent, who publish an anthology of his own poems, some of which were good and some slight merit[4]; Saladin's son Al-Afḍal assisted his tutor Al-Banda to obtain many rare and valuable books,[5] while the tomb of Al-Ashr at Damascus became a library.[6] But it must be remembered that al these works were composed in Arabic, and it was probably their Arabi upbringing and culture that led the Aiyûbî Kurds to appreciate such things. In legal studies, too, the Kurds were equally backward, only two famous jurisconsults being mentioned by Ibn Khallikân; these are Taqî-ud-Dîn ibn-uṣ-Salâḥ of Shahrapir, of the Shâfi' sect, who died at Damascus in A.D. 1245,[7] and 'Isâ the Hakkârî, who died in A.D. 1189.[8]

[1] Soane, "A short Anthology of Guran Poetry," in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1921, pp. 57–81.

[2] Ibn Khallikân, *Wafayât-ul-A'yân* (ed. de Slane), iii. p. 229.

[3] *Id. ib.*, iii, pp. 181–2.

[4] *Id. ib.*, i. pp. 272–3.

[5] *Id. ib.*, iii, pp. 101–2.

[6] *Id. ib.*, i, p. 197. Similarly, Aẓ-Ẓâhir, lord of Aleppo, maintained a famous Egyptian historian named Jamâl-ud-Dîn ibn-ul-Qufṭî in his service (Abu-'l-Faraj, p. 521).

[7] *Id. ib.*, ii, pp. 188–90. After studying at Mausil he migrated to Jerusalem and taught in the Madrasat-uṣ-Ṣâlihiyah; in A.D. 1209 he moved to Damascus, where he taught as a Shâfi' professor, and in A.D. 1243 became head of the *madrasat-ul-Ashrafiyah*, founded by Sitt-ush-Shâm, the sister of Saladin (Abu-'l-Fidâ, *Annals*, ed Reise, vol. iv, pp. 466, 481; Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 358–60).

[8] Ibn Khallikân, ii. pp. 430–1; Ibn-ul Athîr, *Kâmil*, xii. p. 27; Abu-'l-Fidâ, iv, p. 103. The Kurds seem about this period to have been enthusiastic over the science of canon-law, for Abû Shâmah records a dispute at Mausil between the Arab and Kurdish parties which became so violent that Nûr-ud-Dîn had to summon the disputants to Aleppo and settle it by putting in the hands of each side a school in which they could expound their own peculiar doctrines (*Kitâb-ur-Rûḍatain*, in the *Recueil*, vol. iv, p. 28).

Of the three greatest Kurdish writers, Abu-'l-Fidâ, the Aiyûbî prince of Hamâh, wrote a geography, a history of pre-Islamic times, and a book of Annals from the time of Muḥammad down till his own death; but, like most of the Arabic historians, his works are to a large extent compilations and abridgments of earlier chronicles, with little or no endeavour to weigh evidence or test the value of his sources, and his geography only gives yet another account of places and countries which had been visited and fully described by his more famous predecessors. He, too, wrote in Arabic, the language of the educated and learned classes of his day.[1] Of Idrîs [2] and Sharaf-ud-Dîn, the historians, more will be said hereafter, when some account is given of their lives and the times in which they lived.

The Kurdish language has never been reduced to writing, and this is doubtless one of the reasons why it has never been employed in literature. Thus most Kurds, who felt themselves inspired to write histories or books on geography, were compelled, if they used Kurdish, to employ the Arabic script; they therefore avoided the difficulty of adapting a foreign alphabet to their own language by adopting the natural expedient of writing in Arabic, a language moreover infinitely richer in resources and already fully developed by its long employment in Muslim literature.

Apart from these three well-known authors, who wrote in Arabic, a few Kurdish writers and scholars have at various times composed works in their native tongue. 'Alî Harîrî (A.D. 1009–10—A.D. 1080–1), a native of Harîr in the Hakkârî district, left a collection of poems well known in Kurdistân. Malâ'î Jizrî, whose true name was Shaikh Aḥmad (A.D. 1078–9—A.D. 1160–1) and who was born in Bukhtân, fell in love with the sister of the *amîr* of his tribe and wrote in her honour poems much admired by the Kurds of his day: yet he is said to have refused the hand of the princess in marriage as too great an honour for one of humble birth. Muḥammad, surnamed Faqîh Tairân (A.D. 1302–3—A.D. 1375–6), who was sprung from the town of Makas, left at his death a number of tales and many poems written in a choice but florid style. Malâ'î Aḥmad (A.D. 1417–8—A.D. 1494–5), an inhabitant of the Hakkârî country, left many verses collected into a *dîwân* or anthology and a brochure in Kurdish entitled *Maulûd* or

[1] On the writings of Abu-'l-Fidâ, see Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, vol. ii, pp. 44–6. His history is called the *Mukhtaṣar Târîkh-il-bashar* and his geography the *Taqwîm-ul-Buldân*.

[2] See Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 233.

the "Birth of Muḥammad", which attained great fame in Kurd[illegible]. Aḥmad Khân, of the Khâniyân Kurds, a clan of the Hakkârî [illegible], who settled at Bâyazîd in A.D. 1591 or 1592, was the author of [illegible] love-poems, a small glossary of select Kurdish and Arabic w[illegible], and of a large collection of Kurdish, Turkish, and Arabic poet[illegible]. was versed also in other arts as well as in natural science, and di[illegible] A.D. 1652 or 1653. Ismâ'îl (A.D. 1654-5—A.D. 1709–10), of Bây[illegible], compiled a small Kurmânji-Arabic Persian glossary for the u[illegible] the young, entitled the *Gulzâr*, and several slight poems in Kur[illegible]. Sharif Khân (A.D. 1689–90—A.D. 1748–9), a prince of the Hakkârî [illegible] at Jûlamarik, left some poems both in Kurdish and in Per[illegible]. Murâd Khân (A.D. 1737–8—A.D. 1784–5), also of Bâyazîd, wrote se[illegible] erotic pieces and other fugitive compositions in *kurmânjî*.[1] W[illegible] Murâd Khân all attempts at literary composition appear to h[illegible] died out, and the careful researches of modern scholars have [illegible] brought to light the songs and tales of a national folk-lore.[2]

Very few Kurds at the present time are in the least degr[illegible] educated, for they have neither the intelligence nor the natur[illegible] inclination to grasp abstract ideas; their genius, indeed, [illegible] practical rather than speculative. Those Kurds who have attain[illegible] distinction beyond the narrow confines of their own country have all been trained in the American Protestant Colleges [illegible] 'Aintâb, Bairût, or Constantinople, or in any case outside Kurdistân. The education, moreover, for which they show the greate[illegible] aptitude is one with some such practical goal in view as employmen[illegible] in the Civil Service or in the Army. The number of those who hav[illegible] succeeded in deriving benefit from a liberal education is very few, perhaps not a dozen persons now living. Among them may be mentioned five Kurds who have obtained high offices in the Ottoman Government: these are Saiyid 'Abd-ul-Qâdir, General Sharîf Pâshâ, 'Izzat and Sa'îd Pâshâ, and Zakî Pâshâ, of whom the last two have held at different times the portfolio of the Minister of the Interior. 'Abd-ul-Qâdir was in exile during the reign of 'Abd-ul-Hamîd, but upon the announcement of the Constitution he was promoted to be a Senator and has been since then President of the Council of State; General Sharîf Pâshâ was formerly the Turkish Minister in Stockholm, after which he became Minister for Foreign Affairs; and Zakî Pâshâ, surnamed Al-Halabî or "the Aleppine", who was a member of the

[1] Jaba, *Recueil de Notices et Récits Kourdes*.

[2] See, for example, Prymn and Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*.

mmittee of Union and Progress and a man of moderate views, mmanded the Army of Uskub in the Balkan War against the bians, when he was driven into Albania, and later preceded Jamâl the commander-in-chief in Syria, a post which he relinquished to come one of the Kaiser's *aides-de-camp* in Berlin.

NOTES ON "THE RELIGION OF THE KURDS" IN VOL. II, PT. II, PP. 197–213 OF THE *BULLETIN*

p. 200.—YAZÎDÎ. Another derivation of the name is that implied Ash-Shahrastânî (*Kitâb-ul-Milal wa-'n-Nihal*, Cureton, vol. i, p. 101), ho says that the Yazîdî were the followers of Yazîd ibn Unaisah, o took a prominent part in the religious quarrels of the first century Islâm and who was an adherent of the first Muḥakkamah and afterards of the Ibâḍîyah: he believed that God would send an apostle om among the Persians and reveal to him a book already written in aven, so that he would forsake Islâm and join the Sabians. This ophet Kremer (in the *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, 195) identified with the Shaikh 'Adî, but wrongly, for the Shaikh was Syrian from Ba'albakk. From these facts Isya Joseph (in the *merican Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. xxv, pp. 115–18) concluded ith Ash-Shahrastânî that the Yazîdî were originally a sub-sect of the Khârijî, akin to the Ibâḍîyah, named after their founder Yazîd ibn Unusah, and that, having migrated in the fourteenth century (Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii, p. 254), they were drawn into the movement of which the Shaikh 'Adî was the moving spirit and ended by regarding him after his death as a saint and later as the incarnation of God; (see also Siouffi in the *Journal Asiatique*, VIII, v, p. 80).

p. 201.—MALIK TÂ'ÛS. According to Lidzbarski (in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. lv, p. 592, n. 1) the name of the Yazîdî god is to be traced back to a god called Tâ'uz, to whom Muḥammad ibn Isḥâḳ bears witness (in the *Fihrist*, Flügel, IX, v, 4, pp. 322–3); for in an account of the gods and festivals of the Sabians of Ḥarrân he states: تمّوز — فى النصف منه عيد البوقات يعنى النساء المبكيات وهو تاوز عيد يعمل لتاوز الاله "Tammuz: in the middle thereof is the feast of Al-bûqât, namely of the Weeping Women [a statement philologically doubtful], that is Tâ'uz, a feast which is held in honour of the god Tâ'uz." Now the identification of the Yazîdî Tâ'ûs with the Tâ'uz of the people of Ḥarrân is very likely: for (1) the

Yazîdî and the Ḥarrânî were close neighbours and the religion of Yazîdî is known to have been tainted with Sabian influence, and the little-known Tâ'uz would easily have been assimilated to the A Ṭâ'ûs, "peacock," in consequence of which corruption the image of that bird would naturally be introduced into their worship. But same passage carries the inquiry a step further, for in it the god Tâ identified with Tammuz, a conclusion regarded as probable als Chwolsohn after an examination of various alternatives (in *Die Ssa* vol. ii, pp. 204–5). This, in spite of Isya Joseph (in the *American Jou of Semitic Languages*, vol. xxv, p. 250), has much in its favour: (1) derivation both of the Malik Ṭâ'ûs and of Tâ'uz from a god w worship was so well-known and widely spread as that of Tammu intrinsically probable; (2) the interchange of *m* and *w* is not unknow Kurdish (cp. Justi, *Kurdische Grammatik*, p. 82) and common in eastern Semitic dialects: cp. Ass. Dummûzu and Du'ûzu for Tam (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 236*a*) and the sim weakening of Shamash into Shawash in Aramaic (Delaporte, *Epigrap Araméens*, p. 17).

The view put forward by Professor Jackson (in the *Journal of t American Oriental Society*, vol. xxv, p. 178) that the cult of the Mal Tâ'ûs is to be referred to old devil-worship in Mâzandârân has little recommend it: for, (1) there is no trace of devil-worship in connex with the Malik Tâ'ûs; (2) there is no evidence, apart from the propos derivation of "Yazîdî" from the term of Yazd, of a Persian origin this religion; (3) it fails to account for the name Malik Tâ'ûs. See als on the Yazîdî religion, Jalâl Nûrî, *Le diable promu 'Dieu', essai sur Yézidisme* (Constantinople) and Anastase Marie in *Al-Mashrik*, vol. pp. 32–7, 151–6, 309–14, 395–9, 547–53, 615–55, 731–6, and 830–6, as cited by Bittner (*loc. cit. infr.*).

p. 201, n. 2.— RASHÎM. Professor Bevan (in a private communica tion) points out that this should be *rajim* (Eth. *rĕgūm*), "accursed," which Muslim commentators wrongly took to mean "stoned" (Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 47).

p. 202.—Professor Bevan points out that it is the ordinary Muslim doctrine that Christ was not crucified (*Qûr'ân*, iv, 156).

p. 203, l. 15.—For "battle" read "wattle".

p. 204.—AL-JALWAH AND MUṢḤAF-UR-RASH (not *Muṣḥaf-ul-Rāsh*). A text of these books has been published from a MS. obtained in Mausil by Isya Joseph (in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. xxv, pp. 111–56) as well as a translation with brief notes (*ibid.*, pp. 218–54). The MS. contains these two books together with an introduction and an appendix, which consists of a collection of materials concerning the faith and practice of the Yazîdî, a poem in praise of the Shaikh 'Adî, the

cipal prayer of the Yazîdî in Kurdish, a description of their priestly stem, and the petition to the Ottoman Government (on which see the letin, vol. ii, pt. ii, pp. 207–10). Of *Al-Jalwah*, which is said to e been dictated by the Shaikh 'Adî himself to his secretary Shaikh khr-ud-Dîn in A.D. 1162–3, the original is now kept at Ba'idrî. The Black Book" claims to have been written by one Ḥasan-ul-Baṣrî in D. 1342–3, and the original is preserved at Qaṣr 'Izz-ud-Dîn, a village the east side of the Tigris; it derives its name from the description it of the descent of the Lord upon the Black Mountain. But the thenticity of these books is a matter of some doubt. Other Yazîdî SS. are known: two are in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris (*Fond Syriaque*, Nos. 306 and 325), part of which has been translated by Professor E. H. Browne in an appendix to O. H. Parry's *Six Months in Syrian Monastery*, pp. 357–87; one Syriac text has been published by B. Chabot in the *Journal Asiatique*, IX, VII, pp. 100 ff., and another by Manul in *Monte Singar* from a MS. copied for him from an original in the monastery of Rabban Hurmuzd. The latter is the work of a Syrian priest named Isaac who had lived for a long while among the Yazîdî and who wrote his work in the form of a catechism, in which a youthful Yazîdî questions one of his teachers about his faith: the author, however, occasionally drops his *rôle*, so that the questioner is seen to be none other than Isaac himself (Joseph, *loc. cit.*). On the sacred books of the Yazîdî see also M. Bittner in *Denkschriften der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse*, LV, IV, pp. 1–97, and V, pp. 1–18, and Anastasie Marie in *Anthropos*, VI, i, pp. 1–39.

p. 210.—FOURTEENTH CLAUSE. The Sabians also did not eat purslane, garlic, beans, cauliflower, cabbage, and lentils (Bar Hebræus, *At-Tārīkh*, p. 266, cited by Joseph, *loc. cit.*, p. 254).

THE MANUSCRIPTS COLLECTED BY WILLIAM MARSDEN WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TWO COPIES OF ALMEIDA'S "HISTORY OF ETHIOPIA"

By E. Denison Ross

WHEN in 1916 the School of Oriental Studies was established on the old premises of the London Institution in Finsbury Circus, an agreement was come to whereby King's College, University College, and the University of London handed over to the School as a temporary loan all their Oriental books, in exchange for an equivalent number of European books belonging to the Library of the Institution. The contribution of King's College was mainly represented by a most valuable collection of works dealing with Oriental languages and literature known as the *Marsden Library*. This library contains, in addition to a large collection of printed books covering practically the whole field of Oriental learning, a number of manuscripts, and among these is a copy of the *History of Ethiopia*, by Manoel d'Almeida, to which I wish to call especial attention in the present article. William Marsden, the bulk of whose library is now housed in the School of Oriental Studies was born at Verval, co. Wicklow, Ireland, in 1754. He received a classical education and was on the point of entering Trinity College, Dublin, when he accepted an appointment as a writer to the East India Company in Sumatra, reaching Bencoolen in 1771. He spent eight years in Sumatra and occupied some of his leisure hours with the study of the Malay language. In 1779 he returned to England, and in 1785 set up an East India agency business with his brother John in Gower Street, London. In 1795 he accepted the post of second Secretary to the Admiralty, and in 1804 became first Secretary. He retired from this post in 1807, just before his marriage with Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Charles Wilkins, the Orientalist, and occupied the remainder of his life with a variety of literary pursuits chiefly in connexion with Oriental literatures and numismatics. He was a member of several literary societies, and in 1786 he received the honorary degree of D.C.L., Oxford. He died in 1836 and was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery. During his life he made two important collections, one of coins and the other of Oriental books and manuscripts. The coins,

numbering 3,447 specimens, he presented to the British Museum 12th July, 1834, and his collection of Oriental books and manuscripts King's College on 30th January, 1835.[1] His grounds for presenting library to King's College rather than to the British Museum he expl on page 172 of his autobiography as follows: "The addition of it library] to the long-accumulated riches of our great national libr not only would be unimportant, but it was obvious that, u examination, a great proportion of the books must necessarily pr to be duplicates of those already in the British Museum. On the ot hand, the establishment of King's College, London (its peculiar rec mendations out of the question), presented many of the advanta that belong to a modern foundation and recent structure, as respe the forming of a library, the space being in a certain sense unoccupi especially that specific apartment which it was judged would be b suited to the limited extent and exclusive reception of my books."

Marsden accordingly made the offer of his library to the Council the College through the then Bishop of London, Dr. Bloomfield. Th gift was accepted and suitably acknowledged at the meeting of the Committee of the Council held on 30th January, 1835. (It is due t some curious chance, however, that he did not give all his manuscripts to King's College; for between 1828 and 1835 he presented a certain number to the British Museum, as I shall detail below.)

In 1827 he published a catalogue of his library under the title of *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana Philologica et Orientalis*.

On page 303 of this catalogue we read the following entry: -

"Historia de Ethiopia a alta, ou Abassia: Imperio do *Abexim*, cujo Rey vulgarmente he chamado Preste Joam. Dedicada a Magestade d'El Rey D. Joam o IV. Nosso Senhor. Composta pelo Padre Manoel de Almeida da Companhia de Jesus. Fol. (With a Chart of Abyssinia and of the Source of the Nile.) An Abridgment of this work was published at Coimbra in 1660, fol., by P. Balthezar Tellez. A second copy wants the Title and some of the preliminary part."

Now among the manuscripts sent to the School of Oriental Studies from King's College, there is only one copy of Almeida's *History of Ethiopia*. It is, therefore, evident that Marsden had in his possession, when he made his catalogue in 1827, two copies of Almeida, and that he

[1] King's College, London, was founded in 1829

[2] See *A Brief Memoir of the Life and Writings of the late William Marsden, D.C.L., F.R.S., etc., etc., written by himself, with notes from his correspondence*. London, 1838, 4to, for private circulation only. [The work, which occupies 177 pages, was edited by his widow.]

presented one of them to King's College in January, 1835, with the rest of his library.

Between the years 1828 and 1835 Marsden presented a number of Portuguese manuscripts to the British Museum, and among them a copy of Almeida, which has long been known to scholars, and presumably represents one of the two copies mentioned in his catalogue. All the other manuscripts mentioned in the catalogue were duly handed over to King's College, and as, with the exception of Almeida, the Marsden manuscripts in the British Museum find no mention in his catalogue, it might be presumed that they were acquired subsequently to its compilation. But certain circumstances which I shall discuss below militate against this view.

The British Museum copy of Almeida was presented on 28th August, 1835, i.e. seven months after he had made the gift of his catalogued collection to King's College (30th January). His first gift of manuscripts to the British Museum was in 1828, i.e. the year after the publication of his catalogue.

In 1837 his widow presented two volumes (Add. 10608 and 11038) to the British Museum, and it may be presumed that there were no others to present. These two volumes are merely scrap books of no particular interest, as will be seen from the description given below.

Beccari says Lord (*sic*) Marsden acquired the British Museum MS. of Almeida in Goa, and subsequently presented it to the British Museum in 1837. It does not appear on what authority the first statement is made, but the date of the gift is certainly incorrect. In Marsden's autobiography, which he wrote about 1830, no allusion is made to either of these manuscripts.

In 1828 he presented to the British Museum the documents "brought from the Archives of the Romish Church in Goa." Now, as I shall presently show, the King's College Almeida came originally from the same collection, as did also in all probability the B.M. copy, though this cannot be demonstrated with the same certainty.

We may, therefore, conclude that some time prior to 1827 Marsden acquired from the Goa archives certainly one, if not two copies of Almeida's *History of Ethiopia* and the documents now in the British Museum under Add. 6878, 6879 and under Add. 9852 to 9861 inclusive.

The B.M. Almeida was obviously bound after its arrival in Europe, and a number of folios at the beginning and the end bear the watermark *J. Larking*.

On one of these English folios a full title has been written out an attempt being made to copy exactly in matter and in script original title-page. My impression is that the King's College Almeida had a title-page—which has been lost with the outer cover—and that Marsden, when he had the B.M. copy bound, either copied or caused be copied the title-page of the K.C. MS. into the B.M. MS., from which as he says in his catalogue, the title and preliminary part are wanting.

When Marsden prepared his catalogue, the title-page to the B.M. MS. had not been written in, otherwise he would, no doubt, have mentioned its existence as a recent addition.

Now, with regard to the preliminary matter, it will be seen that in his catalogue he says, "A second copy wants the Title and some of the preliminary part," whereas on the slip pasted into the B.M. MS. he says, "This copy wants the title and preliminary part." Seeing that there is no preliminary part to the B.M. MS., one wonders at the wording of the entry in his catalogue. It is also very remarkable that he should have made no allusion to the three long appendices at the end of the *History of Ethiopia* in the K.C. MS. All tends to indicate that he wrote his entry in the catalogue without a very careful examination of the two manuscripts, for he is guilty of a further error in saying that the MS. containing the title and the preliminary part contains a "Chart of Abyssinia and of the Source of the Nile", whereas in the K.C. MS. the latter is wanting. In the B.M. MS. this chart is to be found in the middle of Chapter 5 of Book I. but where we should expect to find the chart in the K.C. MS. there are two blank pages, though the text itself is quite complete.

Before proceeding further to discuss the manuscripts of Almeida, it will be well to give a list of the Marsden MSS. now in the British Museum.

The MSS. Presented to the British Museum by William Marsden.

In 1828, the year after the publication of his catalogue, he presented a collection of papers which are preserved in two small boxes numbered Add. 6878 and 6879. They are described as "Documents brought from the Archives of the Romish Church at Goa (covering the period between 1569 and 1613)".

They are thus described in the British Museum catalogue :—

Additional Manuscripts, No. 6878.

The following documents, brought from the Archives of the Romish Church at Goa.

1. Depositions, attested by Alexander Riarius, Prothonotary at Rome, as to Miracles performed by Reliques of the Holy Cross. Rome, 20 May and 27 July, 1569.

2. A Charter of Sebastian, King of Portugal, in Portuguese: 1572 (scarcely legible).

3. Attestation to the Genuineness of Reliques sent to various Churches in the Eastern and Western Indies: d. 16 April, 1573.

4. Certified Transcript of Attestations to the Genuineness of various Reliques given to the Jesuits: d. 13 Oct., 1574 (printed on vellum).

5. Bull of Gregory XIII, d. Rome, 24 Oct., 1579, granting more ample Powers to Everard Mercurianus, General of the Jesuits, to prevent the Jesuits from passing into other Orders (v. Bullarum Collect. a Cocquelines, Tom. iv. p. 418).

6. An imperfect Document, reciting a Bull of Gregory XIII: d. 1. Jun., 1583, granting 4000 Scudi annually towards the support of the Church in the East.

7. Attestation by Claudius Aquaviva, General of the Jesuits, to the Genuineness of certain Reliques sent to Japan: d. Rome, 28 Nov., 1583.

8. Attestation by the same to the Genuineness of Reliques of St. Abundius, sent to Japan: same date.

9. Confirmation by Pope Sixtus V. of Sebastian, Bishop Elect of Funai, in Japan: d. Rome, 11 Kal Mar., 1587.

10. Attestation by Claudius Aquaviva to the Genuineness of the Reliques of several Saints sent to the Church at Goa: d. Rome 17 Dec., 1590.

11. Authenticated Copies of Documents relating to the Appointment of Peter Martinez to be Bishop of Funai: dat. Roave, 27 Feb. 1592.

12. Form of Profession of Faith made by Franciscus de Vasconcellos, Bishop Elect of Cochin. No date.

13. Tirado da Censura de Fr. João Ponce de Leão das Memorias de Margarita de Valois.

No. 6879.

1. Commission to the Archbishop of Goa or his Vicar to examine Witnesses and Documents with a view to further Proceedings in the Canonisation of Francis Xavier: d. Rome, 7 Sept., 1613.

2. A Vellum Roll, containing Interrogatories and Artic administered by authority of the Commissioners about to exam into Evidence as to the Claim of Francis Xavier to Canonisation; 16

3. A Duplicate of the above-mentioned Roll.

Most of these documents bear a press-mark indicating the sh or drawer in which they were preserved in the Goa archives. T term employed is *Gaveta* or Drawer, and it is variously contracted *Gau* or *Gauet*, which is followed by a number, thus: "No. 34."

In 1834 (12th April) Marsden presented eight more manuscrip to the British Museum, which have been numbered Add. 9390 to 939

Although these manuscripts do not belong to the same collectio I think it may be of interest to reproduce here their contents a described in the British Museum catalogue.

Add. Manuscripts 9390–9397.

9390.—Five Letters to William Marsden, Esq., from Isaac Titsingh, between June, 1806, and June, 1811: A Detail, or memoir, on the powder Dosia, and on Koboe Daysi, who discovered it, by Isaac Titsingh. Folio.

9391.—Chronology of the Japonese and Chinese, adapted to the European era, by Isaac Titsingh. Folio.

9392.—Remarks on the Chronology of the Chinese, according to the opinion of the Japonese, accompanied with some inquiries respecting the origin of the Japonese, and their fabulous chronology, forming the basis of the Government of their first Dayri, Zin-moe-ben-O, followed by a regular Epact of the succession of the Chinese and Japonese monarchs; by Isaac Titsingh. Folio.

9393.—Chronology of the Japonese and Chinese, by Isaac Titsingh. Folio.

9394.—Bedenkingen over de Teidreekening der Chineezen na het gevoelen der Japanners: beneevens eenige Aanmerkingen nopens de Oorspronk der Japanners, en eene gereegelde Jaartelling van de Opvolging der Chineesche en Japansche Vorsten tot het Jaar 1784: door Isaac Titsingh. Folio.

9395.—Nipon-O-Day-Itze-Ran, or a short detail of the Dayris of Japan: by Isaac Titsingh. Folio.

9396.—Annotations on the Dayris, or Sovereigns of Japon, composed in 1782, by Isaac Titsingh. Folio.

9397.—Description of the wedding ceremonies among farmers,

mechanics, and merchants, in Japon:—Description of the funerals, and of the festivals in honour of the gods:—Two descriptions of the island Jeso. By Isaac Titsingh. Folio.

Finally, in 1835 (28th August) he presented ten larger folio manuscripts in Portuguese which have been numbered Add. 9852 to 9861, this last representing the British Museum copy of Almeida.

Now these manuscripts obviously all belong to one collection, and Add. 9859 and 9860 bear the press-mark *Gau* No. 32, while Add. 9853 is marked *Gau* No. 42.

It therefore seems quite evident that the MSS. numbered Add. 9852 to 9861 were all brought from the archives at Goa; as was also the King's College copy of Almeida, which bears on the obverse of the last folio the press-mark *Gaucta* No. 34.

It is unfortunate that no record exists to show when or how Marsden acquired these archives, but we may at least presume that he obtained them all together and at some time prior to the publication of his catalogue, although the two copies of Almeida are the only manuscripts belonging to the collection mentioned therein.

The questions that remain unsolved are: why did he exclude the bulk of the Goa MSS. from his catalogue? why did he in the same year give one copy of Almeida to King's College and the other to the British Museum? and finally how did these Goa archives come to be dispersed?

They are thus described in the British Museum catalogue:—

Add. Manuscripts 9852–9861.

9852.—Sumario de las cosas que pertenecen a la Provincia de la India Oriental y al govierno della, compuesto por el Padre Alexandro Valignano, visitador della, y dirigido a R. Provincial general Everardo Mercuriano en el año de 1579. Folio.

9853.—A Collection of Annual Reports relative to the state of the Portuguese Jesuit Missions in the East Indies; of various dates, from 1601 to 1659. *Portuguese.* Folio.

9854 and 55.—A Collection of Letters and Papers relative to the state of the Portuguese Jesuit Missions in the East Indies; of various dates, from 1582 to 1693. *Portuguese.* 2 vols. Folio.

9856.—Apologia e resposta feita pello Padre Valentim Carvalho, da companhia de Jesus, provincial nesta provincia de Japaõ e China, a hum tratado do Padre Fr. Sebastiaõ de S. Pedro, da ordem de S. Francesco, que se intitula Recupilacà das causas

porque o Emperador de Japaõ desterou de seus reinos todos padres. Folio.

9857.—Libro primero del principio y progresso de la Relig Christiana en Jappon, y de la especial providencia de que Nues Señor usa con aquella nueva Iglesia: compuesto por el Pa Alexandro Valignano, de la compañia de Jesus, en el anõ 16 Folio.

9858.—Certidaõ do Senhor Dom Pedro, Bispo de Japaõ, açerca estado da quella nova igreia, 17 Nov., 1597;—Outra certid do Capitaõ mor da viagem de Japaõ 1597;—Relaçaõ do triste succe e perda da naõ S. Phelipe:—Relaçaõ da morte de seis religiosc descalços da ordem de S. Francesco e outros 17 Christaõs Japo que Taicosama mandou crucificar ẽ Nangasaqui;—Relacio de las cosas de Japon, 1597;—Apuntamentos sobre o remed da Christandad de Jappaõ para se aprezentare ao Señor Visorey;—Tratado que os religiosos de S. Francesco espalharaõ em Goa e em Baçaim, no anno de 1598, contra os padres da Comp^a de Jesus que andaõ na conversaõ de Jappaõ;—Certidaõ que o Bispo de Jappaõ, Dom Pedro Martinez, passou acerqua no anno de 1597;—Apollogia en la qual se responde a diversas calumnias que se escrivieron contra los padres de la Companhia de Jesus de Japon y de la China, hecha por el Padre Alexandro Valignano. Folio.

9859.—A Collection of Annual Reports relative to the state of the Jesuit Missions in Japan, of various dates, from 1585 to 1625. Partly Spanish, partly Portuguese. Folio.

9860.—A Collection of Miscellaneous Papers and Letters relative to the Portuguese Jesuit Missions in Japan and the East Indies; of various dates, from 1593 to 1686. Partly Spanish, partly Portuguese. Folio.

9861.—Historia de Ethiopia a alta, ou Abassia, imperio do Abexim, cujo Rey vulgarmente he chamado Preste Joam; composta pelo Padre Manoel de Almeida da Companhia de Jesus, naturel de Viseu. Folio.

The two MSS. of Almeida.

This last (Add. 9861) is the copy of Almeida's history which is spoken of in the present article as the B.M. MS.

It is fitting in this place to say a few words regarding the author of the work under discussion.

Manoel d'Almeida, the famous Jesuit missionary, was born in Viseu in Portugal in 1580, and entered the Society of Jesus on 2nd November, 1594. In 1601 he set sail for India with a party of missionaries,[1] and remained in Goa until 1622, when he set out for Abyssinia. In 1628 he began to write his *History of Ethiopia*. Pietro Paez, Patriarch of Abyssinia, who also wrote a *History of Ethiopia*,[2] had died in 1622, and was succeeded in the Patriarchate by Affonzo Mendez, who wrote another History of Ethiopia in Latin. He did not arrive in Abyssinia until 1625. It was during the reign of the Abyssinian king Susinios, A.D. 1601–33, that the Jesuits enjoyed the greatest influence in that country, and Affonzo Mendez on assuming the Patriarchate actually persuaded the king to proclaim Roman Catholicism the state religion. In 1633, however, Susinios, who had never won over his people to the Catholic cause, was forced to abdicate in favour of his son Fasilidas, who immediately proceeded to drive the Jesuits out of the country. The first Jesuits to leave were Almeida and three other priests, who were despatched by Affonzo Mendez to Goa to report the disaster which had overtaken them, and to seek help from the Portuguese Governor-General. The party did not reach Goa until 1635, owing to a series of misadventures which included a long captivity in Aden. Almeida now again settled down in Goa, where he remained until his death on 10th May, 1646. He became in turn Rector of the College of Goa and Provincial, and down to 1643, the latest date therein mentioned, he continued to work at his History, a copy of which was sent to Lisbon in 1646. What became of this copy it is impossible to say, for it seems highly improbable that it is represented by either of the manuscript copies now in London, of which I shall speak below. It was, however, on the original Lisbon MS. that Balthazar Tellez based his famous *Historia Geral de Ethiopia a alta* published in Coimbra in 1660[3]: and this manuscript seems to have

[1] Innocencio de Silva in his *Bibliographia* gives the date of Almeida's departure as 1597.

[2] de Silva was under the impression that Almeida only wrote a continuation of the History of Paez, but actually it is a quite separate work. The confusion arose, no doubt, from the circumstance that de Silva was acquainted only with Tellez, who lays both Paez and Almeida under contribution.

[3] Historia Geral de Ethiopia a alta ou Preste Ioam e do que nella obráram os padres da Companhia de Iesus composta na mesma Ethiopia, pelo Padre Manoel d'Almeida, natural de Vizev, Provincial, e Visitador, que foy na India. Abbreviada com nova releyçam, e methodo, pelo Padre Balthezar Tellez, natural de Lisboa. An anonymous English version was published in London in 1710, as vol. 7 of "A New Collection of Voyages and Travels". It bears a lengthy title beginning "The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia . . .". This work, which purports to be a translation of Tellez, is really only an abridgment. [B.M. 566. b. 2.]

disappeared. One or more copies were, however, no doubt retained in Goa, but in recent years the manuscript preserved in the British Museum [Add. 9861] has been regarded as the only surviving copy, and it is from a photograph of this manuscript that Signor Camillo Beccari, S.J., has lately published the great work of Almeida.[1]

Writing in 1903 Signor Beccari (op. cit., vol. i, p. 5) was under the impression that the B.M. MS. was the author's original autograph copy, "deve a buon diritto considerarsi come *l'originale autografo*," and in his introduction to the published text (1907), op. cit., vol. v, p. xlix, he says: "In codice, qui unicus modo nobis superest et in Museo Brittannico asservatur magnoque habendus pretio, quia manu ipsius A. frequentissime emendatus." The B.M. MS., indeed, contains on almost every page corrections, deletions, and additions, for the most part in a writing which resembles the autograph signature of Almeida, reproduced by Beccari opposite p. 6 of vol. v.

The text itself is in a number of different hands and the corrections in more than one.

Both MSS. are written in similar ink on European paper bearing a great variety of water-marks, the same water-mark being sometimes found in both MSS. I have identified several of these papers in Briquet's monumental work and they are of the late sixteenth century. That both MSS. were preserved together in India is shown by the fact that they have suffered in an equal degree from the ravages of white ants. Further, it may be noted that two of the appendices in the K.C. MS. are in the hand of one of the copyists employed on the B.M. MS. The whole text in the K.C. MS. is written in one and the same hand and is very beautifully executed. The conclusions I have drawn from a careful comparison of these MSS. are the following:—

(1) That the B.M. MS. is a rough draft prepared by several different scribes, either from Almeida's original *brouillon* or at his dictation.

(2) That the corrections in the B.M. MS. represent the author's revision of his work, partly in his own hand and partly in the hand of some Jesuit colleague.

(3) That the K.C. MS. is the fair copy made from the revised B.M.

[1] It occupies three of the fifteen volumes which appeared in Rome between 1903 and 1917 under the general title of "Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX". The first volume of the series appeared under another title, viz., Notizia e Saggi di opere e documenti inediti riguardanti la Storia di Etiopia durante i secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII, con otto facsimili e due carte geografiche, Roma, 1903. This most important series comprises also the Histories of Paez and of Mendez.

MS., and that this in its turn was revised throughout by Almeida,[1] showing, as it does, corrections, omissions, and additions which have no counterpart in the B.M. MS.

(4) That the K.C. MS. therefore represents Almeida's work in its completed form and was probably the final version, of which a copy was sent to Lisbon in 1646.

As an example of the additions made during the second revision, it may be mentioned that in the K.C. MS. there is a chapter 17 to Book VI in twenty-two sections, covering thirty folios, and containing "*Historia do Emperador Seltan Sagued trasladada aletra desta Coronica*".

In the B.M. MS. Book VI ends with the words "*particularmente vimos*" at the conclusion of chapter 16.

As an example of an omission, attention may be called to an interesting note which occurs in the margin of MS. B.M. Though this is in the hand of Almeida, Signor Beccari has not inserted it in his text but gives it in a footnote. (See Rerum Aeth. Scrip. Occ., vol. v, p. 245.) Speaking of the divine blessings which have aided the work of the Society of Jesus in Ethiopia, he says: *ha mais de oitenta e sinco annos que nesta viñha trabalhaõ sem cessar. . . colhem hoje com summa alegria o fruto copioso da reducçaõ tam desejada deste tam nobre e grande imperio.*

The marginal note, which does not occur at all in MS. K.C., says: "*Ate aqui foi escrita esta historia em Ethiopia antes da ruina da santa fee que despois nella aconteceu.*"

Contents of the King's College MS.

I will now proceed to a description of the King's College MS., with a special view to indicating the additional matter it contains over and above that which is found in the British Museum MS. The front cover and a few pages seem to be missing, including the title-page. Foll. 1*a* to 4*a* contain a list of "Abyssinian" words which occur in the course of the History with their explanation in Portuguese. They are arranged alphabetically and bear the following superscription: "Indice de alguãs palauras Abexins que vaõ espalhadas nesta Historia com a significaçaõ que tem."

I hope to publish this list with identifications in the next issue of the *Bulletin*.

Fol. 4*b* is blank.

[1] The writing is here obviously identical with the corrections which Signor Beccari has identified as the work of Almeida himself in the B.M. MS.

Fol. 5*a*. Index dos Livros, e capitulos desta Historia de Ethiopia. This table of contents extends down to the middle of fol. 18*a*, and is followed by Index da Appendix á Historia de Ethiopia (foll. 18*a* to 19*a*). This refers to the appendix in twenty-six sections, which is to be found at the end of the Historia, and occupies 54 pages.

Fol. 19*b*. Index da Informaçaõ composta pelo Patriarcha de Ethiopia Dom Afonso Mendez da Companhia de Jesus. This refers to a treatise in four sections occupying 20 pages.

Fol. 20 is blank.

Fol. 21 contains the map which is folded on a sheet measuring $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $15\frac{1}{4}$ inches.[1]

Fol. 22*a* and *b* contain instructions for the better understanding of the map: "Aduertencias necessarias pera melhor intelligencia deste mappa," which does not appear in the B.M. MS.

Foll. 23 and 24 are blank.

The text of the Historia begins on fol. 25*a*, which is numbered [page] i. and continues in one and the same hand down to the end of [page] 1140.

I have numbered the folios down to the beginning of the text, and have continued the numbering at the end of the text, i.e. foll. 25 to 91.

The text is followed by an index to the History, giving references not only to the pages of the MS. as in the case of the first Index (or Table of Contents), but to the Books and Chapters. It occupies six folios (25–29) in the same hand as the first portion of the text. This is followed by two blank folios (30, 31), when we come to the

First Appendix, foll. 32*a*–70*a*, bearing the following superscription:—

"Appendix à Historia de Ethiopia. Naqual se refutam os principaes errr q̃ andaõ escritos em huã q̃ se imprimio è Valença noãno de 1610." (This refers to Urreta's *Historia ecclesiastica . . . de la Ethiopia*, B.M. 280. d. 19.)

This appendix is written partly in an upright round hand, quite unlike that of the main body of this MS., but resembling to a remarkable degree the writing at the end of the B.M. MS., and partly in a sloping hand.

[1] The map in MS. K C. is not an exact copy of that contained in MS. B.M., which is reproduced by Signor Beccari in volumes i and iv of the series mentioned above. Copies of the map of Ethiopia and the source of the Nile were prepared by Tellez, and these were again copied for the English version. I hope to discuss the map on a future occasion, suffice it here to say that Tellez took considerable liberties with the original map of Ethiopia, while his map of the source of the Nile is so much changed from that of Almeida as to be hardly recognizable.

It has all the appearance of a fair copy from a rough draft, and it bears numerous additions, corrections, and deletions in a more learned hand, which give the impression of an author's revision.

It is divided into thirty-six sections.

The *Second Appendix* (by Mendes) extends from the middle of fol. 70*a* (following the conclusion of the *First Appendix*) down to fol. 79*b*, and here we have to do with a totally different handwriting. The full title is: "Informaçaõ emque semostra, emque tpo sepregou o evangelho em Thiopia (*sic*), e começou auida monastica, e quaes foraõ seus instituidores, e pregadores. Composta plo Patriarcha de Ethiopia Dom Afonço Mendes da Companhia de Jesus."

It is followed by the *Third Appendix*, which contains another treatise in yet another writing (foll. 80*a* to 91*b*), and is entitled:—

"Informaçaõ succinta sobre a reducçaõ do Imperio Abexino pera S. A. Ver, e seus Ministros."

This treatise, which occupies twelve closely written pages, deals with the difficulties which present themselves in the way of converting (reducçaõ) the kingdom of Abyssinia to the Roman Catholic Church. It is composed of a short introduction and ten sections: Sections 1 to 5 deal with the five main difficulties: section 6 with the manner in which such difficulties may be overcome: section 7 with the past and present ambitions of the Turks: section 8 discusses the projects for the capture of Massowa; section 9 is entitled "Conclusions to be derived from this treatise"; and section 10 contains "A Reply to those who think otherwise."

An allusion in the opening section to the appearance of Tellez' *History of Ethiopia* places the composition of the treatise later than 1660. We may presume, therefore, that the K.C. MS. was bound together and provided with its Indices towards the end of the seventeenth century and preserved in the Goa archives.

The authorship of *Appendix III* remains a mystery, but it is obviously the work of a man intimately acquainted with Ethiopia and with recent happenings in and around the Red Sea.

The above description of the K.C. MS. will I hope suffice to indicate its importance.

In conclusion of these notes I think it will be of general interest to reprint from Marsden's Catalogue, which is very hard to come by, his own description of the MSS. he presented to King's College with the rest of his library. It is to be hoped that in the course of time scholars will take the opportunity of examining

such of these MSS. as have been transferred to the School of Oriental Studies. The whole collection has only recently been received by the School, and until the new catalogue now in course of preparation has been completed it is impossible to say whether any of the MSS. are missing or not.

List of Manuscripts included in William Marsden's Library

On Languages in general.

Designatio Linguarum, adornata a Christiano Giulielmo Büttnero. Jenæ 1785, 8vo. form. (In the handwriting of that celebrated philologist.)

Catalogus librorum Linguas omnes, præsertim Orientales, spectantium. Studio Philippi Masson Franco-Galli. Circiter an. 1693, 8vo. iii vol. (Possessed by his son Philip in 1741.)

Lexicon Signorum, or an attempt to form a System of Universal Characters. Folio oblongo.

A number of printed Vocabularies filled up with various languages in manuscript; circulated about forty years since, for the purpose of a general comparison.

Arabic. Syriac.

A Grammar of the Arabic language in the Arabic character. Dated 1035 of the hejrah or A.D. 1625. Small 4to.

The *Koran* (neatly written, but worm-eaten). 8vo. size.

The *Koran* (neatly written, but worm-eaten). 12mo. size.

The *Koran*, written in a peculiar and elaborate character, having for its basis the Cufic; with a memorandum on the subject of it, in the handwriting of S^r^ W. Jones. (The two loose leaves alone belonged to me in the first instance. These I sent to Mr. (afterwards S^r^ Charles) Malet, at Bombay, for explanation. By him they were forwarded to D^r^ John Fleming, at Calcutta, who put them into the hands of S^r^ W. Jones. Many years afterwards, by extraordinary chance, the remaining part of the book, from whence the two leaves had been separated, came into my possession.)

Alcorani Suratæ 75 ad 114, Arabice, literis Europæis expressæ.

Extracts from the *Koran*, particularly the Chapter of the Spider. 8vo. (This book having been long used in the administration of Oaths, the cover is soiled by the betel-stained lips of true Believers.)

Specimens of Arabic of the islands of Johanna and Madagascar.

A Vocabulary, English, Mauritanian, and Shilha, in the *Maghrabi* or Western Arabic character. 4to. (Procured for me by M. J. M. Matra, Consul at Tangier, in the year 1788.)

The Books of the Four Evangelists, in Arabic. 4to. (The division of the Chapters differs from that of our Versions; the Second chapter of S. Matthew, for example, beginning at the 18th verse of our First chapter.)

Lexici Syriaci Caroli Schaaf Supplementum. 4to. Descripsit Johannes Bouyer, Berolensis, anno 1735.

A Treatise on Arabic Grammar, written in the *Maghrabi* or Western Arabic character, by Muhammed ibn Mâlik, called the *Alfiya*, because it is composed in a thousand verses. 8vo.

The *Mirâh*, a treatise on the Inflections of the Arabic Verb: by Ahmed ibn Ali ibn Masûd: in Arabic. The *Tasrîf*, on the same subject, by Ibrâhim Yanjâni; with Models of Arabic Conjugation. 8vo.

A Commentary on the Arabic Grammar called Tasrîf by the Sheikh Fâid ibn Mubarak al Hanafi. In Arabic. Sm. 8vo.

"The form of Absolution, and Prayers, according to the Catholic ritual," in Arabic. 12mo.

The Fâl-nâmah or Book of Divination of *Jafar Sádik*. The *Tali-náimah*, a treatise on Destinies, in Turkish 12mo.

Armenian.

Homilies in the Armenian language, with illuminated Figures. 12mo.

Australasian of New Holland, &c.

Vocabulary of the language of New South Wales, in the neighbourhood of Sydney: Native and English. By — Dawes. Sm. 8vo.

Grammatical Forms of the language in the neighbourhood of Sydney. By — Dawes, in 1790. Sm. 8vo.

Vocabulary of the language of N.S. Wales, in the neighbourhood of Sydney; Native and English. 8vo.

Short Vocabularies of the language spoken by natives of Van Diemen's land, collected by the Officers of the French frigates, la Recherche and l'Espérance, in 1793.

Búgis of Celebes.

A Diary, from 1184 to 1190—1770 to 1776, in the Bûgis language and character. (The names of the Months are European, written in the Arabic character.) fol.

An original Treaty between the Dutch Indian government and certain chiefs of the island of Celebes, bearing the date of 1781. In the Bûgis and Dutch languages.

Small tracts in the *Bûgis* language and character, neatly written.

Sundry Papers (chiefly Accounts) in the *Bûgis* language. (Received from Capt. Owen R.N.)

Charts of the Eastern Archipelago, with the Names of places written in the *Bûgis* character. (Given to me by Captain Thomas Forrest.)

The Conquest of *Mangkásar* (Macassar) by the united forces of the Hollanders and Bûgis, under the command of Admiral Cornelis Speelman and *Rajah Pabaka*, in the year 1667: a Poem in the Malayan language, by *Inchi Amban*. 4to. (See Valentyn. Macasarische Zaaken, iii deel, p. 153.)

Burmah. Siamese. Asamese. Tibetian. Tartar.

Alphabetum Barmanum seu Bomanum, auctore Domino Melchiore Carpani. ("Communicante amicissimo Auctore exscripsi in nave Gallico l'Actif, mense Maii 1775, G.P." It was printed at Rome in the following year.)

Four large Leaves of Burmah or *Pali* writing: each leaf containing twice four lines. Their dimensions 21 inches by 3½. (Attached to them was found the following notice: "Indian Code or system of Morality, from a temple of the Talapoins in Pegu." Mr. Molleson gave a similar one to Mr. Astle, of twenty leaves, in 1781.)

A Collection of letters in the Siamese language and character: written on the peculiar paper of the country: with a letter in the Portuguese language from Pheja Calohom, Minister of the King of Siam, to Captain Lee (probably Captain Light, of P^r^ Pinang), dated 19th Nov. 1787.

A Passport in the Siamese language and character, for the Bearer's proceeding from *Bankok* to *Jutea*.

Short Vocabularies of the dialects of Asám, with the words in their proper characters.

Many small Scrolls containing Prayers or Charms in the language of Tibet; with little bags of a certain animal-powder distributed throughout Tartary by the Lamas. (In a paper box.)

Extensive Vocabularies of Tartar languages, collected for the 'Vocabularia Comparativa' of the Empress Catherine of Russia—given by Professor Pallas to Mr. Charles Hatchett, and by him to W. M.

Chinese, Cochin-Chinese or Tunkinese, &c.

Dictionarium Sinico-Latinum, cum variis Appendicibus. 4to. (The Words of this Chinese Dictionary are arranged according to the Pronunciation and not according to the Radicals. The French Orthography is employed. Annexed to it are the following: A List of Ten Chinese dictionaries; a Table of the 214 Radicals: an Index of all the Characters explained in the Dictionary, classed under their respective Radicals, with their Pronunciation; the peculiar Numeral particles: an alphabetical series of Characters expressing opposite meanings; characters combined with TA to strike: Table of the Cycle of Sixty years; and Decimal system of Numbers from One to one hundred Billions.)

The Sze Shû, or Four Books of Confucius, with a Commentary and Notes. The 3d vol., containing the Second part of the *Lun Yu*, is wanting. W. H.

Arte de la lingua Mandarina.

A Chinese Sheet-Almanac.

Chinese Epistles.

Quæsita Missionariorum Chinæ seu Sinarum, S. Congrationi de Propaganda Fide exhibitæ, cum Responsis ad ea. 4to.

Quæsita Missionariorum Tunkini, et Responsiones at ipsa. Quæries proposed to the Missionaries respecting the laws, government, manners, religion, &c. of the people of Tunkin, and their Answers, collected and arranged by Fr. Joannes de Paz. 4to. "Impressum Manilæ anno Dñi 1680." (From whence it is to be inferred that the MS. was copied from the Printed work.)

Martyrology of Portuguese Missionaries. fol.

An Account of the state of Christianity in China, in the years 1633 and 1634, as well as of the Empire in general. To which is added a Report of the Anamitic or Tunkin Mission. In Latin. Sm. 4to.

A Chinese Tithing-man's Report to the Magistrate of the Ten houses or families under his superintendence and responsibility. (Rec^{d} from Mr. John Reeves.)

Vocabulary of the language spoken in the *Liaoukiou* islands (near Formosa) by H. J. Clifford. 4to.

The Will of the late emperor *Kia King*, on a very large sheet (from Chinese blocks).

Ethiopic.

Magseph asselat, i.e. Flagellum Mendaciorum, contra libellum Æthiopicum, falso nomine dictum, *Masquch Haymanot Æthiop*

&c. auctore Antonio Fernandio. Aliter : Doctrina Christiana, Æthiopice et Latine. Goæ 1642. fol.

Historia de Ethiopia a alta, ou Abassia : Imperio do *Abexim*, cujo Rey vulgarmente he chamado Preste Joam. Dedicada a Magestade d'El Rey D. Joam o IV. Nosso Senhor. Composta pelo Padre Manoel de Almeida da Companhia de Jesus. Fol. (With a Chart of Abyssinia and of the Source of the Nile.) An Abridgment of this work was published at Coimbra in 1669, fol., by P. Balthezar Tellez. A second copy wants the Title and some of the preliminary part.

Javanese.

A Description of the Island of Java, in the Dutch language ; with Drawings. By F. van Boukholtz. fol.

A legendary Tale in the Javanese language and character : written on the peculiar Paper of the country. 4to.

A Malayan tract on the Attributes of the Deity, with a Javanese translation.

Specimens of Javanese writing, with the stylus, on palmyra leaves. 12 inches.

A work in the Javanese language, written with the stylus on palmyra leaves. $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

A religious tract in Arabic, with an interlinear version in the Malayan character, but Sunda dialect of Javanese. Large 8vo. or sm. fol.

Regulations established for the port of *Krui* or Croee, in Sumatra, by the government of Bantam, in Java, engraved (or indented) on copper, in the Sunda dialect of Java and Malayan character. Dated in the year 1108 of the hejrah or A.D. 1696. Fol. size.

Malayan.

Malayan abbreviated Translation of the Hindu poem of the *Ramayuna*. Fol.

A Malayan Romance grounded on Hindu mythology. Fol.

An Astronomical and Astrological work in the Malayan language. Large 4to. (The gift of Capt. F. W. Owen R.N.)

A Collection of Malayan tracts. Large 4to.

Malayan Translation of Arabian histories, commencing with the Khalifat of Omar. 4to.

Religious historical tracts in the Arabic and Malayan languages (reciting the actions of Moses and Muhammed, with a mixture of absurd fables and gross anachronisms). 4to.

Malayan tracts: principally a translation of that part of the Arabic *Hedaya* or legal Guide which relates to Ceremonials. Ablutions, &c. Sm. 4to.

Malayan religious tract containing Rules to be observed with respect to Prayer, &c. Sm. 4to.

Romantic story in the Malayan language. 4to.

Romantic tale in the Malayan language. 4to. oblo. (Received from Capt. Owen R.N.)

Romantic tale in the Malayan language. Large 4to. (Received from Mr. J. Griffiths.)

Instruction in the Art of Divination, in the Malayan language. 4to.

Tract on religious subjects, in the Malayan language. 8vo.

Religious instruction in the Malayan language, grounded on Arabic texts. 4to.

Tract on Religious observances, in the Malayan language, much mixed with Arabic. 8vo.

Malayan romantic tale, in verse. 4to.

Trifling Adventures, in the Malayan language. 8vo.

Arabic religious tracts, with Malayan interpretation. 4to.

Annals of the kingdom of Achîn, in the Malayan language. 8vo. (Three copies.)

An Arabic work with an interlinear Translation, in a language that has some resemblance to Malayan, and is probably the Javanese dialect used at Palembang. 4to.

Malayan Correspondence, consisting chiefly of letters from the Rajahs and principal native merchants of the Peninsula and neighbouring islands, addressed to Capt. Francis Light and Capt. James Scott, of Pûlo Pinang. In several Portfolios.

The Biography of a Malayan family, with other tracts. Large 4to.

A romantic story of a king of Persia, in the Malayan language. (To be found in the Continuation of the Arabian Tales or Thousand and One Nights.) 8vo.

A Discussion, in the Malayan language, amongst the Birds which attend the throne of king Solomon, of the question whether it is Wiser for a person to Speak or to be Silent. (An imitation of the مقامات of Hariri.)

A Collection of *Pantûns* or short Malayan Sonnets.

The Book of Geomancy, or of Divination by Sand كتاب رمل, in

the Malayan language. Composed in the year of the hejrah 1175 (1761) at *Palambani* (Palembang ?). Preceded by an Astrological tract, in which the Motions of some of the Planets are described, and an account given of the days on which the Sun enters each Sign of the Zodiac for that (lunar) year. A memorandum in Javanese has the date of ||∧V 1187 or A.D. 1773.

A Collection of tracts (some poetical) in the Malayan and Rejang languages. Fol.

An Arabic Work on Mystical Religion, with a Malayan interlinear translation. 4to.

An Exposition of the mystical doctrines of the *Súfis*, in the Malayan language. Written at *Pasé*, near Achin, in a character remarkably well formed. 12mo.

The Conquest of *Mangkasar* by the Hollanders and *Bûgis*, a Malayan poem, by *Inchî Amban*. 4to.

Persian.

Tarikhi Alam Arai. History of the Kings of Persia of the Sefi race, by Sekander Bêg. Fol.

Farang-i-Rashdi. Dictionary of the Persian language. Sm. fol.

Tawârikhi Ahadi Jehângîri. Memoirs of the emperor Jehángir. 8vo.

Memoirs of the Emperor Jehângîr written by himself: in Persian. 12mo.

The *Gulistán* or Flower-garden of Saàdi. 8vo.

Persian translation of the *Mahabharat* an epic poem in the Sanskrit language. Fol. ii vols. (Imperfect: one volume containing Books IV, V, VI, the other, Books VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII and XVII. For an account of a copy of this work in the Library of the King of France, see a Mémoire in the Journal Asiatique, t. vi, p. 110.)

Persian Tales. ("well written and admirably told, in very easy language." C. W.) Fol.

Kitábi Inshai-i-Yúsufi. Forms of Letter-writing. 8vo.

The Gospels of the Four Evangelists, in the Persian language. 4to. (This book appears to have been in the possession of Jeronymo Xavier, then residing at Agrah, whose signature is affixed to an introductory memorandum dated in 1605, the year in which Akbar died, and his son Jehângir succeeded to the throne.)

Psalterio de David conforme a ediçaõ Vulgata, traducido polo P. Jeronimo Xavier da C. de J., na cidade de Agra, corte do gran

Mogol Jahanguir. (Persian translation of the Psalms of David.) 8vo.

Lives of the Twelve Apostles of Jesus Christ, composed in Persian by P. Jeronimo Xavier of the C. of J., at Agrah, the court of the Emperor Jehângîr, in the year 1609. 8vo.

The Guide of Kings, composed in Persian by P. Jeronimo Xavier of the C. of J., and addressed to the Mogol Emperor Jehângîr, in the year 1609. Sm. fol.

I. A Persian Vocabulary.

II. *Sirâj al-munîr* or the Brilliant Lamp: a Treatise of Morals, in twenty sections, each section concluding with an appropriate Apologue. 8vo.

An Almanac in Persian, compiled by Muhammed Hussein Khân, of Patna in Bengal. 4to.

Miscellaneous Persian tracts. I. Characters used in Dating, and in Accounts. II. On the form and application of the Marks for the short Vowels. III. Quotations in Persian verse, containing moral aphorisms.

An original Engagement entered into by Tipû of Mysore, with his Father, Hyder Ali, under the Seal of the former; found at Seringapatam amongst the papers of the Sultan, by Colonel W. Kirkpatrick.

Rudimenta linguæ Persicæ. A Grammar of the Persian language in Latin: with a Vocabulary, Latin, Portuguese, and Persian. 4to.

Speculum sanctum Vitæ (Miraculorumque) D. N. Jesu Christi, Persicè. Sm. fol.

Letters written by Portuguese Missionaries from Ajmîr, Agrah, &c., during the years 1627 to 1668: also one from Antonio d'Andrade, in Tibet, to the Mission at Cashgar: with an Account of political and military transactions during the reign of the emperor Akbar. Sm. 4to.

Anecdotes of the Moghul empire, from the death of Aurengzêb to the deposing of Ferokhsir; in Persian. Large 8vo.

Chronology of Ulugh Bêg: in Persian. 8vo.

A Vocabulary, Portuguese, Hindustâni, and Persian. 4to.

Specimens of Persian writing, on ornamented Paper.

An Account of the religion of the *Guars* or *Parsis*, in Persian verse. Sm. fol.

A Fac-Simile of Persepolitan characters.

Philippine and Molucca Islands.

Bocabulario *Tagalo*, su autor el P. F. Miguel Ruiz del Orden de S. Domingo, añadido per otros de varias Religiones. (1580) 4to. v vol.

Arte de lengua *Tagala*, compuesto por un Religioso del Orden de Predicadores. 1736. 4to.

(Arte de la lengua Tagala.) 4to. (This Grammar is in its composition entirely different from the preceding. The beauty of the writing cannot be surpassed, but the copy is in bad preservation, and wants the Title.)

Arte de la lengua Pampanga, (with a specimen of the Alphabetic characters employed in the writing of the natives). 4to.

Bucabulario *Yloco*. A vocabulary Spanish and *Yloco*. fol.

Vocabulario de la lengua *Bisaya*, *Hiligueyna* y *Haraia* de las Islas de *Panai* y *Sugbu* y para las demas islas. Por Alonso de Mentrida. Añadido e impresso por Martin Claver. (1698) 4to.

Information respecting the state of Christianity in the Molucca islands (in the Portuguese language), transmitted to Europe in the year 1588. 4to.

Polynesian of South Sea Islands.

Vocabularies of Taheitean or Otaheitean, and other South-Sea or Polynesian dialects, compiled by Mr. (Sr Joseph) Banks and others, during Capt. Cook's First voyage. fol.

Vocabularies of Taheitean and other South-Sea or Polynesian dialects, by Mr. Banks. fol.

Vocabulary of the Language of *Taheite* (English and Taheitean), by Mr. Banks. 8vo.

Alphabetical Vocabulary of the Language of *Taheite*. 4to.

A Vocabulary, Taheitean and English. Narrow fol.

Names and descriptions of Persons and Places, with other memoranda made by Mr. Banks, at *Taheite* and other islands. (1769) sm. 8vo.

Vocabularies of the languages spoken at *Tongataboo* and other South-Sea islands, collected by the officers of the French frigates la Re herche and l'Espérance, in 1793.

Vocabulaire du langage parlé à l'Isle de *Tongataboo* par un Officier de la frégate Française l'Espérance, en 1793. Sm. 4to.

A Vocabulary of the language of the Pelow Islands, with Malayan and English. 4to. (The performance of an illiterate person.)

Sanscrit, Bengali, Hindustâni in the *Nagri* character.

Two Books of the *Mahâbhârata* in the *Deva-Nagri* character. Between boards 12½ inches in length.

Two Books of the *Mahâbhârata* in the *Deva-Nagri* character. Between boards 8 inches long.

Srî Bhâgavat, xth Book. Between boards 8 inches long.

Bhâgavat-Gîtâ, extracted from the *Mahâbhârata*. 12mo. oblongo.

Mahimâ Stôtra: a Hindû poem by Pushpa Danta. 12mo. oblongo.

The *Adi* or First *Purân*, a Christian work in the *Mahratta* language and *Nagri* character, divided into Five Parts and appearing to contain an exposition of the Old Testament.

The *Déva Purân* or Divine History: a Christian work in the *Mahratta* language and *Nagri* character, appearing to contain an exposition of the New Testament or History of Christ.

A Christian work in the *Mahratta* language and *Nagri* character, containing "Instructions for the knowledge of the Universal Lord: Prayers (*mantra*) adapted to several occasions; Invocations (*prathima*), a kind of Litany: and a Catechism or Dialogue, in Question and Answer, between a Tutor and his Disciple, on points of Faith and Doctrine." (Probably composed by the Jesuits of Goa.)

Tales on the subject of *Rama* and other mythological personages, in the Hindustani language and vulgar *Nagri* character.

Fruitos de Arvore da Vida. Traduzido e composto pello P. Antonio de Saldanha: in the Hindustâni language and European character. 4to.

A Specimen of the Hinduvi of Guzerat, a modification of the *Nagri* character.

European Almanacs calculated to the Meridian of Calcutta, from A.D. 1772 to 1778 inclusive. Printed at Madras. Also two Native Almanacs in the *Nagri* character.

Itihâs Pustak in the Bengali language and character.

A Vocabulary, Portuguese and Hindustâni, in the *Nagri* character. Sm. fol.

A Vocabulary, Portuguese and Bengali. Sm. 4to.

Scandinavian.

A Vocabulary of the Islandic language collected by M. Van Troil for Mr. (S^{r} Joseph) Banks. 4to.

A Catalogue of Books brought by Mr. Banks from Iceland (where the greater part of them were printed), and by him presented to the British Museum. 4to.

Sumatran, exclusive of Malayan.

A large Book in the *Batta* or *Batak* language, composed of a long slip of thick Bark, folded through its whole length, and forming pages 11 inches by $7\frac{1}{2}$.

A Book in the *Batta* language and character, on Bark, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 5.

A Book of the same description, 5 by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; D° 5 by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. D° 4 by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. D° 4 by $2\frac{1}{2}$. D° $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$. D° 3 by 2 inches.

A Book prepared of Bark for *Batta* writing. $5\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches.

A Book in the *Rejang* language and character, formed of Bark. 7 inch. by 6.

A Book in the *Lampóng* language and character. 4to.

Tracts in the dialect of *Achin*, with some Malayan fragments.

Specimens of Alphabetic characters used in the islands of Sumatra, Java, Bally, Celebes, and the Philippines. (In a portfolio.)

Journals of Lieut. Charles Gustavus Whalfeldt: In the Borneo schooner to the Island of Engano, in 1771.—On a visit to the Saltpetre Caves of Cattown, in 1773—with an account of a large aquatic animal, supposed by him to be the Hippopotamus, but which was probably a Tapir.

Telinga, Tamul, Kanari.

Astronomical work in the Telinga language and character, supposed to be the *Surya Seddhanta*. Large fol. On the Cover is the European Date of 1699, with the vague Title of "The Gentue Shastrum."

Poem of the *Ramayana* in the Telinga language, written on leaves of the Palmyra.

A work in the Kanari language and character, on Religious subjects, and apparently composed by a Christian Missionary. Fol.

A Grammar of the Telinga language; with remarks by C. W. of analogies to the *Nagri* alphabetic system. Sm. 4to.

An Almanac for the year 1793, in the Telinga language and character.

The *Batis Pátrika*, a Hindu Tale, translated from the Telinga language by Mr. Alexander Mackenzie. 4to.

Accounts and other common papers in the Telinga and Tamul languages and characters.

The Flower-garden of Knowledge. A Christian work in the Tamul language and character, preceded by a Calendar. Composed by an Ecclesiastic of the Madura Mission. Fol.

Tamul writing on the Tâl or Palmyra leaf.

English translation of a short introduction to the Malabar (Tamul) language, composed in 1672 by Philip Baldæus.

Notizie del Madurey, e del Ingresso, Accrescimento, e Stato della Fede in quel regno, e negli altri contigui. Date in luce da Broglia Antonio Brandolini della C. di G. Missionario dell istesso Madurey. (Written a few years later than 1717, as appears from a circumstance related at p. 384.)

A Book in the Kanari language and character: commencing with a salutation to *Iswara*, and proceeding in the form of a dialogue between a *Gûrû* or religious Teacher and his Disciple. Certain Crosses, however, denote it to be the work of a Roman Catholic Christian. 4to.

Vocabulario da lingoa Canerim do Norte concertado e acrecentado em 1664. Sm. 4to.

Vocabulario Canarin Vertido en Portuguesa. 4to.

Grammatica da lingoa Bramana que corre na Ilha de Goa e sua comarca. (A Grammar of the Northern Kanari language, in Portuguese.) 4to.

Arte da lingoa Canarî. (In European characters.) Sm. 4to.

Arte da lingoa Canarin. Doutrina Christam em lingoa Bramana Canarin. 4to.

Arte Malavar, or Grammar of the Malabar (Grantham) language, explained in Portuguese. 4to.

Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum sive Samscrudonicum. (Transcribed from the edition printed by the P.F. at Rome in 1772, by or for M. Court de Gebelin.) 8vo.

Principio do Dereito q. tem. el Rey de Portugal da Ilha de Goa, e Cidade, e mais Ilhas anexas e. Brades Salcete, com as Rendas q. todas Rēdiaō ate o anno 1595. Tirado do Tombo dos Contos de Goa q. fez o Provedor mor Francisco Paes p. Ordem del Rey. (Compiled in 1658.) Sm. 4to.

List of the Works of William Marsden.

The following list of Marsden's chief publications is taken from the Dictionary of National Biography:—

1. 'The History of Sumatra,' London. 1783, 4to; 2nd edit. 1784; 3rd edit. 1811. 4to; German translation, Leipzig, 1785, 8vo; French translation, 1788, 8vo.

2. 'A Catalogue of Dictionaries, Vocabularies, Grammars, and Alphabets.' 2 pts. London, 1796, 4to, privately printed. (Martin. *Priv. Printed Books*).

3. 'A Dictionary of the Malayan Language; to which is prefixed a Grammar, with an Introduction and Praxis.' 2 pts. London, 1812. 4to (a Dutch translation, Haarlem, 1825, 4to).

4. 'A Grammar of the Malayan Language,' London. 1812. 4to.

5. 'The Travels of Marco Polo,' translated from the Italian, with notes, 1818. 4to; also 1847, 8vo. in Bohn's 'Antiquarian Library.' Colonel Yule, preface to 'Marco Polo', i. p. viii, says that Marsden's edition must always be spoken of with respect, though much elucidatory matter has since come to light.

6. 'Numismata Orientalia Illustrata,' with plates, London, pt. i. 1823. pt. ii. 1825, 4to.

7. 'Bibliotheca Marsdeniana Philologica et Orientalis, a Catalogue of Works and Manuscripts collected with a view to the general comparison of Languages and to the study of Oriental Literature,' London. 1827, 4to.

8. 'Nakhodá Múda. Memoirs of a Malayan Family,' 1830, 8vo. (Oriental Translation Fund).

9. 'Miscellaneous Works,' London, 1834, 4to (containing three tracts, on the Polynesian languages, on a conventional Roman alphabet applicable to Oriental languages, and on a national English dictionary).

THE PRONUNCIATION OF URDU AND HINDI

By T. Grahame Bailey, M.A., B.D., D.Litt.

IT is difficult to write correctly about the grammar of a language; it is almost impossible to be accurate about its pronunciation. It follows that the weakest and most unsatisfactory part of books on a language is nearly always that which deals with sounds. The reasons are various. I give some of them here with special reference to Urdu and Hindi.

(1) The tradition is bad. Mistakes were made in the early days of study. One writer after another has copied these mistakes, introducing variations of his own with chaotic results. The statements made by Forbes, who, I believe, was never in India, are still the basis of remarks on Urdu pronunciation.

(2) It is said that every man who has made some progress in the study of a language regards himself as an expert. This may be an exaggeration as regards idiom and syntax, but it is almost literally true of sounds. It is impossible to persuade a man who has made a scholarly study of a spoken tongue in the country where it is spoken that, however much he may know of its grammar and literature, his ear is incapable of hearing its distinctive sounds and that in describing them he is merely guessing (or copying other writers). Yet it is nearly always true. The scholar is perhaps more readily misled than others, for knowing the principal things that he *ought* to hear, he easily persuades himself that he *does* hear them.

(3) It is not possible to write accurately about the sounds of any language without devoting years to the study of phonetics. Most writers have not done this.

(4) This fact leads to another, viz. that Indian speakers are unsafe guides unless they are competent phoneticians. This requires emphasis. Someone will say—surely they know how to pronounce their language. The answer is a simple negative. They may pronounce correctly, but they do not *know* the pronunciation. Englishmen of the richest scholarship in their own tongue will make ludicrous misstatements about its pronunciation if they have not gone far in the study of phonetics. So it is with Indians. This explains the otherwise

remarkable fact that the description of sounds given in grammars written by Indians is often more inaccurate than that of Europeans.

(5) Another source of error to which Indians are liable is the desire to pronounce according to preconceived notions as to how words *ought* to be pronounced. Thus a Mawlavī will import what he thinks are correct (Arabic) sounds into Urdu words. He will discourse on the hamza, on *'ain*, will assure the unfortunate student that words written *hukm*, *fikr*, *subh*, are monosyllables, that *jadd o jihad* should be pronounced *jdd o jahad*, that *fi'l* is different from *fel*, that the first syllable of *mahdī* is not the same as that of *mahfil*. Pandits have not the same opportunities in Urdu, for the pronunciation of Sanskrit words in that language has been fixed without consulting them, but in the cognate language Hindi they try to force old forms upon an unwilling people, and teach them to students. It is greatly to be regretted that some Europeans are as guilty as these Pandits, for instead of the correct words used by the people in conversation, they write incorrect forms assimilated to Sanskrit.

The following remarks deal with the pronunciation of educated Delhi men. It is generally known that Delhi and Lucknow, and these places alone are recognized as *mustanad* or authoritative in all matters of Urdu idiom and pronunciation. When the two cities differ, as they do in a few unimportant points, both are considered correct. I have never met an Indian who questioned their pre-eminence. When one has to choose a form of the language for public purposes it is better to take the Delhi idiom, for it is nearer the centre of the Urdu speaking world. The normal language employed in lectures and speeches before large audiences from Peshawar to Bihar is Urdu, and while Delhi is situated close to the centre of this tract of country, Lucknow is on its eastern border. The revisers of the Urdu New Testament were wisely guided in their decision to make Delhi Urdu their standard. But let me say again that the differences are slight. When I speak of the pronunciation of English I mean English as spoken by an average public school man. (See Professor Jones's *Dictionary*.)

I desire here not to discuss in exhaustive detail the question of Urdu pronunciation, but to go briefly into the various sounds, and give such hints as may be useful to students. When necessary I have added in square brackets the phonetic equivalents.

At the end of the article will be found a special note on Hindi pronunciation.

Common Mistakes

As I write I have no grammars before me, and I have not in mind the words of any writer, European or Indian, but I think that all the following mistakes may be found in books of comparatively recent date.

Hamza.—Directions are often given for enunciating *hamza*, but they are ill-founded, for it is a mere device of writing, disregarded more often than not, even in writing, and wholly ignored in pronunciation. In Urdu *hamza* is never pronounced.

Long Vowels.—So-called long vowels are a frequent source of error. Books speak of "long *a*", "long *i*", "long *u*", and tell us that *e* and *o* are always long. The fact is that long vowels of any kind are infrequent in Urdu. Words like *bu.rā.ī*, *sahelī*, *khushbūī*, are said to contain three long vowels. Actually they contain four short vowels. There is not a long vowel in any of them. Under strong stress vowels are sometimes lengthened, thus we may hear *mulāqāt* meeting, *rajāhāt* reasons, with the last vowel long (but the middle vowel undubitably short); again *dekh* look, standing by itself has a long *e*, but the *e* in *dekho* is always short, and yet this short *e* differs considerably from the *e* in the usual English pronunciation "dekko".

The mistake arises out of the notion that *ī* and *ū* are lengthened forms of *i* and *u*, and that Urdu *e* and *o* are long varieties of the English vowels in "pet" and "hot". The difference is not one of length; in each case the vowels are different. The phrases *mere bele mẽ dekhẽ* and *donõ ghorõ ko kholo* contain seven short *e*'s and seven short *o*'s respectively. To determine the length of a vowel we must listen to complete breath groups in conversation, not to isolated words. Any vowel which takes a markedly longer time to utter than its fellows we may consider long.

aw (often written *au*): this is described as the same as or very like the vowel in "how" or "proud", so that the first syllable of *haul nāk*, terrible, would be practically the English "howl". The sound is, however, quite different. It is often a single half-long vowel, very similar to the *au* in "haul" [ɔ·], but sometimes it is a diphthong of which the first part is the vowel just mentioned and the second a monophthongic *o* [ɔo]. Cf. *Maulā*, God, generally mɔ·lɑ, occasionally mɔolɑ; *tawba*, repentance (tɔ·bɑ or tɔobɑ).

ay (or *ai*) is the front vowel corresponding to the back vowel *aw*, not resembling the English *i* in "high", "stile", with which it is compared, but closely approximating to *a* in "hand", "bad".

Like *aur*, it is frequently, perhaps ordinarily, a single vowel. Thus the two words *hai to* (is indeed) sound to the average Englishman's ear not like "high toe", but exactly like "(Bishop) Hatto", and the word *'ayn* exact, is to him indistinguishable from "Anne". The Urdu vowel is generally half long. Not infrequently it is a diphthong composed of the *a* in "Anne" followed by the *e* in "get". These are the nearest possible English equivalents. Phonetic symbols [hæ to] or [hæe to], and [æ·n] or [æen]. Cf. also *paydā*, born [pæ·dā] or [pæedā]; *thailā*, bag [thæli or thæeli].

Cerebral letters: *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṛ* are often said to be like English *t*, *d*, *r*, only more vigorously enunciated, and they are called "hard" *t*, *d*, and *r*. There is nothing vigorous in their utterance, and it would be just as correct to call them "soft" *t*, *d*, and *r*. They are neither harder nor softer than the corresponding front letters *t*, *d*, *r*. Cerebral or retroflex *ṭ* and *ḍ* are made like English *t* and *d*, but the point of contact is about $\frac{5}{8}$ in. from the upper teeth. I am conscious, however, that as no one can measure this distance in his mouth, the direction will not be of practical value. It will be better to say "far back on the hard palate". Note that *ṛ* is very unlike the two American fricative *r*'s. English *t* and *d* do not occur in Urdu. The point of contact for *ṭ* and *ḍ* is considerably further back than for the English letters; for Urdu *t* and *d* the tip of the tongue is further forward than for English *t* and *d*, and the position of the rest of the tongue is of importance. See below under *t* and *d*. To make *ṛ* the tongue is turned back slightly further than for *ṭ* and *ḍ*, and then brought forward with a flap, the under surface of the front of the tongue striking the roof of the mouth further forward than the point of contact for *ṭ* and *ḍ*. It is essential to *begin* far back, otherwise the acoustic effect will be wrong.

ḷ and *ṉ* are common in Urdu, but they are found only before *ṭ* and *ḍ*, and people imagine they are pronouncing ordinary *l* and *n*. If the *ṭ* and *ḍ* are correctly pronounced, the *l* and *ṉ* will automatically come right. The most important point to remember about retroflex letters is that they have no effect whatever upon neighbouring vowels. Englishmen almost invariably allow them to influence the preceding and succeeding vowels. In the case of *ṭ* care is necessary to avoid the aspiration that accompanies English *t*.

ṛ is generally described vaguely as being between English *r* and *w*. Sometimes it is said to be bilabial, i.e. made with both lips. In reality, however, the upper lip is not used in producing it. There is slight contact of the upper teeth with some part, it hardly matters

which, of the lower lip. Air may or may not escape at the sides of the point of contact, and there may or may not be audible friction. When the sound is doubled the friction is always audible. One would not be far wrong in saying that *v* is a very faint English *v*, but the acoustic effect is so different that an Urdu *v* in an English word like "very" strikes an Englishman at once as wrong, and Urdu speakers find it almost impossible to distinguish between the three English words "wail", "whale", and "veil". Symbol [ʍ].

f is the corresponding surd.

'ain : few grammars attempt to tell how *'ain* is pronounced. Usually one is told that the pronunciation is very difficult and can only be learnt from an Indian. But a considerable majority of Urdu speakers never pronounce *'ain* at all, and the entire ignoring of it would cause no comment. It is far better to omit it than make an obvious effort to say it. In educated Delhi pronunciation *'ain* is generally omitted, but is pronounced in the following case.

A stressed *a* or *ā* followed or preceded by *'ain* is pronounced with slight, but noticeable, pharyngeal tension; or putting it in every day words one might say "with slight contraction of throat muscles". It should be noted that the *'ain* is not a consonant at all, it is mere muscular tension which lasts throughout the vowel. Vowels other than *a* and *ā* are not affected in this way.

Accented *a*, *i*, and *u*, followed by an *'ain* which is either (1) final or (2) followed by a consonant, are pronounced *ā*, *e*, and *o* respectively, but the *'ain* itself is not pronounced except as just mentioned. *ba'd*, after, becomes *bād* [bɑd]: *mi'da*, stomach, becomes *meda* [medɑ]: *sha'la*, flame, becomes *shola* [ʃolɑ].

Sounds practically the same as in English

Premising that in English voiceless plosives generally receive clearly marked aspiration which must be avoided in unaspirated Urdu plosives, we may say that the following differ only very slightly from the corresponding sounds in English.

p, *b*, *k*, *g*, *m*, *n*, *ṅ*, *s*, *z*, *y* (phonetic symbols *p*, *b*, *k*, *g*, *m*, *n*, ŋ, *s*, *z*, *j*). *l* may be added to the list provided that we understand only English clear *l*, as in "feeling", and not the dark *l* as in "feel". ŋ is always followed by *g* or *k*, but it is not true that *n* followed by *g* or *k* becomes ŋ. The four *z*'s—*z*, *ẓ*, *ż*, *ẕ*—are identical. Similarly the three *s*'s—*s*, *ṣ*, and *ś*—are the same.

Sounds closely resembling English Sounds

ch, *j*, *sh*, *zh*. All these are pronounced with the tip and blade of the tongue further forward than in English, and *ch* must be as nearly as possible unaspirated. The best phonetic symbols for *ch* and *j* are *c* and ɟ, as it is not open to us to employ the misleading double signs which are found in some books. The symbols will then be (c, ɟ, ʃ, ʒ). These four sounds are produced with unrounded (i.e. not protruded) lips. The English sounds are generally made with rounded or protruded lips.

The Remaining Consonants

t, *d* are the Italian sounds, uttered with the whole tongue raised so that the surface is against the palate, and the sides against all the upper teeth. Students are often instructed to make these sounds by putting the tip of the tongue against the front teeth. This will result in a noticeably wrong sound unless the surface and sides of the tongue are in the right place. *t* and *ṭ* are the same.

q is a *k* with the point of contact further back than the uvula. Unlike the corresponding Arabic sound it is completely unaspirated; in Arabic there is generally slight aspiration. *q* has no voiced equivalent.

r is made with a single tap of the tip of the tongue against the upper teeth ridge. It is almost the same as the so-called trilled *r* in Scotland, but it should be remembered that many Scotch people do not use it. In some Urdu words it is found double. It is then trilled. Such words are chiefly Arabic, some are Persian, a few are Hindi. The southern English *r* is quite different. Many English speakers who think they can say Urdu *r*, spoil it by the insertion of a neutral vowel. Thus for *tīr*, *aur*, *dūr* [tiːr, ɔːr, duːr] they say [tiəɹ, ɔəɹ, duəɹ].

When *r* is followed by *n* it is sometimes pronounced as an advanced fricative, thus for *karna* (*karna*) we may hear (*kaɹna*). It is dangerous to imitate this.

kh and *gh* are not unlike the German sounds in "ach" and "wag'n" (except when this "g" is a simple *g*), but they are further back. The Scotch "ech" heard in "Muchalls", "Buchan", is like *kh*, but is further forward. The Urdu sounds, though far back, are gently enunciated, and are never trilled. In this they differ from Parisian voiced and unvoiced *r*. Symbols [ʁ, ɣ].

h is as in English, both voiced and unvoiced, but the sonant

variety is much commoner than in English. An *h* which follows a vowel and closes a syllable is often sonant, and one which comes between two voiced sounds nearly always so, i.e. the vocal chords vibrate while it is being uttered. The difficulty of Urdu *h* lies partly in its strongly vibrant quality (when sonant), and partly in its occurring in positions in which English *h* does not occur. The latter is nearly always found before an accented vowel, whereas in Urdu it is commonly joined to the plosive consonants, including *ch* and *j*, but excluding *q*, also to *r* and *ṛ*; it often ends syllables, and is frequent before unaccented vowels. Unlike English *h* it is never pronounced with the German "ich-laut". The two letters *h* and *ḥ* are identical. Symbols: sonant [ɦ], surd [h].

The question of the influence of *h* or *ḥ* upon preceding vowels is very complicated, but one or two rules may be given here.

When accented *a*, *i*, or *u* is followed by an *h* or *ḥ* which is either (1) final or (2) followed by a consonant, the vowel is pronounced *ai*, *e*, or *o* respectively.

If the *h* or *ḥ* is followed by *a*, *e*, or *i*, the accented *a* which precedes becomes a short *ai*.

Similarly if the letter following *h* or *ḥ* is *ā*, the *a* becomes *ā*, but if the letter following *h* or *ḥ* is *u*, the *a* becomes a short *au*.

If the letter following the *h* is *ī*, *o*, *ū* the preceding *a* is not affected.

ih and *uh* occur seldom except in the circumstances mentioned above, and the words are generally uncommon words with the pronunciation not quite uniform. It would not be worth while attempting to give detailed rules.

The subjoined examples will illustrate the rules: *bahin*, sister [bæɦin]: *kahnā*, say [kæɦnɑ]: *kahā*, said [kɑɦɑ]; *kahe* [kæɦe]; *kahī* [kʌɦi]; *bahut*, much [bɔɦut]; *pahunchnā*, arrive [pɔɦunchnɑ]; *bahū*, daughter-in-law [bʌɦu]: *vuh*, that [voh]; *yih*, this [jeh]; *Dihlī*, Delhi [deɦli]; *muḥkam*, firm, etc. [mohkʌm].

Vowels

The vowels in general are formed with the lips more widely spread than in English.

ī, high front, like Italian *i*, higher than English *i* in "marine". [i.]

i, not unlike English *i* in "fin". [ɪ.]

e, pure monophthongic vowel, higher than English *e* in "get", lower than the vowel often heard in Scotch "take", and not so tense,

a little lower than cardinal *e* [e]. Whether short, half-long, or long, it is the same vowel.

ay or *ai* described above: higher than English *a* in "hand" [æ or æe]. See also diphthongs.

a, like *u* in English "bun", lips more spread [ʌ].

ā, not unlike *a* in "calm", but further forward [ɑ].

aw or *au*, described above: [ɔ or ɔo]. See also diphthongs.

o, pure monophthong, not unlike vowel often heard in Scotch "no", but slightly lower; lower also than cardinal *o* [o].

Diphthongs.

aī (ʌi): rarely heard as [ɔi], e.g. *gaī* [gɔi], she went.

aw or *au* (sometimes) [ɔo]; see above.

ay or *ai* (sometimes) [æe]; see above.

u resembles the *u* in "pull" [ʊ].

ū is like Italian *u*, French *ou* [u].

Nasal Vowels.—All vowels may be nasalized. This nasalization is often described as "nasal *n*", which suggests that the writers believe there are some *n*'s which are not nasal.

Tones.—There are no tones in Urdu such as we get in Panjabi or Burmese.

Accent.—The only rule of practical value seems to me to be the following. I am speaking, of course, of the natural accent of conversation, not the artificial accent of poetry.

What is generally understood by "inflection" never causes the shifting of an accent from one syllable to another. Therefore:—

(i) If we know upon what vowel the accent in one part of a verb falls, we know how to stress the whole verb, e.g. *pahunchnā*, arrive, has the accent on first syllable. Consequently *pahunch*, *pahunchke*, *pahunchēge*, *pahunchūgā*, *pahunchnevāla*, *pahunchnevālīā* all have the accent on the first syllable. *pahuṇchānā*, cause to arrive, has the accent on the third syllable and all other parts of the verb will have it there also.

(ii) The same holds of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns: *roṭī*, loaf: *roṭīā*, *roṭīo* (*roṭiyā*, *roṭiyo*): all accent on the first syllable.

Exception: some dissyllabic nouns ending in *-ā*, which have in the first syllable an accented *a*, *i*, or *u*, followed by a single consonant, tend in the plural inflected parts to throw the accent on to the *-ā*: *kha'tā*, sin, *khaṭa'ē*; *gha'ṭā*, cloud, *ghaṭā'o*.

Hindi

The word Hindi bears many senses. It may be made to include languages like Avadhī, Rājasthānī, Braj, and Bihārī: it may be confined to "High Hindi" as found in the Hindi Bible and countless modern prose works. If we take it in the latter sense, the only practical one for our purpose, we are at once confronted with the difficulty of deciding how many people (some would add "if any") speak this form of Hindi in their homes, and where they live? If we pass on from that question and try to describe the pronunciation of this Hindi as read aloud from books written in prose, we still have to ask "read by whom? in what part of India?" To give any kind of satisfactory account of the pronunciation we must confine ourselves to the tract extending from Delhi and Saharanpur to Allahabad and Benares.

With this limitation we may say that the description of Urdu sounds given above will be correct for Hindi anywhere near Delhi. (Urdu *x̲h*, *ġh*, *z*, *ẓh*, *q*, *'ain* are not supposed to be found in *ṭheṭh* or real Hindi. Some of these sounds may occasionally be heard.) As we go further east and south we notice certain changes, but the great majority of sounds remain unaltered.

Consonantal changes: *v* tends towards English *w*, and there is a greater tendency to confuse *b* with *v*, and *j* with *y*.

Vowel changes: tendency to confuse *i* with *ī* and *u* with *ū*. *ai* becomes more like *ăĭ* or even *āĭ*, and *au* more like *ăŭ* or *āū*.

Apart from these few points all that is said of Urdu pronunciation will apply to Hindi.

Of the special Hindi letters it should be noted that no distinction is made between the so-called *ri*-vowel and *ri*, between *ś* and *s*, or between *ṇ* and *n*. This applies to the whole area.

TWO INDIAN STANDARDS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, WITH FACSIMILES AND TRANSLATIONS OF TRACINGS FROM ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS

By T. Grahame Bailey, M.A., B.D., D.Litt.

IN the spring of 1921 Captain Geoffrey Bailey sent me two pairs of tracings made from Indian standards captured in the battle of Seringapatam, 4th May, 1799. The standards are among the treasures of the chapel of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea. On examination they proved to be of considerable interest, and readers of the *Bulletin* will perhaps be glad to have an opportunity of studying them in the facsimiles which, through the kindness of the editor, I am able to present, along with such notes as may be necessary for their elucidation.

The four tracings consist of the obverse and reverse of two standards; in each case the obverse and reverse are identical. The facsimile marked I (flag No. 31 in the Chapel collection) represents Ḥaydar 'Alī's standard, while that marked II (No. 32 in the Chapel collection) shows us Ṭīpū Ṣāḥib's standard. It will be observed that this standard is broken in one place; it is, however, possible to supply the lost words from the reverse, which has these words complete, while it lacks the words "Yā Shekh 'Abdu'l Qādir Jīl . . ."

A cursory examination of the Arabic reveals the fact that those who rallied round these flags belonged to the Shī'ah faith, for the saints invoked are those specially reverenced by the adherents of that branch of Islam.

While every part of the inscriptions is worthy of study, supreme interest attaches to those words which indicate the date. They appear to read: in the year of Muḥammad, 6121, or (if the figures be read the other way) 1216. This contains two difficulties. Firstly, in no ordinary Muslim writing do we find an era referred to as "the year of Muḥammad". One gentleman, himself an ibn i 'Arab, told me that though he thought he had read pretty widely in his native tongue, he had never come across such a phrase. Secondly, the actual year 6121

or 1216 was inexplicable. I spent some time in fruitlessly studying eras which might account for the larger figure; at the same time the smaller figure if counted from the Hijra, gave the year 1801, two years subsequent to the capture of the standards, and a mistake in reckoning was inconceivable.

The explanation of both difficulties has been supplied by Mr. C. A. Storey, of the India Office Library, who has been so kind as to send me the following details. In Tīpū's reign it was customary to use the era of the Mawlūd i Muḥammad, i.e. the spiritual birth or mission of Muḥammad, about twelve years earlier than the Hijra. Dates were written from right to left. In the India Office Library there is a drawing or facsimile extremely like those here given, and there is a MS. entitled "Ḍawābit i Sulṭānī" containing "regulations for the proper shape and form of royal insignia (as the orbs or disks at the top of banners seals, official signatures, etc.), drawn up under the direction of Tipu Sultan". Some of the formulæ closely resemble those in the inscriptions before us.

For the sake of those who are not Arabic scholars I have added a translation of the words on both standards. My own Arabic equipment is inadequate, and I have freely sought assistance from colleagues in the School of Oriental Studies, to whom I am much indebted for the help which they have so readily given.

I

[*Top*]

بسم اللّه الرّحمن الرحيم — يا اللّه يا حافظ يا حفيظ يا رقيب يا
وكيل يا حى يا قيوّم

[*Between Arms*]

الملك للّه الحلم للّه

[*Arms*]

يا حضرت عثمان يا حضرت على حيدر صفدر
يا حضرت معروف كرخى يا كافى المهمات



HAYDAR ʿALĪ'S STANDARD CAPTURED AT SERINGAPATAM 4TH MAY, 1799: FOUR-FIFTHS OF ACTUAL SIZE. (FLAG NO. 31 IN CHAPEL, ROYAL HOSPITAL, CHELSEA.)

[*Circumference, beginning a little to right of top*]

حضرت خواجه عبد الخالق عجدانی حضرت خواجه بایزید
بستانی — حضرت خواجه ابو یوسف همدانی حضرت خواجه بابا
سمای حضرت خواجه امیرسید کلال حضرت خواجه احمد بغدادی
حضرت خواجه بهاالدّین نقشبندی رضوان الله تعالے علیهم اجمعین

[*Centre*]

اذا جآء نصر الله والفتح ورایت الناس یدخلون فی دین الله افواجاً
فسبّح بحمد ربك و استغفره انّه کان توّاباً —

[*Foot*]

سنه محمد ٦١٢١ — یا حضرت امام حسن —

TRANSLATION I

In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful! O God O Preserver, O Protector, O Watcher, O Guardian O Living One O Self-subsistent One!

To God belong sovereignty and clemency.

O Hadrat 'Uthmān! O Haḍrat 'Alī Haydar Ṣafdar! O Hadrat Ma'rūf Karkhī! O Sufficient for difficulties!

Hadrat Khawāja 'Abdu'l Khāliq 'Ijdānī, Hadrat Khawāja Bāyazīd Bustānī, Haḍrat Khawāja Abū Yūsaf Hamadānī, Haḍrat Khawāja Bābā Samāī, Haḍrat Khawāja Amīr Sayyid Kalāl, Hadrat Khawāja Aḥmad Baghdādī, Hadrat Khawāja Bahāu'd Dīn Naqshabandī—may the good-pleasure of God exalted be upon them all!

When come the help of God and the victory, and thou seest men entering into the religion of God in multitudes, then laud in the praise of thy Lord, and ask forgiveness of Him, behold He is abundantly pardoning.

In the year of Muḥammad 1216.

O Haḍrat Imām Ḥasan!



ṬĪPŪ ṢĀHIB'S STANDARD CAPTURED AT SERINGAPATAM 4TH MAY, 1799: FOUR-FIFTHS OF ACTUAL SIZE. (FLAG NO. 32 IN CHAPEL, ROYAL HOSPITAL, CHELSEA.)

II [*Top*]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم يسبح الرعد بحمده والملا يكة من خيفته

[*Between Arms*]

يا حى يا قيوم يا محمد

[*Arms*]

يا حضرت ابا بكر صديق يا حضرت عمر يا شيخ عبد القادر جيلا نى

يا حضر[ت امام حسين]

[*Circumference, beginning to right of top*]

اد علياً مظهر العجايب تجده عو نا لك فى النو ايب كلُّ هم و غم

سينجلى بنبو تك يا محمد بولايتك يا على يا على يا على

[*Centre*]

لا اله الّا الله محمّد رسول الله — نصر من الله و فتح قريب و بشّر

المو منين — فالله خيرٌ حافظا وهو ارحم الرا حمين

[*Foot*]

سنه محمد ١٢١٦ — يا حضرت امام حسين

TRANSLATION II

In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful! The thunder lauds in His praise, and the angels from His fear (fear of Him).

O Living One, O Self-subsistent One! O Muḥammad!

O Ḥaḍrat Abu Bakr Siddīq! O Ḥaḍrat 'Umr! O Shekh 'Abdu'l Qādir Jīlānī! O Ḥaḍ(rat Imām Husain)!

Call upon 'Alī revealer of wonders. Thou wilt find him a help to thee in difficulties. All trouble and sorrow will be removed by thy prophethood. O Muḥammad, by thy vicarship, O 'Alī, O 'Alī, O 'Alī!

There is no god but God. Muḥammad is His apostle. Help from God and victory are near, and announce it to the faithful. For God is the best guardian and He is the most merciful of the merciful.

In the year of Muḥammad 1216.

O Ḥaḍrat Imām Husain!

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A History of Hindi Literature. By F. E. Keay, M.A. viii, 116 pp. Oxford University Press.

This is a most useful book. It gives in brief compass a reliable account of Hindi and Avadhī literature with a few references to Bihārī. Although the author has rigidly restricted himself in the matter of space, he has contrived to be really interesting. He has six very readable pages on the Hindi language and its neighbours, and four equally good on a general survey of the literature. Similarly, he sketches with firm hand the great figures to whom Hindi owes its fame, and lays stress on the various religious movements which have played so large a part in the writings of the country. We are told of some of the efforts being put forth at the present time to stimulate the study of Hindi. In this connexion one would like to know the author's opinion as to the influence exercised by those earnest societies which aim at the extension and development of the language. What one sincerely desires is that they should encourage writers to make Hindi a living, vigorous, independent thing, shaking off the shackles of the past and entering into true freedom. Are these societies setting the language free or are they riveting the fetters more firmly than ever?

In this connexion the author deserves our hearty congratulations. Throughout the book he has spelt Hindi names as they are pronounced in prose-reading and conversation to-day. There is a custom, much to be condemned, of using ancient Sanskrit spellings in writing of Hindi. Some people cannot say Rāmāyaṇ or Rām, they must say Rāmāyaṇa and Rāma. They are twin brothers to those grammarians who talk of certain words as "corrupted" from Arabic or Sanskrit, who describe as "vulgar" a form that does not conform to an ancient model. Anything is good which is old. For such people there is no such thing as growth or development, all is corruption and decay. Hindi is not a beautiful garden, it is a store-house of mummies. What would English look like if we insisted upon employing the spelling of Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French or Greek and Latin?

For the less important writers, disposed of in three or four lines each, the author is largely indebted to Sir George Grierson, but in the

fuller accounts he has given play to his own individuality and has achieved marked success. The clearness of the pictures which he has presented is the more surprising when we remember the necessity for economizing space. There is a good index: the bibliography, select and useful, would be improved by an indication of the size and price of the books. The commentary on Malik Muhammad's Padmāvat, with accompanying translation, mentioned in the bibliography, was never completed. Pandit Sudhākar's lamented death bringing the work to a close.

This brief notice may serve to draw attention to an unpretentious but valuable work.

T. Grahame Bailey.

The Theology of Tulasi Das. By J. N. Carpenter, D.D. pp. viii, 202. Madras: Christian Literary Society for India.

A work of this kind was much needed. It differs from articles in encyclopædias chiefly in its fullness and in the quotations from the Rāmāyaṇ. Perhaps a more accurate title would be the Theology of Tulsi Das's Ramayan, for his other works are not laid under contribution. This omission is more apparent than real, for the Rāmāyaṇ dwarfs everything else that he wrote: it is possibly the greatest work produced in India, and by some would be admitted to the exalted epic company which includes the *Iliad*, the *Divina Commedia*, and *Paradise Lost*. There is a good table of contents, which gives a fair idea of the work. In it is a remarkable misprint not corrected in the list of errata. I confess that "Pye-incarnater" puzzled me till after some study I realized that it stood for "pre-incarnate". Following this is an introduction of thirty-two pages dealing with the background against which we have to study the Rāmāyaṇ. The next part discusses first the Supreme God, and then Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Mahādev. Three chapters are devoted to Rām, his incarnation and *bhakti*. The concluding chapters are on *māyā* and salvation. The author's conviction is worth remembering that the doctrine of *bhakti* has been, not in its origin, but in its development, much influenced by Christianity.

The great feature of the book is the admirably chosen series of quotations from the Rāmāyaṇ, 237 in number, varying in length from half a line to a page and a half. These are all translated. They are invaluable for anyone desirous of studying the subject in the original, but not having time to discover all the passages for himself. The

author has perhaps allowed himself to be overshadowed by these quotations, with the result that the book almost looks like a set of notes on extracts from the Rāmāyaṇ, and this impression is enhanced by the printers having used the same type for the translations as for the thesis which they are intended to illustrate. The book would gain much if the main propositions were printed in black type, the discussion of them in ordinary type, and the translations relegated to small type. If finally the Avadhī were printed in the pretty square letters nothing more could be desired.

Tulsī Dās is shown to be not a theologian but a practical reformer, a man filled with devotion to his God who wished others to believe like himself. It was not relevant to Dr. Carpenter's subject to lay stress on this point, but in recommending this monograph to the consideration of all who are interested in India, I should like to emphasize the suitability of the Rāmāyaṇ for general study. It is unsurpassed as an expression of the highest Hindu thought, and Tulsī Dās's devotion has ennobled his writing, for from end to end of the poem, more than twice as long as *Paradise Lost*, a little longer than the *Ring and the Book*, there is nothing to minister to a prurient taste. Far too little has been written about this great poem, and Dr. Carpenter has performed a notable service in selecting the most important aspect of its teaching and publishing this work upon it.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

HINDI GRAMMAR. By EDWIN GREAVES. London Missionary Society. xiii + 512 pp. Allahabad: Indian Press. Price Rs. 6-8; in England 10s.

Over twenty years ago Mr. Greaves wrote a Hindi Grammar. The work before us is not a second edition. It is a new book, admirably suited to the needs of beginners. Its numerous examples, illustrating each point, well printed, and easily read, will be warmly welcomed. Many will be glad to have the Hindi grammatical terms (unfortunately without indication of gender), which are very useful. Special attention may be drawn to the chapters on suffixes and prefixes, on prepositions, adverbs, the Braj dialect, and prosody. The chapter on compound verbs is very full. The author has followed the invariable custom of trying to give names to the different kinds of compounds. To me it seems that they are best indicated by their meaning.

The author will not expect agreement with all his views. Thus in several places he gives examples to show that repetition of words

sometimes shows intensity. I do not feel intensive force in any of them. Similarly I cannot follow him in his treatment of pronunciation. But we must be grateful to him for making us think, and when we do differ we recognize the advantage of having been compelled to formulate the reasons.

Once again I would emphasize the value of the examples. They are well chosen and must have cost much labour. Beginners should study them carefully. Like the rest of the book they are interesting, and interest in a grammar is not often attained.

The author writes from wide knowledge, and is heartily to be congratulated upon the appearance of so careful and painstaking a work. We may predict for it a large measure of appreciation.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA: ERANIAN LANGUAGES. By Sir GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., D.Litt., Ph.D. 14 : 10¼ : xii, 549 pp. Calcutta: Government Press, 1921.

A few years ago the parts of the Linguistic Survey came out regularly at intervals of nine months. Then followed a period when the editor was struggling with almost insuperable difficulties of printing and typography and must have begun to despair of ever seeing another volume. In the last few years, however, he has passed into calmer waters, and the eagerly looked for volumes have been appearing in rapid succession. Two were reviewed in the last number of the *Bulletin*, and now we have another. Two still remain: in twelve months perhaps they will be in our hands.

It will be noted that the title page bears the name "Eranian". This may be a matter of historic taste, and *de gustibus non est disputandum*. But the reason for the spelling adduced on p. 1 caused me surprise when I remembered who the writer was. For nearly forty years Sir George Grierson has been the great protagonist of the common people of India with their modern speech and thought. To our honoured Vāgīś we owe the position occupied by the languages which are heard all over India to-day now able to hold up their aureoled heads along with the proudest ostraka and papyri and palimpsests. This is no mean achievement. The fact that *ērān* is the old form and *īrān* the modern form in both India and Persia surely suggests that we should follow the majority of our great scholars and write "Iranian". On a famous occasion a man appealed from Philip after dinner to Philip before breakfast. The circum-

stances here are different, but we may appeal from the author in his study poring over the records of the past to the author writing of Bihar peasant life, of the Seven Dialects, of the Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan, but above all editing the Linguistic Survey of India.

This volume deals with Pashto, Ormuṛī, Balochī, the Ghalchah languages, and very slightly with two dialects of Persian. A good deal has previously been written about Pashto and Balochī, but attention should be drawn to the admirable account of Ormuṛī, which the author, true to his instinct for championing the cause of present-day speech, has studied with great care, even though all the people who now speak it, men, women, and children, could comfortably be accommodated in one of our medium sized London churches. There is a succinct grammar followed by an excellent vocabulary, which contains as many words as there are speakers of the language (almost exactly one word per soul).

Of the Ghalchah languages our knowledge is very scanty. Only one of them is spoken within Indian borders, yet Sir George with characteristic thoroughness gives an account of all the Ghalchah dialects of which anything is known, and we are able to treat them as a whole. With reference to one Ghalchah sound, said to be between the *ich-laut* and the *ach-laut*, it is suggested that it is like the Sanskrit cerebral *sh*. I venture another suggestion. In southern Pashto as spoken in Ghaznī there is just such a sound, but it is quite different from cerebral *sh*. It is made by the surface of the tongue brought close enough to the palate (half-way between the *ich* and *ach* positions) to cause audible friction, with the tip of tongue against the lower gums. I cannot help thinking that the Ghalchah sound is the same.

"In another place" I have referred to the valuable skeleton grammars which are a feature of the Linguistic Survey, but I make no excuse for doing so again here. They make one wish that all works on grammar had a similar outline which would show the points of the accidence at a glance, a sort of bird's eye view of the forms with their meanings. They would be supplementary to the full discussion.

The transliteration adopted in this volume varies with the different languages or groups. This may be because the component parts were written at different times, or because the different systems had a special suitability for their own purpose, or because certain

symbols had perhaps received the sanction of long usage and it was not thought desirable to change them. If the student will read the explanation prefixed in each case he will not have any difficulty.

A particular interest attaches to Badakhshī, which is dealt with very briefly at the end. It resembles modern Persian sufficiently to be comprehended by natives of Persia: at least on the rare occasions when I have conversed with Iranis (Badakhshī being the medium on my side and Īrānī on theirs), they have had no difficulty in understanding what I said. The specimens of Badakhshī have a number of mistakes due to the original speaker's having been unconsciously influenced by the Persian of Īrān as the literary and therefore "more respectable" tongue.

We part from this book charmed by the felicities of expression and power of insight which we have come to associate with the name of Sir George Grierson—a veray parfit gentil knighte—but it is like most of his other books in this that though we cannot carry it in our waistcoat pockets to consult in the train, it is never far away, and never long beyond our sight and touch.

T. Grahame Bailey.

A Sketch of Hindi Literature. By Edwin Greaves. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$; viii + 112 pp. Madras: Christian Literature Society for India.

Since the publication in 1889 of Sir George Grierson's Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan, now unfortunately out of print, nothing of that nature had been produced in English till the appearance some eighteen months ago of Mr. Keay's work in the Heritage of India Series. Now we have this excellent little sketch, written about the same time as Mr. Keay's, following generally the same lines, and of the same size or slightly larger. The characteristic feature of the work is the clearness with which we see the personality of the author. He takes us into his confidence, and gives us not a colourless guide-book description of his subject, but an intimate discussion in which we are allowed to share his thoughts and understand his reasons. In following his guidance we shall not go far wrong.

Particularly valuable is his vindication of the nature of true poetry. The great Urdu poet, Altāf Husain Hālī, protested thirty years ago against the tendency of some of his fellow countrymen to substitute mere words, conventional phrases, and hackneyed expressions, for simple description of the beauties of nature and the thoughts of men. English authors have sometimes written as if, in

Hindi and Urdu, verbal contortions, acrobatic tricks with words, puns, and other devices for replacing thought, were synonymous with poetical instinct and feeling. Such a view would place Thomas Hood and Alexander Pope above Spenser and Milton, and Shakspere would compare unfavourably with Chesterton and Anstey. An excellent example of Mr. Greaves's independence may be found in his trenchant criticism of Bihārī Lāl's Sat Saī, a poem to which a well-known Hindi dictionary attributes "exquisite beauty and finish". Mr. Greaves holds a different view: he exposes the unfortunate choice of subjects, the poverty in lofty thinking, and the juggling with words. This, in my opinion, required to be done. Exotic phrases like those of the Sat Saī were not, I feel sure, what our great English poet had in mind when he spoke of

> Jewels five words long
> Which on the stretched fore-finger of all time
> Sparkle for ever.

There is an original and valuable chapter on Prosody, which should be read along with the chapter on the revival of Hindi in the nineteenth century following upon the lifelessness of the previous hundred years. Mr. Greaves takes a hopeful view of the future. In his estimate of the pre-eminent worth of Tulsī Dās he agrees with Sir George Grierson, to whom he pays a warm tribute of praise for his devotion to the literature of the language. Tulsī Dās was a truly great poet, a man of deep religious feeling, raised to greatness by the passionate fervour of his soul. Lack of space prevents my speaking of the happy way in which others are hit off, of the descriptions of Malik Muḥammad, Sūr Dās, Dev Datt, Brind, Kabīr and other reformers, of modern writers like Hariś Chandar, and many more.

It is much to be regretted that the author was unable to revise his proofs. Readers cannot be expected to know that he is not responsible for the frequent mistakes.

T. Grahame Bailey.

Les Noirs de l'Afrique. Par Maurice Delafosse. (Being No. 15 of the Collection Payot.) Paris: Payot et Cie, 106 Boulevard Saint-Germain. 1922.

In this—almost the latest volume of a handy little series intended to place before the French public the most recent results of research in all branches of knowledge—M. Delafosse has given in a concentrated form the essence of many years' study and first-hand experience.

It is hardly necessary to mention in this place the high value of his previous linguistic and ethnological works, more especially the *Vocabularies of Ivory Coast Languages*, the *Manuel de langue Agni*, the *Haut-Sénégal-Niger* (1912), and the edition (1913) of Mahmud Kâti's *Ta'rikhu'l-Fattâsh*. The prehistoric and mediaeval sections of the present little work (embraced in chapters i–iii) are specially welcome, as English works treating of this particular department are comparatively rare. West Africa and the Central Sudan are perhaps more fully treated than other parts of the continent, but this is scarcely to be regretted for the reason already given. The chapters dealing with social customs, religious beliefs, and "Manifestations intellectuelles et artistiques", while necessarily brief, give a comprehensive survey of the subject and are extremely suggestive. Each chapter is followed by a fairly full bibliography. It is interesting to note that M. Delafosse thinks Hanno's "gorillas" were Pygmies (or, as he prefers to call them, "Négrilles"): his reasons for this conclusion certainly carry weight, but "ces petits êtres velus ressemblant à des hommes et se tenant sur les arbres, aperçus par Hannon . . . et qualifiés de *gorii* par son interprète" is hardly justified by the text of the *Periplus*, which runs, in the edition published by Trübner (London, 1864):—

"Ἐν δὲ τῷ μυχῳ νῆσος ἦν . . . λίμ[νην] ἔχουσα· καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ νῆσος ἦν ἑτέρ[α με]στὴ ἀνθρώπων ἀγρίων. Πολυ δὲ πλειους ἦσαν γυναῖκες, δασεῖαι τοῖς σώμασιν· ἃς οἱ ἑρμενέες ἐκάλουν Γορίλλας. Διώκοντες δὲ ἄνδρας μὲν συλλαβεῖν ου[κ ἠ]δυνήθημεν, ἀλλὰ παντες ἐξέφυγον τὰς χεῖρας ἡμῶν, κρημνοβαται ὄντες καὶ τοῖς πέτροις ἀμυνόμενοι· γυναῖκας δὲ τρεῖς· αἳ δάκνουσαι τε καὶ σπαράττουσαι τοὺς ἄγοντα[ς οὐ]κ ἤθελον ἕπεσθαι. Ἀποκτείναντες μέν τοι αὐτὰς ἐξεδείραμεν καὶ τὰς δορὰς ἐκομίσαμεν ἐν Καρχηδόνα" (pp. 30–2).

Here nothing is said as to the small size of the Γορίλλαι, nor as to their living in trees: they are only described as "climbers of precipices"— κρημνοβάται. We do not know what MS. authority there may be for the form *gorii*: but M. Delafosse's suggestion – that what the interpreters really said was (in Wolof) *gôr-gi*, "they are men" —is certainly noteworthy. Equally interesting are his remarks (p. 11) on the widely distributed traditions of a small-sized race (often invested with mythical attributes) being the original owners of the country. We may compare the uncanny reputation enjoyed by the Bushmen in South Africa, and in the eastern part of the continent, the Good People or Pixies of Kilimanjaro (Wakonyingo), and the Kikuyu legends of the Agumba or Little Folk.

Clear and well arranged, as are all French textbooks, this little manual will form an excellent introduction to a detailed study of ethnology.

A. W.

A Handbook of the Pedi (Transvaal Suto) Language. By the Rev. G. Beyer, of the Berlin Mission. Morija, Basutoland. 1920.

Mr. Beyer has worked for many years in the Waterberg district of North Transvaal, among the Bapedi (a branch of the great Cwana race, better known in South Africa as "Sekukuni's people"). Pedi is one of the languages chosen for minute phonetic examination by Professor Meinhof in his *Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen* (pp. 56–86), and is interesting as preserving forms of a more archaic character than those of the southern Sesuto dialects. Mr. Beyer has been somewhat hampered by the spelling decided on at the "Seewana and Suto Orthography Conference" of 1910, but his remarks on Pedi sounds show a phonetic discrimination too often absent from similar handbooks. The present work being intended for practical use, deals with the principal features of the grammar in a series of simple lessons, followed by exercises, and includes some pages of useful common phrases and two short vocabularies. A book which can be warmly recommended to beginners.

Alice Werner.

Some Wemba Words: Some Meanings and Explanations. By E. B. H. Goodall, M.B.E., B.A. Cantab. Oxford: University Press, 1921.

The Wemba or Bemba language (neither spelling is satisfactory, the sound intended being really the bilabial fricative) is a very interesting member of the Bantu family, "spoken with slight dialectical variations over a very wide area in Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo, far beyond the actual limits of the tribe"—whose proper habitat is the basin of the Chambeshi River, or, in other words, a triangle (more strictly speaking, a trapeze) whose far corners are Lakes Mweru, Bangweulu, Tanganyika (south end), and Nyasa (north end). It has not hitherto attracted very much attention, and the excellent grammar and vocabulary of the Rev. W. Govan Robertson (1904), which, moreover, contains an interesting historical introduction,

have for some time been out of print. A slighter work, of composite origin, was published (under the editorial superintendence of the late A. C. Madan) by the Clarendon Press in 1907. Neither this nor Mr. W. Lammond's *Lessons in Bemba* contains a complete vocabulary, so that the service rendered by Mr. Goodall, who has resided for some years in the Wemba country as Native Commissioner, is a very real one. It is difficult to compare his work with Mr. Robertson's, as each contains words which are not in the other—probably owing to differences of local usage. But the latter is the more scientifically arranged, distinguishing in all cases between prefix and root, and taking the root as the basis of the alphabetical arrangement: thus, while he writes *ubu-alwa*, *umu-sumba*, Mr. Goodall has *bwalwa*, *musumba*, and appears to have entirely missed the significance of the initial vowel. This plan, however, facilitates the use of the vocabulary by persons with no previous knowledge of a Bantu language, who have acquired words largely by ear. The preface shows that, in regard to phonetics, he is somewhat at sea as to the nature of the bilabial fricative (though one is glad to find him rejecting the notion that it is a case of individual or local variation) and the "cerebral" or "retroflex" *l*—variously described as *d* and *r*.

Mr. Goodall's book is likely to be extremely useful, and he has added to its interest by including many valuable notes on plants, animals, and native customs; see e.g. under *fumbula*, *futikira*, *fwaka*, *ilamfya*, *inungo*, *lupembe*, *musumba*, *sunga*, etc.

A. W.

Śiva Chhatrapati. By Surendranāth Sen, M.A., Lecturer in Marāṭhi History at the Calcutta University.

The first part of this work is a literal translation of the *bakhar*, or chronicle written in A.D. 1696 by Kṛṣṇājī Anant Sabhāsad, an officer in the service of the great Marāṭhā king Śivājī, and subsequently of his second son, Rājārām. It gives a succinct narrative of Śivāji's conflicts with the Mahomedan powers of Bijāpūr and Delhi, the sack of Surat, the coronation at Raigad, the wars in the Karnāṭak and the Konkan, and interesting details of the Marāṭhā system of civil and military government. The second part of the work consists of extracts from the Chitins *bakhar* (A.D. 1810) and the Śivadigvijaya. The date of the latter is in dispute. Our author inclines to the view that it is a comparatively modern revised edition of an old eighteenth century *bakhar*. The account of Śivājī's encounter

with Afzal Khan, Aurangzeb's general, differs from that of Grant Duff. The latter drew from Mahomedan sources. All the Marāṭhā chroniclers accuse Afzal Khan of striking the first blow at the meeting at Pratāpgaḍ. Sabhāsad, in describing Śivājī's raid against Shaista Khan, lays the scene in an actual encampment of tents, while the Śivadigvijaya places it in a house in Poona; and there are other discrepancies in the narratives.

Śivadigvijaya has the strange story that Śivājī was poisoned by one of his queens, the mother of Rājārām. Sabhāsad contents himself by quoting the usually accepted cause of death, namely fever. As our author remarks, he could hardly accuse the mother of the king he was then serving of such a crime.

A very interesting note on the influence of Persian on old Marāṭhī completes the work. To students of Marāṭhā history, whether critical or elementary, this work should form an acceptable fund of information, while the general reader may derive considerable pleasure in following the career of one of the world's famous soldiers of fortune.

W. Doderet.

NOTES AND QUERIES

NOTE ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF ARABIC IN SYRIA

In Syria each district has its own dialect. Conder and others have attempted to trace these to Hebrew, etc., in my opinion on very inadequate grounds. I do not, however, propose to discuss this here, but merely to point out some differences of pronunciation which have come to my notice.

1. The letter ق is pronounced

   in the towns as *hamza*.
   in Lebanon and Acre district correctly.
   in Nablus district and, I believe, all southern Palestine as *k*.
   in Hauran and Kerak as *g*.
   by the Beduins sometimes as *g* and sometimes as *j*. To say

   e.g. *jarya* for قرية village is a sure sign of a tent-dweller.

2. ك is pronounced

   in the towns and Lebanon correctly.

   in Nablus district, etc., always as *ch*, e.g. Machcha for مكّة Mecca.

   by the Beduins usually as *ch*.
   in Hauran and Kerak sometimes as *k* and sometimes as *ch*.

   In Hauran they say *bêtak* for بيتَك thy (m.) house, but

   bêtich for بيتْكِ thy (f.) house, but in Kerak they pronounce the latter *bêtki* correctly.

3. ج is pronounced as *j* by all except the townspeople, who say *zh*. In Central Arabia it is pronounced *dy*, as it is in the Sudan.

4. ع is pronounced weakly by townspeople, more strongly by peasants and Beduins, and very strongly in the Lebanon.

5. ض, ظ. In the towns there is a tendency to soften these consonants to *d* and *z*, but by peasants and Beduins they are always pronounced correctly.

6. The feminine termination ة. The townspeople pronounce this as *e*, the Beduins as *a*. The peasants vary. This has led to confusion in our maps, where it appears as *a*, *e*, or even *i*, e.g. Katrani for القطرانة.

7. Eliding a short vowel before a long one. This is done by the peasants and still more by the Beduins, and has also left traces on the maps, e.g. مُكَيْسِن, الفُدَيْن, pronounced *Mkês*, *el Fdên*, appear as Umm Keis, el Ifdein.

8. In the Lebanon, besides emphasizing the gutturals they modify medial *alif* till it becomes nearly *ê*, e.g. لبنان Lebanon becomes nearly *Libnên*.

9. In Hauran شَرِبْنَ they (f.) drank is pronounced *shiribin*, in Kerak they say *shiriban*. This form is seldom used by townspeople.

10. Beduins sometimes transpose the first vowel sound and second consonant, e.g. قهوة coffee is pronounced *g-hawa*.

11. Peasants and Beduins often pronounce the second radical with a *kasra* instead of a *sukûn*, e.g. *amis* for أَمْس yesterday. This is general in the Sudan.

RAGLAN.

THE JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

A very hearty welcome must be extended to the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, which makes its reappearance after having ceased publication for some years owing to the war. The number before us is the first part of the third series. The Journal is in the competent editorial hands of Mr. E. O. Winstedt, 181 Iffley Road, Oxford, whose brother, I understand, is the well-known Malay scholar Mr. R. O. Winstedt. The first and second series of the Journal contained many articles of great value to students of Aryan languages and to all

ethnologists. Scholars who have not studied Romani are not always aware of the valuable scientific work done by this society. The days of the delightful, unmethodical, irrepressible Lavengro with his wild speculations in etymology are long past, and we have men who, building on foundations laid by the German Pott, the Greek Paspati, and the Styrian Miklosich, have proved themselves not unworthy successors of these great authors.

This number contains an article by Dr. John Sampson of Liverpool University on two Romani tales, quoted and translated, with Panjabi parallels in English, and a folk-lore article by the Hon. Sec., Mr. T. W. Thompson. Scholars will look forward with much interest to the contributions of the Sanskritist Professor Alfred Woolner, who will deal with the relationship of Romani to Aryan vernaculars. We may trust that the first of these will appear in the next number.

I venture to suggest to the editor that every issue of the Journal should contain an explanation of the system of sound-representation adopted by contributors, so that scholars may know exactly what sound is intended by each letter. This system should, of course, be followed by all writers. A list of signs and their sound equivalents would suffice.

One of the greatest desiderata in Romani research is a phonetic account of the pronunciation of different Gypsy dialects, written by competent phoneticians whose names would carry weight with students of phonetics. I believe a beginning has been made in Germany. It is essential that such accounts should precede final conclusions as to the relationship of Romani to Indian vernaculars. In the field of etymology much has been accomplished; the field of phonetics calls for both sowing and reaping.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

KAURALAKA

As is well known, the author of the famous Allahabad inscription commemorating the exploits of Samudragupta (Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 7) gives in lines 19–20 a list of the kings of the Dakṣiṇāpatha (i.e. the Dekhan) whom his hero "caught and of his grace released"; and in this catalogue the third name is given on the stone as *Kaurāḷaka-Maṇṭarāja*. The word *Kaurāḷaka* has been a stumbling-block to all editors and commentators. Dr. Fleet, by a lapse of judgment rare with him, proposed to emend it to *Kairaḷaka*, and accordingly translated it "Maṇṭarâja of Kêraḷa", thus crediting

Samudragupta with the conquest of the extreme south of India. Professor Kielhorn, justly demurring to this view, proposed another which is equally unsatisfactory (*Epigr. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 3): he asserts that the adjective in question is the same as *Kaunāla*, which occurs in the phrase *Kaunālaka jalam* or "waters of Kunāla", mentioned in the Aihole inscription, and identifies the latter with the Kollēru or Colair Lake. Mantarāja thus, according to him, ruled over the district besides the Colair Lake.[1] From the geographical standpoint this theory is plausible: but phonetically it is practically impossible.

In his *Ancient History of the Deccan* Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil has devoted a short but incisive section to the expedition of Samudragupta (pp. 58-61). He has there shown that modern writers have grossly exaggerated the area covered by these operations and the military successes achieved in them, because they have wrongly identified names of places mentioned in the Allahabad inscription. He concludes—in my opinion quite justly—that Samudragupta marched from Pāṭaliputra southwards through Southern Kōsala to the coast of Orissa, and then failed to advance much further, as he was confronted by a combination of kings of the Eastern Dekhan, whose realms lay around the lower beds of the Gōdāvarī and Kṛṣṇā rivers: threatened by their united forces, he returned home. He never marched into the Western Dekhan.

M. Jouveau-Dubreuil quite rightly renders *Kaurālaka-Mantarāja* as "Mantarâja, king of Korâla". Now can this Kōrāla be identified? I believe that at least a step can be taken in that direction. There are three villages named Kōrāḍa in the Āndhra territory, besides a considerably larger number in the same region which have names compounded with the same word as the first member. Two Kōrāḍas are in Ganjam, one being near Varanasi in Parlakimedi Taluk and the other near Surada in Surada Taluk: and the third is near Bimlipatam, in the Taluk of that name in Vizagapatam District. Phonetically the equation is good: the lingual *ḍ* and the liquids *l* and *ḷ* are often interchanged in Southern India; and geographically any one of these three villages would suit the geographical requirements of the case perfectly.

L. D. Barnett.

[1] Kielhorn's theory has been accepted, *inter alios*, by the late Mr. V. A. Smith (*Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 284).

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC, PERSIAN, URDU, AND HINDI.

With a view to securing uniformity of transcription in all the languages taught in the School of Oriental Studies, a Sub-Committee consisting of the Director, Professor Sir Thomas Arnold, and Dr. T. Grahame Bailey was appointed by the Academic Board to draw up a scheme of transliteration for Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and Hindi, and this has now been adopted. The scheme for the other languages will follow in due course. A complete scheme for a phonetic rendering of the languages of Asia and Africa is also in course of preparation.

	Arabic	Urdu and Persian	Hindi
ث	th	s̲	—
ج	j	j	j
چ	—	ch	ch
छ	—	chh	chh
ح	ḥ	ḥ	—
خ	kh	kh	—
د	d	d	d
ذ	dh	z̲	—
ڑ	—	ḍ *and* ڑ = ṛ	ḍ *and* ड़ = ṛ
ڈھ	—	ḍh	ḍh
ز	z	z	—
ژ	—	zh	—
ش	sh	sh	—
श	—	—	ś
ष	—	—	s
ص	s	ṣ	—
ض	ḍ	ẓ	—
ط	ṭ	ṭ	—
ظ	ẓ	ẓ	—

ARABIC		URDU AND PERSIAN	HINDI
ع	ʿ	ʿ	—
غ	gh	gh	—
ق	q	q	—
ण	—	—	ṇ
ङ	—	ṅ	ṅ
ञ	—	—	ñ
و	w	v	v
ی	y	y	y
ऽ	—	—	ḷ
ـَ	[fathah] a		
ـِ	[kesrah] i		
ـُ	[dhammah] u		
ـَی	ay	ay	ai *or* ay
ـَو	aw	aw	au *or* av
ـِی	ī		
ـُو	ū		
ا *or* آ	ā		
ـَیّ	ayy		
ـَوّ	aww		
ـُوّ	uww		
ـیٰ	[alif maqṣūrah] à		
ء	[hamzah] ʾ		
Nasal vowels	—	~	~
Aspirates (1)	bh, kh, etc.	bh, kh, etc.	bh, kh, etc.
(2) In separate syllable	s'h, etc.	s h, etc.	

The Index to Volume I of this Bulletin is now ready and may be had free on application to the Editor.

BULLETIN

OF THE

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
LONDON INSTITUTION

PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

THE LAY OF BRAHMA'S MARRIAGE: AN EPISODE OF THE ALH-KHAND

Translated by Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E.

OVER Northern India from Delhi to Patna, there is no more popular story than that contained in the cycle of ballads called the Ālh-Khand. This is a long epic poem in twenty-three cantos, composed in the Bundēlī dialect of Western Hindī, telling in rude ballad metre of the exploits of the famous Ālhā and Ūdan, and sung by wandering minstrels known as *Alhā-gānēwālās*, or "Singers of Ālhā". Up to the middle of the last century the cycle does not appear to have ever been reduced to writing, as was the lot of the more elaborate productions of the professional Rājpūt bards, and few, if any, of its reciters are masters of the whole; but in the eighteen-sixties Mr. C. A. Elliott (afterwards Sir Charles Elliott), when stationed at Farrukhābād, near the ancient city of Kanauj, found three or four of these minstrels, and employed one of them to compile a complete set of the twenty-three ballads from their joint memories. The poem thus rescued was printed, and its great popularity is shown by the fact that it has passed through many editions, and can be purchased in the bazaars written either in the Nāgarī or in the Persian character.[1]

Portions of this were translated into English ballad metre by the late Mr. W. Waterfield, of the Indian Civil Service, and appeared in

[1] The latest editions I have seen are (Nāgarī) Bombay Machine Press, Āgrā, 1912, and (Persian) Chintāman Press, Farrukhābād, N.D.

the *Calcutta Review* in the years 1875–6 under the title of "The Nine Lakh Chain or the Mārō Feud",[1] but the greater part is still a sealed book to English readers. I, therefore, in the following pages attempt to give a fairly literal translation of one of the cantos not touched by him, as a specimen of the ballad poetry of Northern India. Not having Mr. Waterfield's gift of song, I have confined myself to prose, and I trust that the somewhat old-fashioned English style employed will be pardoned, when it is understood to be an attempt to reproduce the antique flavour of the original. In fact, the whole cycle strongly reminds the reader of our own Border Ballads.[2]

As the episode printed here is complete in itself, it is not necessary to take up space by giving an account of the entire poem of which it forms a part. I hope to have an opportunity of doing this on another occasion. Suffice it to say here that the brothers Ālhā and Ūdan, and their cousins Malkhān, Sulkhān, and Dhēwā, were Banāphar Rājputs in the service of Parmāl, Rājā of Mahōbā, and the mainstay of his kingdom. They had begun their career by capturing the town of Mā̃rō,[3] when Ūdan was only twelve years old, in revenge for the murder of Ālhā and Ūdan's father Dasrāj, and of his brother Bachrāj, and since then had established a wide reputation for chivalry and invincible bravery. They had been brought up in Parmāl's palace as companions of his son Brahmā or Brahmânand, were treated by Malhnā, the Queen, as sons, and habitually addressed her as mother. Their own mother Dēbī, and Bachrāj's widow Birmhā, the mother of Malkhān and Sulkhān, were on most affectionate terms with Malhnā, and were looked upon by her as sisters. Ālhā and Ūdan lived near Mahōbā, in their fief of Daspurwā, and Malkhān and Sulkhān occupied the responsible position of guardians of the border fortress of Sirsā, which blocked the approach against Mahōbā of an army coming from the direction of Delhi. The Banāphar sept of Rājpūts, to which they all belonged, was of doubtful purity, and this fact gives rise to much of the trouble which is the subject of the cycle. As we shall see in the following pages, the presence of the Banāphars in Mahōbā was sufficient to make Prithīrāj unwilling to allow his daughter to marry Parmāl's son. The present

[1] This was a translation only of the second and third cantos of the poem. Mr. Waterfield also translated other portions, which were never printed. I hope that before long the whole of his admirable version will be put into the hands of English readers in this country.

[2] In the translation, the figures in parenthesis indicate the verse-numbers of the original. These vary slightly in every printed edition, but those given here will serve to identify the passage translated.

[3] Probably Māndōgarh in the Dhār State of Central India.

episode tells how these heroes, themselves, at the sword-point won her for Brahmânand's bride.

Prithīrāj needs no introduction. He is the famous Chauhān prince of Delhi, whose defeat and death in the Great Battle of 1192 at Thānēsar opened the way for Muslim domination of India.

Attention may be drawn to the extraordinary marriage customs here illustrated. They are not peculiar to the episode, but are repeated with variations at each of the many marriages described in the cycle. There seems to have been a regular routine. A king has a marriageable daughter, and sends round a letter of invitation to all the princes with marriageable sons, the terms of which are practically a challenge to let him take her who dare. The more powerful the sender of the letter, the fewer people there are ready to accept the invitation. At last it is accepted by some hero. The usual rites are performed at his home, and then he sets out with his marriage procession, which consists of a large army, strengthened by contingents supplied by friends and relatives. When the army arrives at the frontier of the bride's father, a herald is sent to acquaint him of the fact. The herald is received with contumely and has to fight his way out of the city and back to the camp against overwhelming odds. The bride's father refuses to give his daughter, and there is a pitched battle in which thousands of troops are represented as being engaged on each side. If the bride's party are worsted they resort to treachery, as for instance when they pretend to give in, and send poisoned food to the bridegroom's camp. In the cycle this stratagem is always detected, and the bearers of the food are dismissed with a beating. But there is nothing to lead us to suppose that in other cases the stratagem may have succeeded, and the whole bridegroom's party put to death. When this fails other stratagems are tried. Attempts are made to get the bridegroom alone or accompanied only by a few near relations all unarmed, and then they are set upon by armed men and have to fight for their lives with what weapons they can improvise. At length the bride's father admits defeat, and the bridegroom and a few of his friends are invited into the fort for the wedding ceremony, during which the bride and bridegroom make the orthodox seven circuits of the marriage post and arbour. Here, again, in the presence of the bride, they are attacked by her relations, and when these fail, by concealed armed men. If the attack is successful those of the bridegroom's party (including the bridegroom himself) who survive are taken away and cast into prison. If the attack fails, the seven circuits are completed, but, the arbour and

post having been wrecked in the mêlée, a spear is substituted for the post, and the roof of a new arbour is made by joining shields together.[1] The marriage ceremony having been completed, the bridegroom is invited into the female apartments to eat the wedding breakfast with the bride. Here again an attack is made upon him, in which he is now protected by his wife, and if he survives it, all further opposition is given up and he goes off, taking his bride with him or not, as may be arranged.

It must be observed that, as described above, the battles are not sham fights. They are real bloody combats, in which hundreds of men on both sides are slain. The most extraordinary thing about the whole affair is that once the marriage is completed, the contending parties become quite friendly again, and, on the next occasion of a marriage, they are ready to take out their armies and go to each other's assistance. We can admit that the accounts given by the bards are grossly exaggerated. But the story would not be told, if at least the main facts did not resemble a true state of affairs or what is traditionally accepted as having once been such. No body of auditors would listen to story after story in great detail of their own country and their own kith and kin if they were not told what had at least a groundwork of truth. So far as I can ascertain, there is no trace of such customs as those described above to be found in Rājputānā at the present day, but I think that the poem does contain memories of customs which were in full use in ancient times. Here I must leave the matter in the hands of ethnologists to explain the origin and meaning of this curious picture of marriage and of warfare. It does not look like a survival of marriage by capture.

A list of the principal persons mentioned in the following pages will afford a convenient opportunity for showing their relations to each other.

The Mahōbā Party

Parmāl, Rājā of Mahōbā.

Malhnā, his Queen.

Brahmānand or **Brahmā,** their son. He is an incarnation of Arjuna.

Ālhā } sons of Dasrāj.
Uday Singh or **Ūdan** }

Malkhān or **Malkhai** } sons of Bachrāj.
Sulkhān or **Sulkhai** }

[1] This does not occur in the present episode.

Dhēwā, son of Rahmal. He is skilled as a soothsayer. These five are the Banāphars.

Jagnaik, Parmāl's sister's son.

Sunmā, Ālhā's wife.

Jōgā and **Bhōgā,** her brothers.

Rūpnā, the Mahōbā herald.

Bīr Sāhi, the Yādava, of Baurīgaṛh. His son Indrasēn has married Chandrâvalī, the daughter of Parmāl and Malhnā.

Mōhan, another son of Bīr Sāhi.

Mannā Gūjar, a Mahōbā champion.

Chūṛāman, the Mahōbā court astrologer.

Māhil, Ṭhākur of Urai. Brother of Malhnā, and the chief adviser of her and of Parmāl. A traitor, always seeking to ruin Parmāl.

The Delhi Party

Prithīrāj, Prithī, or **Pithaurā,** the Chauhān, Emperor (*Bādshāh*) of Delhi.

Agmā, his Queen.

Bēlā, their daughter. She is an incarnation of Draupadī.

Sūraj, Chandan, Sardan, Mardan, Gōpī, Mōtī, and **Tāhar,** their seven sons. Of these, Tāhar is an incarnation of Karṇa.

Chauṛā, a Nāgar Brahman, Prithīrāj's General. The Chāmuṇḍa Rāi of the Prithīrāj Rāsau. He is an incarnation of Drōṇa.

Khāṇḍē Rāi, Prithīrāj's brother.

Dhāndhū, Khāṇḍē Rāi's son.

Dēbī, the Marāṭhā, and others, champions of Prithīrāj.

As in all Indian literature, the doctrine of the transmigration of souls plays a considerable part in the present poem. Every soul is born and born again until it attains to final emancipation from *saṁsāra*, or the weary round of perpetual birth and rebirth. Here we begin with the famous war of the Mahābhārata, which took place two thousand years and more before the date of the main occurrences of the story. The principal combatants in that war are born again in the present story, with all their old passions and hatred, and Draupadī, the heroine of the Mahābhārata, appears once more as the Queen of Beauty for whom Ālhā and Ūdan fought so gallantly.

When upon the mountain Mahādēva awoke, he approached Nandīgaṇa.[1] Bemused was he with gānjā and with bhang, and āk and dhatūra did he chew. Girdled was he with snakes, and on his forehead shone the moon. He leaped upon Nandī and took the road to Hastināpura.[2] In the space of but half an hour he reached the city gate, where the five youths were seated in their crowded court.[3] There were they, Nakul and Sahadēv, Ārjun, Bhimmā, and, the fifth, Dudhiṣṭhar Rāi. When the bell (round) Nandī's (neck) rang forth, Nakul, the Pāṇḍava, seized his bow.

(5) *Nakul:* "Who is the sinner at the door, whose bell ringeth as he cometh?" Saying these words did Nakul bend his bow, and aim at Śiva Śaṅkara.[4]

Then did Śiva curse him. "Take thou this curse, and carry thou it with thee. Draupadī, thou shalt go into the world of the dead, and in the Kaliyuga[5] shalt again become incarnate. Thou shalt be called the daughter of Prithīrāj and shalt be a bride in the house of the Chandēls.[6] Bēlā shall be thy name, and over thee shall many a battle be fought."

The nine worlds[7] trembled on the day that Bēlā came to birth. Indra was shaken from his throne, and Śiva was shaken in Kailāsa.

[1] Mahādēva, or Śiva, abides on Mount Kailāsa. He rides the bull Nandī or Nandīgaṇa. He is often represented as bemused with Indian hemp and other intoxicating drugs. *Gānjā* and *bhang* are varieties of this hemp. *Āk* is Calatropis Gigantea, a well-known medicinal plant. *Dhatūra* is the Datura Stramonium.

[2] The famous city round which centres the story of the Mahābhārata. Here dwelt the five Pāṇḍavas mentioned in the following verses.

[3] The five Pāṇḍava heroes of the Mahābhārata, viz. Nakula, Sahadēva, Arjuna, Bhīmasēna, and Yudhiṣṭhira. Their names are given in their Hindī forms in the following verse, and in this order, although Yudhiṣṭhira was the eldest. Their joint wife was Draupadī, also mentioned, and cursed, below.

[4] A name of Mahādēva.

[5] The name of the fourth, or iron, age. The visit of Śiva to Hastināpura took place in the Dvāpara, or third, age. This will be referred to later on. See vv. 350 ff.

[6] Parmāl of Mahōbā was a Chandēl Rājpūt. Under the above curse, Bēla was an incarnation of Draupadī. Brahmā, her husband, was an incarnation of the Pāṇḍava Arjuna. Tāhar, Bēlā's brother, was an incarnation of Karṇa, the implacable foe of the Pāṇḍavas in the war of the Mahābhārata, and Chaūrā, the Brāhman, Prithīrāj's general, was an incarnation of the Brāhman Drōṇā, one of the leading generals against the Pāṇḍavas in the same war. It may be added that two other heroes of the poem were also incarnations of champions of the Mahābhārata war. These are Mīrā Tālhan, the Saiyid of Benares, who was an incarnation of Bhīmasēna, and Lākhan, the nephew of Jaichand of Kanauj, who was an incarnation of Nakula. See canto xix.

[7] The worlds are usually counted as three (heaven, earth, and hell) or fourteen (seven upper, including the earth, and seven lower) in number. "Nine" is here probably a slip for three, the poet mixing up some other group, such as the nine planets, or the nine orifices of the human body.

Yea, on the day that Bēlā became incarnate, trembled every god. It was into the womb of Agmā, Prithīrāj's Queen, that she descended to this earth.

(10) So also, in Mahōbā, did Arjuna[1] become incarnate as Brahmā, Parmāl's son.

When Bēlā was twelve years old she went forth to play with her companions. Then did they all chide her saying, "Bēlā, hark thou to our rede. Thou art the daughter of King Prithīrāj, and seven brothers hast thou.[2] All the damsels that bear thee company have gone unto their husbands' homes.[3] Thou, too, art dear unto Agmā, yet thy father hath not mated thee." At these words wrathful became Bēlā in her heart. She left the maidens, and to her mother hied. When Agmā saw her daughter downcast, she clasped her to her bosom. "Wherefore, daughter, art thou so woe-begone? Show thou to me the cause."

(15) *Bēlā:* Words have I not to say it. A mock do my friends and companions make of me. All my girl friends go forth to their husbands' homes. "Is Prithīrāj," jeer they, "of baser caste, that he hath not made thee tread the wedding circuit?"

When she heard these words Queen Agmā pondered in her heart. She comforted her daughter. "Even now will I send forth the Tīkā."[4] Carrying a pitcher of Ganges water in her hand did she approach the Rājā, and as he saw her coming the valiant Chauhān[5] did himself arise. He took her by the hand and seated her upon his couch, and with a fan of flowers did she fan him. (20) So, when she saw that his heart was kindly towards her, thus did she address him.

Agmā: Fit for a bridegroom is now the damsel, and therefore, prithee, give her somewhither in marriage.

Prithīrāj: Hearken, Lady, to my rede. If there be a Rājā worthy of our house, then in marriage will I give the damsel. He who can withstand a twelve years' fight, he it is to whom Bēlā shall be wedded.

[1] One of Draupadī's Pāndava husbands. He became incarnate to marry Bēlā.

[2] These were Sūraj, Chandan, Sardan, Mardan, Gōpī, Mōtī, and Tāhar. See vv. 215 ff. Of these, as already stated, Tāhar was an incarnation of Karṇa.

[3] Literally, "there has been *gaunā* and *raunā*." The former is the rite of sending a bride finally to her husband's house, while the *raunā* is an intermediate visit, when she goes to her husband's house temporarily for the consummation of the marriage.

[4] *Ṭīkā* is here the token of betrothal, sent to the parents of a proposed bridegroom. If the boy's parents accept the token, they signify their agreement to the proposed match. If they refuse it, the proposal is understood to be not accepted.

[5] i.e. Prithīrāj, who was Chauhān by tribe.

Then did Agmā, with joined palms, thus address him. "Hearken, O Rājā, to my word. If thou wouldst heed my rede, then this very day do thou send forth the Tīkā." Thereon the Rājā rose and hastened to his hall of audience. He summoned Tāhar, his son, and Chaũrā, the Brāhman.[1] He summoned the barber, the Bārī, the priest, and the four Nēgīs.[2] (25) Paper of Kālpī[3] and pencase took he in his hand, and first wrote he the heading (*sarnāma*) and then his compliments (*duʿā salām*) to all the Rājās.

Palankeens two and fifty, elephant-wains four score and ten, high-bred horses a thousand, shawls, double shawls, necklaces of gold and coral, turbans of many colours, aigrettes, kerchiefs two, two sacks of golden coins, and a dish of gold,—a Tīkā of three lacs did he prepare, and give to the Nēgīs that he called.

And thus he wrote: "At the door-rite[4] let there be war, and let the sword ply hard around the marriage arbour (*maṛhwā*), and when the boy bridegroom cometh to eat the wedding breakfast, then his head would I cut off. Let him who to these terms agreeth be the bridegroom of my daughter." (Then said he to the messengers) "Where'er there be a Rājā my equal, thither go ye, and offer him the Tīkā."

(30) Then into the hall came Tāhar and to the king he made his bow. He took the letter of the Tīkā, and raised it from the throne.[5]

Prithīrāj: Pay ye heed unto my words. Take ye the Tīkā to each and every king, but to Mahōbā go ye not. For there, in Daspurwā, dwell the Banāphars, men of meanest caste.

His son Tāhar, he in whom Karṇa was incarnate, made ready. He mounted his horse Dalganjan, and Chaũṛā did he summon. Chaũrā, the general, called for his one-tusker[6] elephant, and from

[1] Chaũrā, the Nāgar Brāhman, was Prithīrāj's Bakhshī, or general. We have seen that he was an incarnation of Droṇa.

[2] These are the people usually dispatched on such messages. A Bārī is a torch-bearer. A Nēgī is an attendant who is entitled to the *nēg*, or customary present given on such occasions. We shall see that they act as messengers. The names of these four were Bānī Purōhit, Rāmā Dasaudhī, Bhaunā Nāũ, and Sobhā Bhāṭ. See v. 134.

[3] A town in the modern Jalaun district. It was once famous for its paper manufacture.

[4] The ceremony of the reception of the bridegroom's party. It is not suggested that Prithīrāj actually intended to kill the bridegroom. But the bridegroom's friends must be prepared to meet such an attempt, and counter it if they can.

[5] In token of acceptance of the commission.

[6] Chaũrā is always represented as riding on this elephant.

Sambhar[1] did they set forth and take the road to Jhunnāgarh.[2] "Unwedded yet is the son of Gajrāj, and there the Ṭīkā will I offer." For days eight did he make his journey, and then came he to the fortress.

(35) The court was assembled when Tāhar came, and thus did the doorkeeper standing at the gate address him :—

The doorkeeper : Whence art thou come, and whither goest thou ? Tell thou to me thy name.

Tāhar : Mark thou well my words. From Delhi am I come, and Tāhar is my name. The Ṭīkā of my sister have I brought, and to Gajrāj would I offer it.

Then to the king did the doorkeeper hasten, and with joined palms did he make his salutation. "Nēgīs have come from Delhi, and with them the son of Pithaurā Rāi." "Go thou and fetch the lad, and bring thou him before mine eyes." (40) There and then did the doorkeeper hie back to Tāhar. "His majesty doth summon thee. Haste thou and come with me." Then into the audience chamber came Tāhar, and to the Rājā made he his bow. He took the letter of the Ṭīkā, and laid it on the throne. When the letter was read, greatly was the Rājā pleased. He discerned the sign-manual at its foot, and letter by letter did he scan it. "A twelve years' fight is written for him who would wed his son!" The Rājā returned the Ṭīkā,—"such a wedding make I not."

Sore in heart did Childe Tāhar through the gate go forth. The valiant Jadwā̃[3] of Baurīgarh, he too point-blank refused. (45) Narpat,[4] the Rājā of Narwar, he too returned the Ṭīkā, and so also did Gangādhar, the Rājā of Būndī.[4] From land to land did the Ṭīkā wander, but no one took it up. Then said Chaũṛā to Tāhar,

[1] i.e. Delhi.

[2] A town not identified. It can hardly be the Junāgarh in Kāṭhiāwār. It was the capital of the country called Bisēn, and it had a frontier fortress called Pathrīgarh. Its Rājā was Gajrāj, and his daughter, Gajmōtin, was Malkhān's wife. We learn here that it was eight days' march from Delhi. From the Indal-haran episode we learn that it was five days' march from Narwar and seven (?) from Aṭak (Attock).

[3] Baurīgarh I have failed to identify. According to the episode of the Chauthī of Chandrāvalī it was twelve days' march from Delhi. Its king was the Jādō (Yādava) Bīr Sāhi, whose son, Indrasēn, married Chandrāvalī, Parmāl's daughter.

[4] Narwar is the famous historic town in the modern Gwāliōr State. Būndī is the well-known Hāṛā State in Rājputānā. I have failed to identify either of the two Rājās named above. Ūdan married Narpat's daughter, Phulwā. Gangādhar's daughter, Kusum Dē, in after years married Lākhan, the nephew and heir of Jaichand of Kanauj.

"Hearken, brother, to my rede. To Uraī [1] let us go, where dwelleth Māhil, the Parihār. If he tell us of any fitting lad, thither will we take the Tīkā. Four months have we wandered, and Bēlā hath become our enemy." And so the twain reached Uraī. The audience chamber was crowded, and there sat Māhil. (50) But when he saw them, astonied did he rise. Tāhar took he by the arm and seated him on the throne beside him. "Tell me," quoth he, "the news of Delhi, and wherefore hither have ye fared."

Tāhar: At Delhi all is well. The Chauhān [2] ruleth there in peace. The Tīkā of Bēlā have I brought. Tell me where can be found a youth?

Māhil: A lad there is, and worthy is he of thee. His name I tell to thee. Ajayapāla was a king in Kanauj, whose rule from sunrise to sunset stretched. His son was Ratībhān,[3] the wielder of the sharp two-edged sword. His son is Lākhan Rānā. To him go ye, and offer ye the Tīkā.

(55) At these words did Tāhar forthwith march. In three days reached he Kanauj, where the court of King Jaichand was sitting, and there did he go and make his salutation. To Jaichand louted he low and the missive offered. Jaichand opened it, and letter by letter did he scan it. "At Delhi make I no marriage.[4] Seek ye a youth elsewhere." And straightway back through the gate went Tāhar.

A night and a day he travelled till he crossed the Jamunā, and reached a grove three *cōs* from Uraī. At that same hour came thither Malkhai [5] on the chase. There, in that grove, found he Tāhar, and smiling thus addressed him.

Malkhān: (60) Thou art a king's son, O Tāhar. Hearken to my word. Tell me, prithee, on what matter art thou come.

Tāhar: To bathe in the Ganges had I gone. At Rājghāṭ have I bathed, and now do I return to Delhi.

[1] Uraī is now the headquarters of the district of Jalaun. Māhil, treacherous and unforgiving, is the villain of the entire cycle of poems. His sister, Malhnā, was Parmāl's chief Queen, but his whole life was, nevertheless, devoted to bringing about the ruin of Parmāl, to accomplish which he spared no treachery or villainy.

[2] i.e. Prithīrāj.

[3] Ratībhān was brother of Jaichand, Rājā of Kanauj. His death is recorded in canto i. Lākhan was consequently Jaichand's nephew.

[4] There was old hostility between Kanauj and Delhi. Hence Jaichand's insolent reply.

[5] i.e. Malkhān. The two names are used indifferently. I use one or other according to the original. "Malkhai" is the pet-form of the other.

Malkhān: Four Nēgīs tookest thou with thee, and in thy company, as a fifth, is Chaũṛā! Tell me in truth for what matter art thou come to this grove to-day.

Tāhar: I have brought the Tīkā of my sister, and go forth to seek a bridegroom for her. From land to land have I gone, but no one hath accepted it. There, at Kanauj, was there a fitting youth, but he too point-blank refused.

(65) Then saith Malkhai to him, "Show to me the letter." Chaũṛā brought forth the letter and showed it to Malkhai, and as he read it Malkhai rejoiced in heart.

Malkhān: I tell thee of a youth. To him do thou offer the Tīkā. He is a Rājā of equal rank with thee. Come quickly with me.

Tāhar: In what city is this youth? Tell me that Malkhai.

Malkhān: In the city of Mahōbā is the Wonder-stone,[1] and there doth King Parmāl dwell. He hath a son, Prince Brahmā hight. To him give thou the Tīkā.

Tāhar: To Mahōbā I will not go. That hath Pithaurā Rāi forbidden us.[2]

At these words Malkhān waxed wroth, and his eyes became like blazing fire. "What! Are the Moon-born[3] of base descent, that so against them utterest thou blame? (70) The Ṭīkā shall not go back. By force will I take it and offer it myself." Thereupon took he Chaũṛā and Tāhar prisoners and carried them off to Sirsā fort.[4] To Sulkhai's[5] charge gave he them, and bade him guard them well. Then called he for his mare Kabūtrī, and leaped upon her. Without delay took he the road to Mahōbā fort, and in a watch[6] and a quarter did he reach it galloping.

[1] The Philosopher's Stone, the touch of which transmuted baser metals to gold. It was one of Parmāl's most treasured possessions, and the cause of frequent attacks on the city.

[2] Here the bard omits to quote Pṛithīrāj's reason for avoiding Mahōbā—that the Banāphars were of mean caste. But that Tāhar did mention it is plain from Malkhān's angry reply. In another text of the poem Tāhar enlarges on the reason in most offensive terms.

[3] Parmāl belonged to the Chandēl clan, which traces its descent from the moon. It was not to his caste that Pṛithīrāj objected, but to that of his champions, the Banāphars.

[4] Sirsā is the modern Sirsāgarh in the north-east of the Gwalior state. It was Malkhān's fief, and the fort, where he was stationed by Parmāl to guard Mahōbā from invasion from Delhi, was built by him. It was at an important road-junction, and till Malkhān was killed and Sirsā captured by Pṛithīrāj Mahōbā could not be attacked.

[5] Sulkhai, or Sulkhān, was Malkhān's brother.

[6] A watch is about three hours.

There did he arrive where the Chandēl was seated in his court. From his mare dismounted he and gave her to the groom. Seven paces from the Presence made he his bow with joined palms. The Chandēl turned his eyes, and his gaze upon Malkhai fell. (75) He caught him by the arm, and sate him by his side. "Tell me the mood of thy heart, and what the state of Sirsā."

Malkhān: By thy favour all is well. Rule thou secure, O King. But one misgiving troubleth me, and it is this. We, who be thy servants, have each been married twice. But Brahmā is thine only son. Him shouldst thou wed without delay.

Parmāl: Through land and state will I search for fitting bride, and then my son will I marry.

Malkhān: As thou sittest here in thy home hath a Ṭīkā come. Now therefore mayst thou accept it.

(80) *Parmāl:* Tell me what kind of Ṭīkā be it that hath come.

Then did Malkhai take the missive and hand it to the king. The Rājā opened it and read. Letter by letter did he scan it, and when he had comprehended the conditions of the Ṭīkā sore troubled became he in his heart.

Parmāl: Return the Ṭīkā to Delhi. Such a marriage is not for me to make. Whose son is not dear, that he should offer him as a victim at a sacrifice? A twelve years' war is writ herein, and after that the marriage.

Malkhān: Sire, hearken to my rede. Through every land would there be scornful laughter. "What!" they will cry, "is Rājā Parmāl of base descent?" Hast thou no fear of derision, that thou returnest the Ṭīkā from thy house? (85) Nay, the Ṭīkā will I not return, e'en though the very heavens be moved. Though in the battlefield my flesh were hacked to gobbets, still my headless trunk would rise and ply the sword. Whether my life continue or depart, I will not return without the marriage made.

Then answered Parmāl, "Malkhai, first from Malhnā[1] gain thou her assent, and then for Brahmā the Ṭīkā mayst thou accept." When Malkhai heard these words he departed and came to Malhnā, and she saw him coming and went forward to meet him. She pressed him to her heart and sate him by her side, and thus she cried:—

Malhnā: Ever since thou laidest the foundations of Sirsā fort, hast thou abandoned Mahōbā. Each morning have I stood upon the

[1] She was Parmāl's chief wife and the leading spirit of the court. Parmāl, who was a contemptible coward, leant altogether on her advice.

palace-roof and gazed along the road. Each wayfarer that I descried, him did I fancy to be my brave Malkhān. (90) Tell me on what matter hast thou come.

Malkhān: A Ṭīkā hath come from Delhi, accept thou it for Brahmā.

Malhnā: Tell me what kind of Ṭīkā it may be.

So Malkhai took the missive and handed it to her. She opened it and read, scanning it letter by letter: and when she had read it she was troubled, and no word issued from her mouth.

Malhnā: Malkhai, hear me. Send thou this missive back to Delhi. No wish have I for a Ṭīkā, nor care I for a daughter-in-law. If my son remain unmarried, all his life will he with me at home abide.

(95) *Malkhān:* Hearken, Mother, to my rede. Only when Bēlā hath been wedded to Brahmā will I give over my resolve. This Ṭīkā may not be returned. By my father's name, by the holy Ganges ne'er will I draw back; no, though I bathe in Parmāl's blood. Without this marriage I will not come back from Delhi,—no, whether my life remain or not.

Then did Queen Machhulā [1] address her, "Malhnā, hearken to my rede. On the day that they set forth for Māṛō to take their vengeance for their father, as thou didst paint the *ṭīkā*-mark [2] upon their foreheads someone sneezed [3] in front of thee. Then didst thou forbid Ūdan, crying, 'Younger Brother, set thou not forth.' Yet paid he no heed to thee, and safely reached he Māṛō. Māṛō then did he utterly destroy, and so took he vengeance for his father's death. So, now, forbid not Malkhai, for he will not heed thy word."

(100) So Queen Malhnā sent for Brahmā. She took the arm of her only son, and to Malkhai gave it she to hold.

Malhnā: As it is in thy mind, Banāphar Rāi, so do. Summon thou Tāhar and the four Nēgīs of Delhi.'

Forthwith did Rūpnā [4] set forth to Sirsā. To the palace where Sulkhai was sitting, there went he and made his bow. "The Nēgīs are summoned, and with them send thou Tāhar." So Sulkhai released them from their bonds and sped them to Mahōbā.

[1] Another name for Dēbī, or Diwal Dē, the mother of Ālhā and Ūdan.

[2] This is not the Ṭīkā of which we have been hearing so much, but is a mark put on the forehead for various reasons. In this case it was put on a person when setting out on a hazardous journey.

[3] A bad omen.

[4] He was the Mahōbā herald.

In the palace of Rānī Malhnā did Malkhai cry aloud, "Great will be thy name in every land, and over the whole world will thy fame be spread. (105) The Wonder-stone is in Mahōbā. In the palace make ye preparations. For Tāhar hath come to see it, and he is the son of Prithīrāj."

So from house to house did Malhnā send the news, and golden pitchers (*kalas*)[1] set she over every door. In each lane were carpets spread, sprinkled all with fragrant perfume. She summoned all her women-friends and filled their laps with abīr.[2] Armed with golden syringes[3] sang they festal songs, while all around was heard the beat of drums, and the housetops were decked with red.

Malhnā sent to the palace for a pandit, and with cowdung of the gods[4] plastered she the marriage square. (110) The golden pitchers were set up, and the bridegroom's throne of sandal wood was erected. The women sang festal songs, and without stood the brave Malkhān. Then Brahmā was called for, and he came to the sandal square; thither also came Ūdan, Dhēwā, and Ālhā to where Malkhai stood. Next Parmāl was summoned, and thither the Rājā came. Here were Pandits reciting the Vēdas. There were bards singing pæans.

Then Tāhar, with Chaūṛā in his company, and his troop arrived, and every place through which he passed was like a garden of red flowers. The syringes of saffron-water were then discharged, and every horse became red with the stain. Abīr and gulāl formed clouds like dust in all the lanes, and chōā[5] and sandal fell like rain. (115) When Chaūṛā and Tāhar saw this spectacle they rejoiced in heart, and wished good luck to the city of Mahōbā where King Parmāl dwelt. "The city is like Indra's heaven. Here the touch of the Wonder-stone turneth iron into gold": and with these words they reached the palace.

Cried Malkhai, "The auspicious time is come, haste ye to present the Tīkā." So Tāhar alighted from his horse and entered the palace. One over the other were seven iron plates hidden in the ground, and when Tāhar drave in his spear it pierced them all.

[1] These are used as an auspicious decoration—something like pinnacles. They are frequently mentioned in the following pages.

[2] A red powder scattered on festive occasions.

[3] Used for scattering saffron-water and similar fluids on such occasions.

[4] The square (*chauk*) on which the marriage ceremonies are performed is purified with sandal and a plaster of cowdung. Here Malhnā secures the dung of the Kāmadhēnu, or mystic cow of the gods, which grants all desires.

[5] *Abīr* and *gulāl* are two red powders scattered on festive occasions. *Chōā* is a kind of fragrant paste.

Quoth he, "This be the custom of my land,—and its own law hath every family,—that if Brahmā can draw forth this spear, then will I offer him the Tīkā."

(120) When Parmāl heard these words of Tāhar he became sore dismayed, and Malhnā pondered in her heart and said :—

Malhnā : Malkhai, hearken to my rede. If such a deed be wrought in my courtyard, who wotteth what God may do in after years. Return thou the Tīkā to Delhi, for accepted it may not be.

Then quoth Ūdan, "Hearken, Mother, to my rede. If the Ṭīkā go back from Mahōbā then dishonoured wilt thou be." Saith he to Tāhar, "It is I that should uproot the spear. If a servant can do the work, then what need be there for the master to attempt it?" Quoth Tāhar, "If thou be his servant, then it is Brahmā that uprooteth the spear," and forthwith Ūdan grasped it, and, as though it were but a radish, up pulled he it. (125) Then saith Tāhar to Chaũṛā "Hearken, O Brāhman, to my word. How should not Parmāl rule, when in his house are heroes such as this."

So Tāhar laughed and took a bīṛā [1] and to Brahmā gave it: and as Brahmā began to chew it, in front of him there sounded a sneeze. There, in the painted palace, did Malhnā weep. "Ūdan," cried she, "return the Tīkā. There hath come an omen of evil in the painted palace, and killed will be my son. If my son remain unmarried, all his life will he with me at home abide. No wish have I for the marriage rite, nor long I for a daughter-in-law. Ūdan, hearken to my rede, and give him back the Tīkā."

Ūdan : If I give back this Tīkā after it hath come to our house, I shall be derided throughout this Kali age. (130) In this our house do omens go in counter wise. All our customs are contrary to those of others. When we set forth to avenge our father at Mārō, 'twas thou, Queen Malhnā, who didst worship the might of our arms, and as thou didst affix the *ṭīkā*-mark upon my forehead, in front of thee there came the sound of a sneeze. In this palace didst thou then forbid us, yet did we go and our father did we avenge.

Tāhar then called for the Chandēl's (i.e. Parmāl's) Nēgīs and gave them ornaments to wear, and Ūdan returned into the palace and sent for the golden casket. He called for Tāhar's four Nēgīs and gave them ornaments to wear, and those that remained over, gave he to Chaũṛā, and thus he said :—

[1] A *bīṛā* is a quid of *pān*-leaf and spices for chewing. It is often, as here, given in confirmation of a pledge. As before, a sneeze is a bad omen.

Ūdan: Here be thy four Nēgīs, Bēnī Purōhit, Rāmā Dasaudhī, Bhaunā Nāū, and Sōbhā Bhāṭ. If there be other Nēgīs in Delhi, give thou these to them.

(135) The thirteenth day of the dark half of Māgh (January–February) was found to be the day of good omen for the marriage, and then did Tāhar make his bow and march away. Quoth Ūdan to Malkhai, "Hearken, brother, to my rede. Throughout the army send thou forth a command that a salute be fired this day in Mahōbā." At each discharge were a hundred cannons fired, and the smoke spread across the sky. Such was the salute that was fired for the Tīkā, that its sound was heard by Māhil Parihār.[1]

A messenger came running to Uraī. The runner made his bow and began to tell the news to Māhil. "The Tīkā of Bēlā hath come and hath been offered at Mahōbā," and on hearing this did Māhil's body blaze like fire. (140) "Bring me my mare with all speed. This Tīkā must I get refused." No sooner was his mare saddled than he mounted her, and took the road to Delhi. For four days did he journey, and then did he arrive. There was the court of Prithīrāj assembled. Māhil leaped to the ground from the young mare, and a groom caught hold of her. To the Emperor (*Bādshāh*) made he his bow, and for him did they set a seat on high.

Prithīrāj: Be seated, Chieftain of Uraī, and tell me of thy welfare.

Māhil: A rumour have I heard, and no words have I wherewith to tell it. Didst thou send the Tīkā to Mahōbā and offer it to Brahmā? Mean is the caste of the Banāphars. Was it to their house that thou wentest for betrothal? (145) If thou wouldst have thy good name remain, then back have thou this Ṭīkā sent.

While thus he spoke, even then did Tāhar and Chaūṛā with the four Nēgīs reach the palace.

Prithīrāj: Chaūṛā tell me. Didst thou go thither to offer the Ṭīkā? I forbade thee from Mahōbā. Here and now, O Chaūṛā, return thither and take it back.

Tāhar: Father, hearken to my rede. Of the lineage of the moon is the Rājā of Mahōbā, and there doth he command the Wonder-stone. In his house are Ālhā and Ūdan, by whom hath been defeated many a sword. The Tīkā would never be returned, e'en though the sun and moon were moved from their places. But, when the wedding procession cometh here, then cut thou off their heads.

(150) Thus, here, in Delhi did the affair remain. Now hear ye of

[1] Uraī, where Māhil lived, was about 55 miles as the crow flies from Mahōbā.

the doings in Mahōbā. The month of Māgh began, and Ālhā made his preparations for the wedding march. To every Rājā with whom he had ties of friendship did he send the invitation. To each and all did he write, "Come thou and join my cavalcade." The Rājās came to Mahōbā each with his army. All around were the forces encamped with their red flags waving.

Then came Māhil to Mahōbā, and to Malhnā did he hasten. She greeted him with "Brother, tell me of thy case". A false letter to him from Prithīrāj did Māhil bring and read it out to Malhnā. (155) "Bring thou Brahmā alone, and I will have performed the seven circuits; but if any Banāphar come, him will I behead."

Māhil: Hearken, Sister, to my rede, and alone with me send Brahmā. The seven circuits will I see to being carried out, and safely back will I bring Brahmā's wedding litter.

These words did Malhnā credit, and for a Paṇḍit did she send. But Māhil said, "Sister, hearken to my rede. If thou count up for the lucky moment, and if the Banāphar Rāi hear thereof, I shall be stopped from departing from Mahōbā. Send thou therefore privately and Brahmā call." So she sent for Brahmā, and got ready a litter and therein made him sit. Quoth she to Māhil, "To thee my son have I made over. Brother, be thou very prudent." (160) Then did Māhil take the litter, and with it go forth through the palace gate.

When Ūdan heard that Māhil had taken Brahmā off, then on his horse Rās Bēndul did he gallop to Mahōbā, and at the Lady Malhnā's gate heavily did he dismount. When she saw him approaching, then went she forth to meet him, and thus, with joined hands, spake he to her:—

Ūdan. Are we two only for fighting and for being killed, that thou hast made Māhil, the Parihār, thy wedding-broker (*aguā*)? Lo, we, the invited Banāphars, sit empty, while it is the Parihār that eats the feast. Alone with him didst thou send Brahmā. Now never wilt thou see thy son again, and, hark thou, Mother, ne'er again to Mahōbā will I come. (165) My words hast thou despised and the counsel of Māhil hast thou taken.

With such words did Ūdan depart, and to Daspurwā [1] take his way. Sunmā was standing at the window, and Ūdan saw she coming.

Sunmā: Wherefore is thy lofty countenance lowering, and why doth thy moustache hang down?

[1] This was where Ālhā and Ūdan lived. Sunmā was Ālhā's wife, and, Ūdan being his younger brother, she could speak with him.

Ūdan : Sunmā, my sister, ask not aught, for no words have I to tell it. Māhil, the Parihār of Uraī, hath taken away Brahmā all alone. At our frontier are assembled the guests for the wedding cavalcade. On our borders are they camped, and Māhil hath taken Brahmā alone away. Hearken, O Sister. Ne'er to Mahōbā will I go again.

(170) *Sunmā :* Brother, are thy senses gone! From thine infancy hath Malhnā cared for thee, and with milk in cups thee hath she fed. If ever Brahmā should be killed, then but the price of dust wouldst thou be worth. Make thyself ready, and speed thou off to Delhi.

Then hastened Ūdan to his camp. The drums were beaten, and the warriors all stood to arms. Paper of Kālpī and a pencase took he in his hand, and thus to Malkhai did he indite the tale. "Brother, be thou very heedful. Secretly and with fraud hath Māhil come, and Brahmā hath he carried off. Let not him of Uraī escape, but take thou him a captive." Forthwith started the messenger with the letter and at Sirsā did he arrive. (175) Malkhai was seated on his throne as he presented it, and when he read it for Sulkhai did he call. "Māhil of Uraī cometh by here. Seize thou him and make him captive." Then did Sulkhai sound the drum and make his army ready. He sent for his mare Hiraunjī and leaped astride her. Then to the border of the fief with his army marched he forth. He pitched his camp at the meeting of the four roads, and there halted he till Brahmā's litter and Māhil on his mare Lillī came that way. On seeing them, to Māhil did Sulkhai advance. To him he made his bow, and thus did he accost him :—

(180) *Sulkhai :* Uncle, hearken to my rede. Right was it not that thou shouldst deal treacherously with us. To destroy our family was thine aim. Make thy men put the litter down.

Sulkhai took Brahmā's litter, and sent it on to Sirsā ; and there did they perform the present-giving (*nēg-chār*) and the marriage custom at the well.[1] Māhil's arms did he bind, and at the city gate did he make them hang him up.

The wedding cavalcade set forth from Mahōbā and by Sirsā did it pass. Ūdan came riding on his horse Rās Bēndul, and Ālhā on his elephant Pachsāwad, and so came they all to Sirsā and reached the city gate. There Ālhā saw Māhil hanging, and cried he, "Who hath prisoned Māhil ? (185) Quickly his arms unbind." When

[1] These are two ceremonies performed by the bridegroom's party before leaving his parent's house for the marriage ceremony at the home of the bride.

Māhil was released, a loud cry did he utter. "Rājās have come from every land, and before them hath Sulkhai put me to disgrace. Before all the folk hath he dishonoured me and had me at the gate hung up. Now, to Delhi I will not go, for how there can I show my face?"[1] Then Ūdan leaped upon his horse and to Ḍhēwā did he cry, "With chains bind Māhil, and in a litter make him lie. If to Delhi he go not, then who will do our business there?" But all Māhil's followers he turned back, and, when he set his army on the march, he took him on alone.

(190) Ready were Malkhai and Sulkhai and all the men of Sirsā for the road; so the knights, each with his cavalcade, set forth and reached the army's camp. Forth issued the litter of Brahmânand surrounded by its company of nobles, and thus the procession took the road to Delhi. For seven days did they march till they came to the Delhi border, and eight *cōs* from the city did they pitch the camp. The Rājpūts loosed their belts, from off the elephants were the howdahs taken down, from the horses the saddles, and there the procession made its halt.

To Ālhā then quoth Ūdan: "Hearken, brother, to my rede. Go thou to Parmāl and ask his will. Take counsel with him as to what time he would have the marriage rites begun." (195) Then to Parmāl did Ālhā say with joined palms, "Hearken, Sire, to my word. Summon thou thy Paṇḍit, and fix the auspicious moment for the Reception at the Door."[2] So Chūrāmaṇi was sent for to the tent. His almanac did he open, and over his holy books did he begin to ponder. Of each *chaughaṛī*[3] did he the omens test, and fixed at last upon the rising of the Fish. Quoth he, "For the Reception at the Door, now is the propitious time. Now, even now, send forth the *aipan bārī*."[4]

On hearing these words, for Rūpnā did Malkhai, the chieftain, call, and thus did he command, "Bārī, take thou the *aipan*, and, for the

[1] As Māhil was brother of Malhna, the mother of the bridegroom, his presence at the wedding was necessary in order to represent her. His absence would spoil everything.

[2] In a Hindū marriage, important ceremonies take place at the gate or door of the bride's house, on the arrival of the bridegroom's party. The Paṇḍit is asked to fix an auspicious moment for their arrival there.

[3] A *ghaṛī* is a space of twenty minutes. A *chaughaṛī* is four of these, or eighty minutes.

[4] An *aipan* (Sanskrit *ālaṛpana*) is a paste of rice and turmeric, which is painted on images of the gods, on sacred vessels, etc. *Bārī* is "water", and a jar of water decorated with this *aipan*, called *aipan bārī*, is sent as a preliminary intimation of the arrival of the bridegroom's party. *Bārī* is also the caste-name of the servant employed to deliver the *aipan bārī* on such occasions. Rūpnā, as we shall see later, was a Bārī by caste.

Chandēl, the door-rite do thou achieve." Then quoth Rūpnā, "Hearken, brother, to my word. Think thou not that Delhi is as Naināgarh,[1] whence tookest thou Sunmā to be Ālhā's spouse. (200) No easy fort is Delhi, where dwelleth the brave Chauhān. Seven sons hath Prithīrāj, and of them not one feareth death. Set not thy hopes on me. I go not there to be beheaded." Then up spake Ūdan, "Hearken, brother, to my word. If from thy mouth issue such mean speech, gone for ever is thy Rājpūthood. Here, for the wedding, whether Brahmā remain or not, told of for aye will this day itself remain. Thee do I look upon as no mere Nēgī, but as a brother do I think of thee. Make thyself ready in the tent, and wend thou thy way to Delhi." And Rūpnā stood there with joinèd palms, and thus spake he:—

Rūpnā: Hearken, O brave Malkhān: send thou for Brahmā's horse, Harnāgar; (205) send also for his purple turban, and give thou them to me.

That which Rūpnā the Bārī asked for, he received, and then and there did he mount his horse. The *aipan bārī* took he, and his bow made he to the assembled chiefs. On the horse Harnāgar galloped he forth, and so did he approach the gate of Delhi. Then spake the guardian of the gate, "Stranger, hearken to my word. Whence comest thou, and whither dost thou go? What be thy name?"

Rūpnā: There is a city hight Mahōbā, and therein doth King Parmāl dwell. His son is Brahmānand, the Chandēl, and for marriage is he come. At the border lieth camped the wedding cavalcade, and Rūpnā Bārī is my name. The *aipan bārī* have I brought. Send for, and give to me my fee.

(210) *The Guardian of the Gate:* For the Rite of the Door what be thy fee? Tell thou to me, that the king I may advise.

Rūpnā: For full four *ghaṛīs*[2] let there be sword-play at the door, and there let there flow a stream of blood. Such be my fee for the Rite of the Door. Haste thou, and tell the King.

Two messengers hastened to the palace. There was the court of the Emperor (*Bādshāh*) assembled and thick was the throne-room crowded. Full two thousand valiant men were seated there, each with his naked sword in hand. Lancers were there three thousand, their

[1] Sunmā, Ālhā's wife, was the daughter of the Rājā of Naināgarh, and was won only after hard fighting. Rūpnā had there played the same part as that now entrusted to him, and barely escaped with his life.

[2] A *ghaṛī* = twenty minutes.

spear-points glittering in the light, and Dēbī, a Marāṭhā of the South, sat there with his naked sword upon his knee. Angad of Gwālior City was there and Randhīr of Lahore. Dhāndhū, Prithīrāj's brother's son,[1] was seated there with his naked sword upon his knee. (215) Bhūrā Mughul of Kābul was there—he who was not afraid to die; Rahmat and Sahmat of Jinsī, of the terrible two-edged swords. Bīr Bhugantā, the hero of Jagnik (he was chief of all the heroes), and eke the seven sons of Prithīrāj, whose names be these: Sūraj, Chandan, Sardan, Mardan, and Gōpī for the fifth; Mōtī and Tāhar, and know ye that in Tāhar had Karṇa become incarnate. Assembled was the court of Prithīrāj and crowded with such valiant men as these; and on the golden throne sat Prithī, as over him the tasselled chowries waved.

The messenger made his bow, and thus spake he with joinèd palms, "The Bārī hath brought the *aipan bārī* and standeth at the gate. (220) For full four *ghaṛīs* demandeth he a fight, and asketh that valiantly the sword at thy door may ply." When Prithīrāj heard these words, for his son Sūraj did he call. "Go, bind that Bārī's arms, and bring thou him before mine eyes." At these words did Sūraj take his shield and sword, and forth did set. But to Rūpnā the time had seemed long, and, without call, to the palace he himself had come. Pithaurā (i.e. Prithīrāj) was seated on his throne, and to him Rūpnā made his reverence. He raised the *aipan bārī* and placed it on the throne, and thus he cried, "The Bārī of the Chandēl am I. Call for, and give to me my fee." On hearing this for Tāhar did Prithīrāj send. (225) "Let not Rūpnā Bārī go, and have his head cut off." So at him did Tāhar rush, as the knights drew forth their swords. Many a sword-blow was aimed at Rūpnā, him did all the knights surround. Then Rūpnā of his life abandoned hope, and forthwith drew his blade, and as each knight struck at him, him felled he to the ground. To Prithī's throne he fought his way, and into the *aipan bārī* drove he his spear and so took it up. "Still to me is due my fee: to the marriage circuits will I come and take it," and with these words harked back he towards the gate. At him the Rājpūts rushed, and in the lanes surrounded him. He turned, and swords began to ring, and of scymitars rang loud the clang.

(230) Then to Harnāgar did Rūpnā call, "Hearken to my word. From thy colthood did Malhnā cherish thee, and cups of milk did she give thee to thy drink. To the Sons of the Moon hath a wrongful deed been done. Help me in my sore strait," and at these words Harnāgar

[1] He was son of Prithīrāj's brother, Khāṇḍē Rāi.

bounded forth and rushed into the lanes. Where one was killed by Rūpnā, the horse killed two; where two were killed by Rūpnā, the horse killed four. Each knight that came in front of him, to death he bit him. Right and left kicked he forth, till Rūpnā pulled a rein and turned him, and through the gate he bounded forth. Drenched with blood was Rūpnā, and scarlet dyed was the horse, and so, in four *ghaṛīs*, reached they the camp.

(235) To the tent where lay the Chandēl hied Rūpnā: and when he saw him drenched with blood, troubled in heart became Parmāl.

Ūdan: Tell me, Rūpnā, of the happenings at the gate.

Rūpnā: Ask me not, gallant Ūdan: for no words have I wherewith to tell it. Full of rage were three thousand knights, and mighty were the sword-blows struck. My trusty steel I plied, and turned them back, and back have I brought the *aipan bārī*.

Māhil saw this spectacle, and therewith called he for his mare. To them he said, "E'en now will I haste to Delhi, and to Prithīrāj this will I say, that Brahmā's door-rite he allow, and that he let the seven circuits be performed." Then leaped he on his filly, and to Delhi bent his course. The court of the Emperor (*Bādshāh*) was sitting, and crowded was the hall of audience when Māhil dismounted and in the middle took his stand. (240) When Prithīrāj saw him coming near, for him did he set a seat on high. "Come hither, O Māhil of Uraī, and tell to me thy tale."

Māhil: Hearken, Rājā, to my rede. Valiant, indeed, be the men of Mahōbā, and by thee never to be conquered. This be my counsel, and pay thou heed to it. To all the camp send sherbet, in the which poison hath been mixed. Drinking that sherbet will they all die, and thus thy credit and thy fame will safe be made.

(245) Then summoned Prithīrāj Sūraj his son. The four Nēgīs sent he for, and quickly had the sherbet mixed. With poison did he mingle it, and filled it into nine hundred jars. The four Nēgīs with him did Sūraj take, and at the head of the crew of bearers did he march, and in three *ghaṛīs* did they reach the camp. From the Guardian of the Gate he asked where Parmāl wonned, and to the tent where Parmāl abode made he his way. There, seated on his throne found he the Chandēl. Malkhān, the brave, was on his right, and Sūraj made his bow, and bade them in the tent to set the *bahangīs* [1] down.

Sūraj: The Emperor (*Bādshāh*) hath sent me, and sherbet have

[1] A *bahangī* is a pole with a sling at each end for carrying jars, etc., on the shoulder. Each *bahangī*, therefore, carried two jars of the poisoned sherbet.

I brought. Amongst thy knights distribute it, and for the Door Rites prepare.

(250) To Ūdan Malkhān made a nod, and in his hand he took a cup. Just then somewhere sneezed a knight, and Udan's mind was touched with doubt. Straightway called he for Dhēwā, and asked of him the meaning of the omen. The wise one oped his book and looked therein, and thus did he interpret :—

Dhēwā : The sherbet dispense thou to no one. A horrible thing it be, that beareth not the telling. In it hath Prithīrāj poison mingled, and should a knight peradventure taste it, he will die.

Then the chieftain, Udan, called for a dog. A cup with the sherbet did he fill, and give it to the dog to drink. E'en as he drank of it, the dog fell dead, and Ālhā's younger brother blazed with wrath. (255) In his hand he took a whip, and with it flogged the Nēgīs. Then all the sherbet that the king had sent, into the ditch they cast it, and fast, away to Delhi, fled Sūraj, the Nēgīs, and the burden-bearers.

The Emperor's court was assembled, and thither went Sūraj, and before the Presence made his bow.

Sūraj : Great diviners are the men of Mahōbā, and no omen escapeth them. All the sherbet that thou sentest them, that have they had cast into the ditch. Ālhā will come to perform the Door Rites. What then will Bhagwān [1] do ?

Māhil : Prithīrāj, hearken to my rede. At the door, into the ground drive a bamboo pole, and on the top thereof a pitcher fix. When Ālhā cometh tell him to take the pitcher down. Next, to thy two elephants, Jaŭrā and Bhaŭrā, give thou wine to drink, and when they be mad-drunk, at the door do thou let them loose. (260) Then, when the men of Mahōbā come, say to them, O brave Chauhān, "This be the custom of my land—and its own law hath every family—that whosoever cometh the Door Rite to perform, first must he fell these elephants, and after that from the pole must he take down the pitcher : and, not till he hath accomplished these, will word of the Door Rite be said."

With this did Māhil to the bridegroom's camp return, while Prithīrāj hastened to his antechamber, and into the palace sent he word. Within, they fixed the wedding standard, and with betel-leaves thatched they the wedding arbour. Pitchers of gold and stools of sandal-wood were duly placed in order. Forth sent he a command, and all the fair maids of Delhi did he summon to the bridal rite.

[1] A name of God.

(265) So happed the matter there. Now hear what followeth. To Malkhān spake Ūdan that in festive apparel he should deck himself, and have the Mahōbā force arrayed for the Door Rite of Brahmā, the Chandēl. Such was the news that spread throughout the camp, and each knight donned his armour and stood attent. The drum was beaten, and into the stirrup did each knight put his foot—on elephants and on horses did they ride. To the creaking of the cannons' wheels the army marched, and the litter of Brahmā was raised and surrounded by many nobles. As the red *dhāk*-leaves fly, when a storm comes up in Āsāṛh,[1] so waved the red silk pennants, so flaunted forth the banners on the elephants. (270) In a whirlwind rose the dust, and to the heavens it ascended. Ay, friends, to the heavens did it ascend, till the sun could not be seen. In a tumult of sound did the forces of Mahōbā advance. For full eight *cōs* did it stretch out, and all around was naught but darkness visible.

The messenger spied the army, and to the king went he, and with joinèd palms thus did he address him. "O king, keep thou thy wits most clear. Wherefore sleepest thou yet? The army hath come, and halteth at the door." Then did Prithīrāj summon Chaūṛā and Dhāndhū, and for his seven sons sent he. To Kamlā Kurmī of Tambūrā and to Randhīr of Lahore did he cry, "The Mahōbā wedding cavalcade hath come. (275) Now show ye care." Each king, who to the nuptials had been called, upon his elephant climbed, and on their horses rode the seven sons of Prithīrāj. Twelve pairs of kettledrums were beaten loud, and all arrayed stood the army of seven hundred thousand men. At their head, up to his border, marched forth Prithīrāj. Then spake he to his Paṇḍit, and thus instructed him:—

Prithīrāj: Send thou for cowdung, and at the doorway plaster thou a sacred square. Set there a golden pitcher, and a stool of sandal-wood. Fix there an image of the god Ganēś, and fill the square with pearls of elephants.[2]

Then to the Mahōbā camp did Prithīrāj send a messenger, and his son Chandan as his harbinger. (280) There did they arrive, and to Ālhā made he his bow. "As harbinger I come, and Prithīrāj it be who hath sent me." Then Ālhā gave the order and all the camp made ready. Up, by the bearers, was Brahmānand's litter raised, and all around, by many a noble of high estate was it escorted. On his right

[1] The name of a month, June-July.

[2] i.e. pearls of the largest size, which are believed to grow on the heads of elephants.

went Ālhā with Uday Singh Rāi,[1] and with him went Malkhān and King Parmāl.

When the two armies were but a little way apart, and were near to Delhi gate, then up spake Tāhar, and thus to Ālhā did he say :—

Tāhar: Hearken thou, now, Banāphar Rāi ; this be the custom of my land,—and its own law hath every family,—that whoe'er it be that cometh to the door, elephants twain to the ground must first he fell.

(285) There, by the door, the two maddened elephants, Jaūrā and Bhaūrā, swayed in mighty throes, as up the men of Sirsā came. Ūdan and Malkhān advancing stood by Ālhā, and just then were the elephants let loose and rushed upon the army. Amid the troops they whirled their chains, and hither and thither did they scatter them. Malkhān from the gate turned back and to the twain drew near. Dēvī did he invoke, and the feet of Śiva call to mind as he shouted at them and as he and Ūdan on them charged. One by the tusk he caught, and felled him to the ground, while Ūdan caught the other by the trunk, and dashed him down before the gate.

(290) Amazed was Tāhar at the felling of the elephants, but thus did he say to them : "First must thou take down that golden pitcher from the pole." Malkhai turned his eyes, and to Jagnaik then spake he, "'Tis thou to take it down, that so our task be crowned by success." Galloping came Jagnaik to the gate upon the horse Harnāgar, but Tāhar saw him coming and called to Kamlāpat, "He be thy worthy match who waiteth there. Take thou him captive, and bind him fast with chains." So Kamlā forward pressed his elephant and to Jagnaik cried, "If to the pitcher thou put forth thy hand, thee from thy steed will I cast down." At this did Jagnaik blaze with wrath, and fierce, like fire, shone his eyes. (295) He spurred his horse so that it reared, and with its fore-feet smote the forehead of the elephant. At Kamlāpat's mahout dealt he a blow, and felled him from the howdah to the ground. Amazed was Kamlāpat at this, and forth his sword he drew. Three mighty strokes he smote with all his strength, but Jagnaik received no wound, and in reply wheeled round his steed and at Kamlā rushed. With the boss of his shield he thrust the howdah-canopy, and to the ground hurled he its twelve pinnacles. His sword he drew and raised it over Kamlā. Through the shield of rhinoceros-hide and through its velvet lining did he rive, through twelve rings of Kamlā's coat of mail he cut, and down to his navel

[1] i.e. Ūdan.

his body did he cleave. Thus, when Jagnaik felled him, was Kamlā slain before the gate.

(300) For Rahmat and Sahmat then did Tāhar call. "Let ye none of the men of Mahōbā hence escape. Let no one of them unwounded go." They urged their horses forward to the pole, and then the gallant Ūdan turning looked, and summoned Mannā Gūjar. To the hero Dhēwā cried he, "Keep thy wits most clear, for here stand foemen worthy of thy steel, and in thine own hand lieth thy fealty." From their belts drew they their blades, and at the gate began their swords to ring, till wounded were Rahmat and Sahmat, and from before them fled. Then in single combat fought each knight, and both sides plied their swords, till Tāhar gave the order to his Rājpūts that they fire the guns. "Let ye no one of the men of Mahōbā hence escape. (305) Cut off the head of each," and at these words the seven sons of Prithīrāj drew their glaives. Here cannon-balls, there musket-shots were fired, there were wielded the mighty swords. Great was the turmoil as the balls, as the javelins, spears, and arrows smote. In close combat joined the two armies, and hand to hand was plied the dagger. Foot fought with foot, and horse encountered horse. With elephant elephant twisted trunk,—on them, with their iron goads, fought the mahouts, and when the posts of the howdah-canopies were jammed together, above them, with their daggers fought the riders. But a pace from each other fell the footmen, at each two paces lay a horseman, and, like a little hillock, to each *biswā*[1] lay an elephant dead. (310) Cut off were the heads of horses, slashed off were the faces of the footmen, hacked off were the arms of the Rājpūt knights, and down to the ground fell the wounded. Mānā-sāhī swords were plied and scymitars of Wilāyat: the clash of the broad-sword of Bardwān resounded, as the young beardless soldiers were cut down. The wounded lay in their blood and cried for but one drink; water became worth a golden mohur for a glass, and even so, though sought for, it could not be found. Some for their children wept, others for their parents screamed, and others yet again dropped tears for the new-wedded wives at home, whom they ne'er should see again. For a watch and a quarter did the combat last, and at the gate there ran a stream of blood. Over the door, were the wedding pitchers sunk in blood, and sticky became men's hands with the fat

[1] A *biswā* is a measure of area, the twentieth part of a *bighā*, which usually equals about five-eighths of an acre. There would therefore be thirty-two dead elephants to the acre.

of the dead. (315) In terraces were massed up the cut-off heads, and in great heaps were the bodies piled. Of Delhi, a hundred and fifty thousand knights lay dead before the gate, and of the men of Mahōbā were twenty thousand slain, where carcasses were heaped on carcasses. No one knew friend from foe, and ever around of "kill", "kill" rang the cry.

Ūdan came pressing on his horse Rās Bēndul to the pole, and to his steed he cried, "Now be the time for thee to save mine honour." Śiva, of the dark-blue throat, he called to mind, and Maniyā, the Guardian of Mahōbā. Then took he the name of Rāma Chandra, and prayed to Śāradā to be his help. He spurred his horse, and to the pitcher came he up. Yea, the pitcher fastened on the summit of the pole, that took he down. (320) Then the pitcher did Ūdan the gallant carry unto Tāhar, and thus spake he, "The fee thou didst demand, that have I fully paid. Now call for and give me mine." When Prithīrāj had seen the lads [1] and how they had done these deeds of derring-do, then quoth he, "Mighty champions, of a truth, are the men of Mahōbā, by whom my sword hath been defeated." Then had he the Rite of the Door performed for Brahmānand, and sent for and paid the wedding fees to all.

But Māhil heard of this, and hastened to the king.

Māhil: Water at thy hand will no man drink, if with Mahōbā thou make a marriage bond. Call thou Parmāl, and with him carry out the Rite of the *Samdhōrā*.[2] First let there be the Samdhōrā, and after that the seven wedding circuits: and, now, heed thou my rede. Ere ever they come to the Samdhōrā, cut off the heads of each and all.

(325) Then spake Prithīrāj to Ūdan, "Bring thou here Parmāl." So Ūdan pressed on his young horse, and to the litter did he speed. With joined palms he thus addressed the king, "Hear thou and heed, Parmāl. When thou the Samdhōrā hast performed, then can the marriage rite take place. To the gate art thou called. Father of my father,[3] come with me," and when the Son of the Moon [4] heard these words, for the gate he started forth. When the Chandēl's litter

[1] Ālhā, Ūdan, and Malkhān are throughout represented as mere boys, although valiant leaders of men.

[2] The two fathers-in-law of a bride and bridegroom are, respectively, *samdhī* to each other. The *samdhōrā* rite is the formal mutual recognition of the relationship. Between the two there is usually an exchange of presents and of cloaks and garlands.

[3] A title of respect, not of real relationship.

[4] i.e. Parmāl. See note 3 on p. 583.

reached the gate, there stood Prithīrāj, watching the way, and holding in his hand a betel-leaf.

Prithīrāj: King Parmāl, hearken. This be the custom of my land—and its own law hath every family—that in Delhi every rite and every custom is reversed, and as elsewhere no rite is done. (330) First fasten thou[1] this betel-leaf upon my breast, and then with Bēlā the wedding canst thou make.

When upon Prithīrāj's mighty form he looked, the legs of the Chandēl began to quake. A full yard broad was Prithī's chest, and like torches blazed his eyes. Thought Parmāl, "with Prithī, who can the Samdhōrā make? What Rājpūt hath been born who dare?" Then by a fever and an ague was he caught, and turning around, into his litter back he leaped. Yea, the litter of the Son of the Moon turned back and hastened to the camp.

Then Ūdan came to Ālhā. "O Elder Brother mine, hearken to my word. All Delhi mocketh that Parmāl the Samdhōrā dare not make." Up on his mare rode Malkhai, and halted on his right. (335) To him quoth Ūdan, "Hearken, Elder Brother mine, unto my word. Prithīrāj standeth waiting at the gate. Who is it that must go, and fix the betel-leaf upon his breast?"

Malkhān: Ālhā, Elder Brother mine, hearken thou to my rede. An elder brother to a father equal is. Therefore do thou advance and fasten on the leaf. This Prithīrāj's equal am not I, and how should I before him stand? But thou his equal art. Therefore do thou before him go.

The ladder then was placed against the elephant, and without hurry did Ālhā, the Banāphar Rāi, descend. Then strode he to the gateway, where awaiting him stood Prithīrāj. A spot of curd did Ālhā put on Prithī's breast, and, while the warriors that stood by the gate his action watched, with it did he stick the leaf. (340) So thus was done the Samdhōrā, and each with each embraced. To each there came the bitterness of death,[2] and from their bodies poured forth sweat. In his heart did the Chauhān hero ponder, "Mighty, in sooth, be the sons of Dēbī." Then quoth he, "Haste ye, Banāphars, to your camp, and send the bridal offerings.[3] Send ye, too, for your Paṇḍit, that he

[1] i.e. Parmāl is to do this to Prithīrāj. There is no exchange of courtesies, as usual elsewhere.

[2] Apparently the loving embrace was so powerful that each nearly crushed the other to death. In a subsequent canto Ālhā does actually squeeze Chaũṛā to death.

[3] The *Charhāō*, i.e. the present of ornaments and jewelry made by the bridegroom's party to the bride.

may fix the moment of good omen for the rite, and when the bridal offerings have been given, then will I suffer the seven circuits to be trod." To the camp did Ālhā and his army return, and back from its trenches did Prithī's soldiers to the palace wend their way.

Then to Malkhai did Ūdan speak that he should send the jewelled casket. (345) At once he summoned Rūpnā, and to him he made the casket o'er. To Delhi did Rūpnā take it, and there did he find the Nēgīs of Prithīrāj, and to them he handed it. These took it in their charge and brought it to the Painted Hall. Thither was Bēlā called, and to the marriage arbour did she come. With her came all her women, and together opened they the casket and upon the jewels looked; but when Bēlā saw them, with fire blazed her eyes. Each ornament that had been sent, with contempt she cast it forth, and about the arbour did she scatter them. "Call for the man," she cried, "who brought these from the camp." So Rūpnā, the Bārī, was sent for. Before her stood he with joinèd palms, and thus spake she to him:

(350) *Bēlā:* Hearken, Nēgī of the Chandēl. Behold it be ornaments of the Kali age that thou has brought; and yet it be me, me, that the Chandēl would in marriage take. Go back and tell thy cavalcade, and to Ālhā speak these words, "Ornaments of Hastināpur let him bring, and then let the Chandēl make the marriage circuits. Bracelets and garments of the Dwāpar age let the Banāphar bring, then only will the spousals be in Delhi. Nēgī, go back, and with thee this message take."[1] Straightway did Rūpnā return, and hasten to the camp.

In his tent was seated Ālhā, and to him Rūpnā bowed and louted low. Quoth Ālhā, "The news of Delhi tell thou me, and what the happenings in the palace."

Rūpnā: The ornaments thou sentest, all those did Bēlā fling away. Adornments of the Dwāpar age doth she demand, so see thou send them to her with all speed.

(355) Then Ūdan spake to Ālhā, "Tell me what meaneth this. Adornments of the Dwāpar age where can we find? For that, what means have we?" "In patience do thou possess thy soul. Even now for them I send," and with these words Ālhā took up his sword, and to Dēvī Śāradā's temple hastened forth. Oblations with prayers made he, and a wreath of cloves did he lay before her. Then, as he would

[1] See the notes to the introductory verses. The Kali is the present age. Bēlā was an incarnation of Draupadī, who lived in the Dwāpar age, at Hastināpur. She here remembers her former existence, and asks for the ornaments that, in her former birth, she wore in those old days.

make an offering of his own head upon the altar, Dēvī herself came down, and seized his hand. She cried, "For what and why dost thou of thy life an offering make? Ālhā! Tell me of thy case." Then Alhā humbly, with joined palms, replied, "Mother! My honour I would have thee to preserve. To handfast Brahmânanda am I come, and in Delhi hath the wedding been prepared. Now garniture of the Dwāpar days doth Bēlā seek. (360) Win them for me, I pray." So much heard Dēvī Śāradā, and she bade him sit and wait till she the garniture should find and give to him. Then sped she from the temple and to Indra's heaven did she wend her way. Upon his throne sat Indra, and before him came the Mother, Śāradā. Cried she, "Of Draupadī the nuptials have been stopped, for it be Brahmā in whom Arjuna hath become incarnate. It is of Bēlā that the wedding rites are stopped: therefore the garniture of Draupadī obtain for me." Thereon did Indra raise his eyes, and for the snake-god[1] Vāsuki, he called. "Bring me," quoth he, "the buried treasure whilom of Hastināpur, that Bēlā's marriage rites may be performed." The snake-god straightway hastened to Pātāla [the lower regions], and the old old jewel casket brought from thence. Indra gave it to Dēvī Śāradā. "With this," quoth he, "perform the nuptials of the Chandēl prince." (365) Then took she the casket, and to her temple did she carry it. To Ālhā, the Banāphar, gave she it, and with it he departed to the camp. Rūpnā Bārī did he summon, and by his hand he sent it to the wedding arbour. Rūpnā rode off and to the door he came. Within he sent the casket, and Bēlā, as she opened it and looked therein in heart rejoiced exceedingly. Gleefully did she laugh, as she donned the ornaments. "Now," cried she, "hath my soul's longing been fulfilled." And Rūpnā from the gate to the camp again returned.

Then his mare Lilī did Māhil mount and from the camp set forth. To Delhi hastened he, where was the brave Chauhān. (370) When Prithīrāj marked his approach, a seat on high for him did he command, and Māhil dismounted, and with a triple bow bent low. "What news of the camp?" Then Māhil made reply, "Of seven generations of thy forbears will be destroyed the fame, if Bēlā's seven circuits be performed. This counsel give I thee, and bear thou it, O brave Chauhān, in mind. To the arbour invite thou but the men of Mahōbā and their near of kin. In closets close by hide thou men of valour to behead them when they come." Quoth Prithīrāj, "Well, Māhil, mighty chief, hast thou counselled, and thus my honour will be saved."

[1] Snakes are the guardians of buried treasure.

Three thousand knights did he summon and hid them in the closets. Then summoned he the four Nēgīs and his son Chandan. (375) "Speed thou to the camp, and to Ālhā say, 'to the palace art thou invited, come thou in haste along with me.'" At this command, to the camp did Chandan wend his way. To Ālhā made he his bow, and loudly cried out thus, "For Delhi make thee ready, and the seven circuits will I have performed." Then shouted the gallant Ūdan to the drummers to beat the drum of the assembly, but Chandan said, "Hearken, Brother, this be the custom of my land—and its own law hath every family—that of the men of Mahōbā, only those near of kin to Brahmā with me may go. Fear of this dismiss thou from thy heart, for no one is a match for thee." Ganges water lifted he up, and on it swore this oath, "to you no hostile action will we do." (380) Then bestrode their horses Ālhā, Ūdan, Malkhai, and Dhēwā. Jagnaik, the Chandēl's sister's son, and Mannā Gūjar, became ready, and Jōgā and Bhōga, brothers of Ālhā's wife, the fierce Yādawā of Baurīgarh,[1] and he whose name was Mohan. Arose these heroes ten, each with his arms equipped. Ready became they, and took the road to Delhi—with them the litter of Brahmā, while Chandan led the way. At Delhi's gate did they arrive, and all, in formal wise, dismounted, when Chandan went in front and before Prithīrāj presented them. (385) "The near of kin alone," quoth he, "are come, and with them bring they the litter of the bridegroom." These words heard Prithīrāj, and then behind them did he bar the gate.

To the arbour advanced Brahmā's litter. The priest was summoned, and on the Vēdas began he to meditate. For Bēlā also did they send, and to the arbour did she come, the while, in the palace, her Delhi girl-friends sang the epithalamium. Here and here were Pandits reciting the Vēdas, there and there were pæans sung by bards, and thus the ten heroes of Mahōbā reached the spot. The Brāhmans, as they read, scattered grains of holy rice, and there and then began the wedding circuits to be paced.

(390) At the first circuit Sūraj drew his scymitar, but, as he struck the sword-blow at Brahmā, with his shield did Jagnaik ward it off. At the second circuit, Chandan drew his scymitar, but, as he struck the blow at Brahmā, Dhēwā received it and warded it from him. At the third circuit, Sardan drew his scymitar, but, as he struck the sword-blow at Brāhmā, Mannā met it with his shield. At the fourth circuit, Mardan drew his scymitar, but, as he struck the sword-blow

[1] He was Bīr Sāhi, whose son had married Chandrāvalī, Parmāl's daughter.

at his skull. Jōgā warded off the wound. At the fifth circuit, Gōpī drew his scymitar, but, as he struck at Brahmā's face, Bhōgā warded off the wound. (395) At the sixth circuit Hansā struck a blow, but on the right stood Ūdan, and caught it on his shield. At the seventh circuit, Tāhar drew his scymitar, but as he struck his sword-blow, Malkhai raised his shield. Thus was saved the son of the Chandēl, and thus were the seven circuits paced. Then called they the knights hidden in the closets, and to the arbour came they forth. Prithīrāj led them to the assault as they drew their glaives. Then in the arbour, swords were plied and countless blows were struck. Out clashed the broadswords and loud rang the scymitars. Two thousand did these ten men of Mahōbā strike down, and in the arbour kill. With blood were the marriage pitchers wet, and sticky became the posts with fat. (400) Sūraj bound they by his arms and him did they command to sow the rice [1] within the arbour. This, and to give away the bride, did Ūdan make him do. When Tāhar saw the game thus played, he blazed with wrath and called upon his knights, "Let not the men of Mahōbā go, but within the palace strike them down." There, in the arbour, again was plied the sword, and fast ran the stream of blood. There, on the spot, the very beheaded bodies raised themselves again and fought, and groaning, groaning, the wounded got up again to join the combat. Bēlā herself became bathed in blood, and with it were drenched her locks, while all the seven sons of Prithīrāj did Ūdan take and bind.

To Prithīrāj came running a messenger, "Seven sons hast thou, and Ūdan hath bound them all." (405) To him this news was as the crack of doom, and all his wits deserted him. "This fellow of Mahōbā is but a lad, yet hath he done so mighty a deed of derring-do!" Then to him up spake Chaūṛā,—and in him was Drōṇa incarnate,[2]—"Him, who rideth the horse Rās Bēndul, him who is hight Uday Singh Rāi,—Now to the palace will I go, and him will I fell and slay." Then forthwith to the arbour strode he, and quoth he, "Hear, Ālhā, Son of Dasrāj, hear thou, I pray, my word. An unseemly act be this that thou hast done, in that thou hast bound the sons of Prithīrāj. Unloose them, all the seven: for now the business is complete, [and, in their despite, hath the marriage been performed]." (410) So Malkhai was persuaded, and untied the arms of each, and Chaūṛā

[1] One of the wedding ceremonies.

[2] In the great war of the Mahābhārata, Drōṇa was the generalissimo of the forces arrayed against the Pāndava brothers. See the notes to the introductory verses of the poem.

called out loudly, "Make ye yourselves ready for the guestchambers, and into the women's quarters send ye the bride and bridegroom for the wedding meal."[1] Then to the arbour came the barber's wife, "The wedding breakfast," cried she, "is laid and ready, and becometh spoiled. Come, lad, come, and eat thy meal. For so hath Prithīrāj commanded, that the bridegroom, and he alone, may enter where the women dwell." Then quoth Ūdan, "Wife of a Barber, hearken to my word. This be the custom of my land,—and its own law hath every family,[2]—that the bridesman should accompany the bridegroom, and in the inner palace with him eat the meal." So, into the woman's quarters took she with her Brahmā and Ūdan, and to the five-storied wing sped Bēlā, while Brahmā and Ūdan went together into the Mirrored Hall.

(415) But Chaūṛā went to the Painted Palace, and there for a casket of ornaments did he send. Rings put he on his toes,[3] bangles put he on his wrists, and then did he put on female garb, a red cloth petticoat, and over it a sheet. All the ornaments that women wear did Chaūṛā don; and a poisoned dagger took he too. Under his arm he hid it, as with mincing gait the Mirrored Hall he entered, and took his station amid a crowd of seated women.

Queen Agmā called for a tray, and before the lads she placed it, and as they sat down to eat, to their right side came Chaūṛā. (420) When he saw Ūdan careless, he struck him with his dagger on the right, and as the bridegroom's brother received the blow he swooned, and to the ground he fell. At Ūdan's fall, the women-folk, all aghast, began to wail, and Agmā when she saw Chaūṛā's mighty arms, screamed out, "Chaūṛā, ne'er shouldst thou this deed have done, that treacherously thou hast Brahmā's brother slain. When Dēbī, his mother, heareth tell, into her belly will she strike a knife and die. He whose face is swarthy, he whose face as a coconut is round, he whose eyes recall the deer's; such was the knight, Chaūṛā, whom thou hast smitten. On thee may the thunderbolt of Indra fall!" When Brahmā saw Ūdan in his swoon, mazed did he become. For love of him was he greatly moved, and from his eyes there flowed a stream of

[1] The *Lahkaur*—a ceremonial meal of rice and milk eaten together by the bride and bridegroom. A woman of the barber caste takes a prominent part in wedding ceremonies.

[2] They want to get Brahmā alone into the Zanāna, in order that they may do away with him there. Ūdan sees through this and insists on accompanying him. In order to accomplish this he uses Prithīrāj's own argument, and his very words.

[3] He put on a *bichhiyī*, i.e. a ring worn on either the great or little toe, an *anwaṭ*, worn on the great toe, and a *nahiyī*, worn on the little toe.

tears. (425) "The hero of Mahōbā hath been stricken down. Across the ocean of our troubles who will now ferry us?" Queen Agmā to the five-storied palace, where Bēlā waited, hastened forth.

Bēlā: Why weepest thou, Lady Agmā, Mother mine?

Agmā: How can I, O my daughter, tell it to thee? By me to thee cannot the tale be told. Would that thou hadst died at thy birth, for then how could this dire calamity have come to pass! Treacherous Chaũṛā hath dealt treacherously, and by wile hath he the Lord Uday Singh struck down. The lad was but of tender years, and Chaũṛā hath with a dagger smitten him. To what device can I resort that thy younger brother may rise and sit with us again?

"Ũdan will I now restore to life. Tell me where he be," with such words did Bēlā grasp a knife, and go forth with her mother, the Lady Agmā. (430) She came to the hall where Ũdan lay, and as she looked on him she wept full sore. When she saw the wound of the valiant hero, she drew her knife. With it she cut her little finger and touched the wound with the blood that flowed therefrom. Straightway Ũdan's wound was healed and from his swoon he woke. With the cry of "Rām, Rām" did he arise, and again by Brahmā take his seat. Then over him did Bēlā utter spells, scattering holy grains and offering prayers, "May not a hair of thine be lost," the while the womenfolk sang songs of blessing and the name of Ũdan praised.

Forthwith the litter was sent for, and into it did Brahmā and Ũdan leap, and set forth from the palace to the camp. (435) They safely reached the tent of the Chandēl, where was seated King Parmāl. There descended they from the litter, and to the assembled knights they made their bow. The feet of the Chandēl they touched, and 'neath them placed their heads. Thereafter did the gallant Ũdan show his wound, while the brave Malkhān stood by and watched.

Ũdan: Chaũṛā as a woman dressed himself, and with a dagger smote me. But to my help Queen Bēlā came, and she it was who saved my life.

When the Chandēl heard these words, for a sack of golden coins sent he and these did he dispense in gifts to the barber, to the Brāhman, to the bards, and to the Nēgīs all. "Śāradā," quoth he, "hath been our help this day, that Ũdan alive hath been to us restored. Blessed be Dēbī, his mother, by virtue of whose holy deeds he hath been saved." (440) Ālhā and Malkhai then called he to the tent and thus did he command, "For the Paṇḍit send ye, and of him a time well-omened seek for us to pull our tent-pegs from the soil."

Then to Malkhai did Ūdan speak, "Brother, have thou performed the rites of the farewell. For Rūpnā, the Bārī, call thou, and by him send to Delhi word, that the bride's litter they make ready and have the farewell done with speed." Then Rūpnā sprang upon his steed, and came to Delhi's gate. Before the assembled court of Prithīrāj his horse he made to prance. At seven paces off he made his bow, and then quoth he with joinèd palms :—

Rūpnā: By the Chandēl am I sent. Hearken, O King, unto my word. The moment for our departure hath the Paṇḍit fixed. Therefore this day of days let us have the farewell made.

(445) *Prithīrāj:* Hearken, Rūpnā, to my rede. This be the custom of my land—and its own law hath every family—not now can the farewell of the bride be made. Within a year the *gaunā* [1] will I grant. Blessed be Ālhā and Ūdan who to the other side the raft have safely ferried o'er. In sooth, noble, I wot, are ye, all ye men of Mahōbā.[2] Take ye my word for this.

When Rūpnā heard these words, back to the camp he hied. To Parmāl made he his bow and to Ālhā his salutation, and to them told he all the words that Prithīrāj had said.

Then Ūdan said to Ālhā, "Hearken, brother, to my rede. Amarch set thou the army, and have the tent-pegs drawn." Through the army spread the news, and the knights had the tents all struck. (450) On the camels were loaded the baggage-sacks, and on the carts the tents. On the elephants climbed their riders, and on the horses leaped the cavaliers. Then Brahmā's litter took the road, forth started the army, and in eight days' time Mahōbā did they reach. By the Kīrat Sāgar [3] was fixed the camp of the Banāphars, and on high land and on low land did the knights pitch their tents and take their rest. Malkhai bade Rūpnā that to the palace he take the news. Forth hied he on the horse Harnāgar, and thither did he speed. Him coming a slave-girl saw, and to Malhnā hastened she. "From the troops, as harbinger, hath Rūpnā Bārī come, and even now he standeth at the gate." (455) Then set forth Malhnā, and with her all her women. In her own hand carried she a golden lamp which all around she waved.

[1] The formal taking away of the bride to her husband's house, which Parmāl wished to carry out at once.

[2] Prithīrāj here gives the lie to Māhil's insinuations in regard to the doubtful caste of the Banāphars.

[3] A famous lake close to Mahōbā.

Dēbī and Birmhā too set out and with them took Chandrâvalī,[1] and to the palace gate came all the twelve queens of Parmāl. The women-folk began to sing songs of blessing and to herald omens of welfare, while to the camp was sent a message, and forth set out the litter of Brahmā. It came to the palace gate, and there was carried out the *Parchhan*[2] rite, as over him did Malhnā wave her lamp. On his forehead did she paint the holy mark,[3] and over him sacred grains did she scatter. Then her present did she dispense and divide it among the Nēgīs. (460) Every Brāhman in Mahōbā did she call, and amid them did she pearls and diamonds scatter as her alms.

As the army marched up, for the first time over Delhi victorious, on all sides were fired salutes. Then to all the invited kings that had accompanied them were farewells bid, and into the inner palace came Ālhā, Ūdan, Malkhān, and Dhēwā. There touched they their mother's feet and placed their heads beneath them, what time the mothers praised their children and embraced them.

And Malhnā said, "O Ūdan, tell me truly. Why, O Banāphar lord, hast thou not brought the litter of the bride?" Then Ūdan joined his palms, and thus replied, "Mother,[4] to thee must I make the matter plain. The reverse of ours is the custom of the Chauhāns, nor with us would they the litter send. Within a year will be the *gaunā*, and on that day will I bring to thee the bride."

(465) Thus was made Brahmā's marriage, and thus at Delhi befell the fierce sword-play. And in Mahōbā were sung songs of joy, and in every house were hymns of blessing heard.

[1] Malhnā was Parmāl's chief queen, and mother of Brahmā. Dēbī was the mother of Ālhā and Ūdan, Birmhā was the mother of Malkhān, and Chandrâvalī was Parmāl's daughter.

[2] The rite of receiving the bridegroom at his home, on his return from the wedding.

[3] The *tilak*, painted with a yellow pigment called *gō-rōchan*.

[4] Malhnā was not the real mother of Ālhā and Ūdan, but she had brought them up with the greatest affection, and so they called her Mother, and looked upon her son Brahmā as their brother.

TWO PARALLEL ANECDOTES IN GREEK AND CHINESE

By Lionel Giles

"THE OPEN COURT" of March, 1912 (pp. 155 *seq.*), contains an account by Dr. B. Laufer of an ancient bronze mirror, half of which was found some thirty years ago in Siberia. On the back was a figure of Confucius, with the inscription—

孔　問　榮
夫　曰　啓
子　答　奇

This seems to mean "Jung Ch'i-ch'i replying to questions asked by Confucius". Afterwards, Devéria found an engraving of the complete mirror in 金 石 索 *Chin shih so*, vol. i. Confucius appears with a staff, Jung Ch'i-ch'i with a lute. The subject of this picture is the following anecdote told by 列 子 Lieh Tzŭ (i, 7):—

孔子遊於太山、見榮啓期[1]行乎成邱之野、鹿裘帶索、鼓琴而歌、孔子問曰、先生所以樂何也、對曰、吾樂甚多、天生萬物、唯人爲貴、而吾得爲人、是一樂也、男女之別、男尊女卑、故以男爲貴、吾既得爲男矣、是二樂也、人生有不見日月、不免襁褓者、吾既已行年九十矣、是三樂也、貧者士之常也、死者人之終也、處常得終、當何憂哉、孔子曰、善乎、能自寬者也。

Confucius was travelling once over Mount T'ai when he caught sight of Jung Ch'i-ch'i roaming in the wilds of Ch'êng. He was clad in a deer-skin, girded with a rope, and was singing as he played on a lute. "My friend," said Confucius, "what is it that makes you so happy?" The old man replied: "I have a great deal to make me happy. God created all things, and of all His creations man is the noblest. It has fallen to my lot to be a man: that is my first ground for happiness. Then there is a distinction between male and female, the former being rated more highly than the latter. Therefore it is better to be a male; and since I am one, I have a second ground for happiness. Furthermore, some are born who never behold the sun or the moon, and who never emerge from

[1] Used interchangeably with 奇 in the ancient script, according to the authors of *Chin shih so*.

their swaddling-clothes. But I have already walked the earth for the space of ninety years. That is my third ground for happiness. Poverty is the normal lot of the scholar, death the appointed end for all human beings. Abiding in the normal state, and reaching at last the appointed end, what is there that should make me unhappy?"—"What an excellent thing it is," cried Confucius, "to be able to find a source of consolation in oneself!"

A note in the *Chin shih so* names the 家語 *Chia yü* as the source of the story, while the *P'ei wên yün fu* (ch. ivA, f. 191) refers it to Chuang Tzŭ. Curiously enough, both references are wrong, for, as Dr. Laufer says, it seems to occur only in Lieh Tzŭ. Compare M. Pelliot's remarks on the subject in *T'oung Pao*, xx, 2, p. 146. But, although the anecdote is not repeated elsewhere in Chinese literature, a saying which is very similar to that of Jung Ch'i-ch'i has been preserved for us by two Greek authors. In Plutarch's *Life of Marius*, § 46, we find the following passage:—

Πλάτων μὲν οὖν ἥδη πρὸς τῷ τελευτᾶν γενόμενος ὕμνει τὸν αὑτοῦ δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἄνθρωπος, εἶτα Ἕλλην, οὐ βάρβαρος οὐδὲ ἄλογον τῇ φύσει θηρίον γένοιτο, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ὅτι τοῖς Σωκράτους χρόνοις ἀπήντησεν ἡ γένεσις αὐτοῦ

Plato, when his end was drawing near, gave thanks to his familiar spirit and to Fortune for that in the first place, he had been born a man and not a brute devoid of reason, and in the second, a Greek and not a barbarian; and moreover, that his birth had happened to fall within the lifetime of Socrates.

A passage in *Diogenes Laertius* (I. vii, 33), who probably lived in the second century A.D., forms an even closer parallel to the Chinese:—

Ἕρμιππος δ' ἐν τοῖς βίοις εἰς τοῦτον ἀναφέρει τὸ λεγομενον ὑπό τινων περὶ Σωκράτους· ἔφασκε γάρ, φησί, τριῶν τουτων ἕνεκα χάριν ἔχειν τῇ τύχῃ· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγενόμην καὶ οὐ θηρίον· εἶτα ὅτι ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐ γυνή· τρίτον ὅτι Ἕλλην καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος.

Hermippus in his *Lives* attributes to our philosopher (Thales) a saying which is sometimes told of Socrates. According to this authority, he used to say that he gave thanks to Fortune for three things in particular: firstly, because he had been born a man and not a beast; secondly, because he was a male and not a female; and thirdly, a Greek and not a barbarian.

The author of the work which goes under the name of Lieh Tzŭ was, so far as we can determine his date from internal evidence, a contemporary of Socrates. It is somewhat remarkable that there should be yet another passage in Lieh Tzŭ which finds a striking parallel in Plutarch:—

魏人有東門吳者、其子死而不憂、其相室曰、公之愛子天下無有、今子死不憂、何也、東門吳曰、吾常無子、無子之時不憂、今子死乃與嚮無子同、臣奚憂焉。

There was once a man, Tung-mên Wu of Wei, who when his son died testified no grief. His house-steward said to him: "The love you bore your son could hardly be equalled by that of any other parent. Why, then, do you not mourn for him now that he is dead?" "There was a time," replied Tung-mên Wu, "when I had no son. During the whole period that elapsed before my son was born, I never had occasion to grieve. Now that my son is dead, I am only in the same condition as I was before I had a son. What reason have I, then, to mourn?"—[*Lieh Tzŭ*, vi, 9 v°.]

With the above compare Plutarch's letter of consolation to his wife on the death of their daughter (*Moralia*, 610 D):—

Πειρῶ δὲ τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ μεταφέρουσα σεαυτὴν ἀποκαθιστάναι πολλάκις εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ, μηδέπω τοῦ παιδίου τούτου γεγονότος, μηδὲν ἔγκλημα προς τὴν τύχην εἴχομεν· εἶτα τὸν νῦν καῖρον τοῦτον ἐκείνῳ συνάπτειν, ὡς ὁμοίων πάλιν τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς γεγονότων· ἐπεὶ τὴν γένεσιν, ὦ γύναι, τοῦ τέκνου δυσχεραίνειν δόξομεν, ἀμεμπτότερα ποιοῦντες αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὶν ἐκείνην γένεσθαι πράγματα.

Of this, I will quote Philemon Holland's translation:—

Now, over and besides, endeavour to reduce and call again to mind the time when as we had not this daughter, namely, when she was as yet unborn; how we had no cause then to complain of fortune: then, see you join (as it were with one tenon) this present with that which is past, setting the case as if we were returned again to the same state wherein we were before: for it will appear (my good wife) that we are discontented that ever she was born, in case we make shew that we were in better condition before her birth than afterwards.

CHINESE RECORDS OF THE ARABS IN CENTRAL ASIA

By H. A. R. GIBB

THE Arab Empire of the Umayyad Period is still one of the problems of history. Muslim historians, in spite of their theological prejudice against the reigning house, display a not unnatural undercurrent of pride in its triumphs of conquest. European historians of the period fall into two classes: those who regard the Empire as an organized system of government, carrying on and blending the Roman and Persian traditions, and those who see in it an organized system of exploitation, copying the older administrations only so far as they ministered to the rapacity of the conquerors.

In this connexion particular attention has been devoted to the government of Khurāsān since Van Vloten drew up his indictment of "La Domination Arabe" in 1894. But in so far as conditions in Khurāsān are taken as typical of those throughout the Empire, the choice is far from happy. It is, in fact, the worst possible example. The Arab province of Khurāsān included not only the modern Persian province of that name, but extensive districts of Sijistan and Afghanistan, as well as all Transoxania up to the Pamir and the Syr Darya; it presented, therefore, the widest variety of local conditions, the problems of government at Nīsāpūr, for instance, being of an entirely different order from those of Sijistan, and these again from those of Transoxania. There must be taken into account, moreover, the fact that during the whole Umayyad period Khurāsān was a frontier province, engaged in constant warfare on three fronts against three different enemies, themselves but vaguely known to us. In the third place, there is an almost complete absence of any control on the narratives of the Arabic historians from external sources. Fortunately, however, in the very full translations from Chinese records of the T'ang period published by the late Professor Chavannes and others, there are a number of incidental references to the Arabs which shed some light on their operations in Central Asia. Many of them have already been collected or discussed, but a number of others have been overlooked or not yet fully elucidated. It is with these that it is now proposed to deal, in the hope that they may lead to some

provisional conclusions, pending a complete reworking of the subject. The great majority of references are taken from Chavannes' *Documents sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux* (St. Petersburg, 1903), and the same writer's "Notes Additionelles sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux", published in *T'oung Pao*, vol. v (1904), cited in the following pages as "Doc." and "Notes" respectively.

I. Military Activities of the Arabs in Central Asia

The first group of records relate to certain aggressive movements of the Arabs in the highlands.

(1) *circa* A.D. 710. "The king of Kapisa has a special corps to resist the Arabs." (Doc. 161.)

The principality of Kapisa, in the upper valley of the Panjshir, included at this period also the ancient Gandhara. (Doc., 130 n. 1.) The first wave of Arab conquest in Central Asia, about 670, closely approached Kābul, but after a few years was diverted to Transoxania. The relations of Kābul to Zabulistan are uncertain, but between 711 and 720 it was conquered and annexed by the king of Zabulistan. (Doc. 161; cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 248 ff.)

(2) According to the annals of the T'ang, King Chandrāpīda of Kashmīr sent an embassy to the Chinese court in 713 to invoke aid against the Arabs. (M. A. Stein, *Introduction to Kalhana's Rajatarangini* (Westminster, 1900), i, 67.)

It is hardly possible that this should refer to the operations of the Arab armies under Ibn Qāsim in Sind, since it was not until the following year that they reached Multan. (Cf. *Ibn al-Athīr* (Cairo ed.), iv, 220 and 240; A. Muller, *Der Islam*, 412.)

(3) "In 715 the Tibetans and Arabs, acting in concert, nominated a certain A-leao-ta king of Farghāna, and sent troops to attack Farghāna. The king's troops having been defeated, he fled to Kucha to ask help. . . . The governor put himself at the head of 10,000 troops from the neighbouring barbarian tribes, marched several thousand li to the west of Kucha, and subdued several hundreds of cities. He made forced marches and in the same month attacked A-leao-ta near the United Cities. After an eight hours' battle, he took these three cities and killed or captured over a thousand men. . . . Chinese prestige made the western countries tremble. Eight kingdoms, including the Arabs, Samarqand, Shāsh, and Kapisa, sent embassies with their submission." (Doc. 148, n. 3.)

In a previous article ("The Arab Invasion of Kashgar in A.D. 715," Vol. II, Pt. III. of the *Bulletin*) this extract has been already cited and

reasons adduced to show that it does not refer to the occupation of Farghāna by the Arab general Qutayba ibn Muslim.

(4) " In the seventh month of 717, the protector of Kucha reported that the Türgesh had brought in the Arabs and Tibetans with the intention of seizing the Four Garrisons (Kashgar, Khotan, etc.), and that they were besieging the cities of Yaka-aryk and Ak-su." (Doc. 284, n. 2.)

Under their Khan Su-Lu (716–738) the Türgesh tribes in the Ili valley won for a brief space the hegemony of the Western Turks.

(5) " Udyāna is bounded on the west [1] by the Arabs. During the period 713–741 the Arabs sought on several occasions to gain it to their side. In 720 the Emperor bestowed honorific titles on the kings of Udyāna, Yasin (or Mastuj), and Khuttal for their resistance to the Arabs." (Doc. 129 and n. 2.)

The latter part of this extract is repeated in " Notes ", 43, with the statement that Udyāna, Chitral, and Khuttal were neighbours of the Arabs. As Udyāna was situated in the Swat valley, this would indicate an Arab settlement on the Kabul river or thereabouts. Khuttal (in the fork of the Middle Oxus and Surkhab rivers) was engaged in constant warfare with the Arabs after the conquest of Ṭukhāristān by the latter in 710 (A.H. 91).

(6) After Kao-hsien-chih's march to Gilgit in 747, " Fu-lin, the Arabs, and the seventy-two kingdoms of the barbarians were seized with fear and made submission." (Doc. 151.)

In " Documents " Chavannes identified Fu-lin with Syria, but in " Notes ", 37, n. 3, he returned to the older identification with Byzantium. In either case, the statement is too obviously a boastful exaggeration to be taken seriously.

(7) In the revolts which spread throughout China after 751, the Emperor Hiuen-Tsong fled from his capital to Sechuan. In 757 his son, the Emperor Su-Tsong, succeeded in recapturing Ch'ang-ngan with the aid of troops from Kashgaria, Bishbalik, Farghāna, Ṭukhāristān, and the Arabs. (See Cordier, *Histoire Générale de la Chine*, i, 478.) According to the T'ang annals, these Arab troops were lent by the Caliph Al-Manṣūr.[2] The authority quoted by Chavannes (Doc. 158, n. 4, and 298 f.) states only that in the first month of 757 the Emperor learned that reinforcements from these

[1] This is Chavannes' amendment to the reading " East " of the original text. The latter is defended, however, by Sir Aurel Stein on the ground of possible Arab raids up the Indus from Sind (*Serindia*, i, 20, n. 41).

[2] See Bretschneider, *On the Knowledge possessed by the ancient Chinese of the Arabs*, p. 9; Wieger, *Textes Historiques*, 1648, etc.

countries were on their way to China, and that they were attached to the imperial army in the second month.

Instead of confirming the statements of the Arabic historians, however, these references raise a fresh problem. Scarcely one of them agrees with what we know of Arab activities in Central Asia. True, the Arabic historians are by no means exhaustive, but the entire absence of reference to all these expeditions, especially one of such importance as the last, is not easily accounted for. Many of the records refer to a period when we are exceptionally well-informed of the movements of Arab forces in Central Asia and India, the period namely of the conquests of Qutayba ibn Muslim in Transoxania and of Muḥammad ibn Qāsim in Sind. Neither expedition menaced Kapisa: why, then, did the king need a special corps to resist Arab attacks? We know also that these two expeditions occupied all the available forces of Hajjāj, the great viceroy of the East, and it is quite inconceivable that a third force should have been sent to operate unnoticed in the mountains of Afghanistan. Yet Arabs were invading the high valleys, intriguing with their petty princes, joining forces with the Türgesh and the Tibetans, settling in Gandhara. Their pressure, too, was apparently maintained when both to north and south the movement of conquest had subsided. One solution alone presents itself: these Arabs were not government troops, but were operating on their own account and independent of the imperial administration.

Such operations were no new or uncommon feature in the history of the Arab expansion. Little is said of them in the standard histories because these are concerned chiefly with official expeditions. Throughout the Umayyad period, for instance, there was a succession of tribal migrations, which led of necessity to local operations. In Wellhausen's view, the settlement of Khurāsān was largely effected in this way (*Das Arabische Reich*, 257). We find, too, that detached garrisons were expected to employ themselves in raiding unfriendly territory (*Ṭabarī*, ii, 1418, 15), while the adventures of Mūsā ibn Khāzim (*ib.* 1145 ff.) must be typical of many who set out on roving commissions when there was little regular fighting to be done. Traces of this are to be found on the Indian frontier. In 720 the king of the powerful Pallava empire in Southern India offered his assistance to the Chinese Emperor in the task of punishing the Arabs and Tibetans (Notes, 44), an offer probably occasioned by Arab raids over the Narbada. More significant is the statement in Balādhurī (445, quoted by Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 271)

that Al-Manṣūr's governor in Sind, in the course of his operations on the Indus, found a colony of Arabs in possession of Qandabīl (now Gandava in Baluchistan) and drove them out. Nothing could show more clearly how often such bands of adventurers must have been lost to the Arab world.

The political conditions of the Empire also favoured these developments. What happened in the end to all the decimated remnants of Khawārij and other outlaws? An important instance, which may furnish a clue, perhaps, to some of these Chinese records, is the large band of insurgents who were driven eastwards after the failure of Ibn al-Ashath's revolt in 701. The majority of them took part in the ill-fated attack on Khurāsān, but a number remained with their leader in his exile, and by agreement with Rutbīl, king of Zabulistan, settled in Kābul. On the death of Ibn al-Ashath, they were left unmolested, though Abū 'Ubaida, with a touch of malice, adds that Rutbīl told them to leave his land and go where they pleased. (*Tab.* ii, 1104, 1133, and 1135, 15; cf. Wellhausen, op. cit., 149.) The geographical situation of Kābul, as has been seen, exactly suits the "Arabs" of the Chinese records, while the silence of the Arabic records is explained. It is not impossible that they were used by Rutbīl in his conquest of Kapisa. Such a force would naturally become a band of professional mercenaries ready to serve any princeling who could offer sufficient inducements in the never-ending feuds of the high valleys.

The reference to Arab and Tibetan assistance to the Türgesh in their descent on Kashgaria in 717 is also, I think, to be explained in this way. The main Arab forces were heavily engaged at the time under Yazīd ibn Muhallab in the conquest of Jūrjān, while the garrisons of Transoxania were engaged in summer raids in Soghd (*Bal.* 425). The Arabs of Su-Lu's exploit were almost certainly mercenaries, as some writers have already suggested. In this connexion it is instructive to note Su-Lu's offer to take into his service the Arab garrison of Kamarja during his blockade of them in 729 (*Tab.* ii, 1518, 14).

There are two other possible explanations, however, of the Chinese narrative regarding Farghāna in 715. The death of Qutayba in August of that year was followed by the withdrawal of the Arab forces, so that the incursion of the Tibetans would seem to have occurred just as the Arabs were retiring. It is possible that a number of Arab troops stayed behind on their own account, and that these made common cause with the Tibetan invaders. More probably, however,

as both Arabs and Tibetans had invaded Farghāna in the same year, the Chinese assumed that they were acting in collusion. The statement as to the submission of the Arabs is explained by the embassy sent by the Caliph Sulaymān in the following year.

These two references to joint action by Arabs and Tibetans, together with such other records as that of the embassy sent by the Pallava king in 720, seem to be the basis on which a widely held theory of Arab and Tibetan co-operation has been built. On closer examination, however, it is obvious that this association is entirely fortuitous. So far as we can judge, it is not the case that the Arabs in 715 sought the assistance of Tibet in Farghāna, a province which they had conquered two years before, while the repeated statement that in return they assisted the Tibetans to make a descent on Kashgaria is in direct contradiction to the Chinese record. This hare, first started apparently in the ill-informed work of Cahun (*Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie*, Paris, 1896), has grown in more recent works to a grandiose political scheme, whereby the Arabs and Tibetans, by linking up across the Pamir, sought to prevent the extension of Chinese influence to the south and west. Nothing could be more unlikely. The direction taken by both the Tibetan and Arab movements of expansion was determined by different natural factors, and until more definite evidence of an agreed policy is produced the theory must remain groundless. All that we do know of early Arab relations with Tibet is that when, in the early 'Abbāsid period, Muslim rule was definitely established in the highlands of Central Asia the Arabs and Tibetans came into prolonged conflict. (Bretschneider, op. cit., 10; Wieger, op. cit., 1717: *Tab.* iii, 815.)

There remains the expedition in aid of Su-Tsong in 757. Though the T'ang annals claim that the Arabs were sent by Al-Manṣūr, there appears to be no record whatever of the expedition in the Arabic sources. The account given by Chavannes shows the Arabs as forming merely one group in a composite force of mercenaries from Central Asia. That this is correct appears also from the statement in the T'ang annals (see Wieger, 1684) that Su-Tsong dispatched native envoys to all the "Barbarian kingdoms" of the west, including Transoxania, and even into Khurāsān, to promise rich rewards to all who would take up arms in his service. An expedition with such alluring prospects would naturally attract the unsettled elements amongst the Arabs of the east, though it is perhaps possible in view of the close diplomatic relations between the two courts, as will be seen

later, that this force was formally authorized by the Arab government. But the other units came from countries not subject to the Caliphate,[1] and that a corps of Arab imperial troops should have been sent by Al-Manṣūr, of all caliphs, to serve under a foreign commander on an equal footing with peoples whom they regarded as barbarians, in a distant country and on a quarrel with which they had no concern, is quite unthinkable. Whether the Caliph's permission was given or not, however (and it is not impossible that the insertion of Al-Manṣūr's name in the T'ang annals is meant to imply his recognition of Chinese suzerainty), the presumption that the Arab force was composed of adventurers acquires practical certainty if there is any truth in the Chinese Muslim tradition of this event. None of them, it seems, ever returned to the west. The gratitude of Su-Tsong enabled them to settle on the scene of their exploits, and several authorities have attributed to them the genesis of the Muslim community in China.[2]

II. Diplomatic Relations with China

It has long been a matter of common knowledge that Hārūn ar-Rashīd received an embassy from Charlemagne and sent one to the court of China. This has been regarded as unique in the history of the mediaeval world, though it is characteristic of the lack of interest shown by Muslim chroniclers in Muslim relations with other peoples that neither event is recorded by them. An earlier embassy to China in the third year of the reign of Al-Manṣūr was known also, owing to the circumstance that the Arab ambassadors arrived at the court at the same time as those from the Uigurs and that the master of ceremonies had recourse to the familiar plan of conducting them to the audience hall through different doors. (Bretschneider, 9–10.) Even with these two instances, doubt was long cast on the authenticity of Qutayba's embassy in 713, the only one known to us from Arabic sources. Three apparently isolated cases, however, do not prepare us for the surprise with which we read the long list of Arab embassies to the court of China contained in Chavannes' "Notes". These are as follows:—

716, 7th month. The Amīr al-Mu'minīn Sulaymān sent an ambassador to offer a robe of gold-threaded tissue and a jade bottle with ornaments of jewels (Notes, 32).

[1] Since Ṭukhāristān, though a vassal state, still had a free hand in directing its eastern policy.

[2] See Isaac Mason, *The Arabian Prophet. A Life of Mohammad from Chinese Sources* (Shanghai, 1921), p. 271.

719, 6th month. The kingdom of the Arabs, the kingdoms of Tukhāristān, Samarqand, and others sent ambassadors to render homage and pay tribute (p. 41).

725, 1st or 3rd month. The Arabs sent their general Sulaymān with eleven (or twelve) others to offer the products of their country. They were favourably received and sent back with presents (p. 46; cf. Wieger, 1645).

728, 3rd month. Eight envoys of the Arabs including the dignitary T'i-pi-lo came to pay homage (p. 48).

729, 9th month. Ambassador from the Arabs (p. 50).

733, 12th month. The king of the Arabs sent the high dignitary Mo-se-lan Ta-kan and others, who came to pay homage (p. 56).

741, 12th month. A high dignitary of the Arabs Ho-sa came to pay homage; he was given presents and sent back to his land (p. 66).

744, 7th month. The kingdoms of the Arabs, Samarqand, Ishtīkhan, Māyamargh, Zabulistan, Ṭukhāristān, the Türgesh, and Shāsh, all sent ambassadors to offer horses and precious objects (p. 72).

745, 5th month. Embassy of the Arabs (p. 74).

747, 5th month. Embassy of the Arabs (p. 80).

752, 12th month. Sie-to-ho-mi (chief of) the Arabs with black garments [the 'Abbāsids] sent an ambassador to pay homage. He was received with honour and sent back to his country (p. 85).

753, 3rd and 4th months. 'Abbāsid embassies (p. 86).

753, 7th month. The 'Abbāsids sent 25 chiefs to pay homage. They were given honorific titles and presents, and sent back (p. 86).

753, 12th month. The 'Abbāsids sent an ambassador to offer 30 horses (p. 88).

754, 4th month. 'Abbāsid embassy (p. 89).

755, 7th month. 'Abbāsid embassy (p. 93).

756, 7th month. 'Abbāsid embassy of 25 chiefs (p. 93).

758, 5th month. Embassy of six chiefs of the 'Abbāsid Arabs, including Nao-wen (p. 94).

758 or 759, 12th month. The ambassador of the 'Abbāsid kingdom of Pa-t'o, named Fu-sie-to, returned to his country with presents (pp. 95–6).

The record unfortunately stops at this point, but there is no reason to doubt that such embassies continued for many years. The authenticity of the entries is beyond all serious question, not only on the ground of the general reliability of Chinese official records in these matters, but on the internal evidence offered by the accuracy of detail. The caliph in 716 was actually Sulaymān, and the appearance of the "Arabs with black garments" coincides exactly with the establishment of the 'Abbāsid power. Is it possible that the mysterious Sie-to-ho-mi may be a misreading intended for (Aṣ-)Ṣaffāḥ Amīr (al-Mu'minīn)? The names generally are puzzling. Ho-sa may

stand for Haṣan and T'i-pi-lo for Di'bil, though it is not to be expected that they can ever be identified personally. The Turkish title suggests that Mo-se-lan stands for a Turkish name. Of the last entry I can make nothing at all. Further, the series of embassies breaks off abruptly at the close of 733, when Transoxania was all but lost to the Arabs, to resume only in 741, when the gallant Naṣr ibn Sayyār had restored the caliph's authority up to the Syr Darya. The break between 747 and 752 coincides also with the civil war in Khurāsān leading up to and following the rise of the 'Abbāsids.[1]

These considerations lead to the conclusion that in the great majority of cases, if not in all, the embassies were dispatched not by the caliph himself, but by the governor of Khurāsān in his name.[2] The precedent for this practice was undoubtedly set by Qutayba ibn Muslim, possibly at the instigation of the far-sighted Hajjāj: it was taken up by Yazīd ibn Muhallab, eager to rival, if not outdo, his famous predecessor in all respects, and followed by every successive governor of Khurāsān who plays any worthy part in the history of that province, such as Asad ibn 'Abdullāh, Ashras, Junayd, Naṣr ibn Sayyār, and Abū Muslim. Conjecture has often been made as to the purpose and scope of these embassies, but only two reasons seem at all likely. They may have had political objectives, as, e.g., an alliance or understanding against their common enemy, the Western Turks. Or they may have been commercial missions, intended to foster trade relations, particularly in the matter of the overland silk trade. The frequent association of Arab embassies with those from Samarqand and the other kingdoms of Transoxania makes it almost certain that the second reason is the correct one in many cases, though other of the embassies may well have had political motives.

This then is a notable fact in estimating the Umayyad administration. In the process of conquest Transoxania, as we know, was cruelly wasted, but no sooner is the conquest complete and tranquillity restored than the governors make it their business to co-operate with the conquered states in the restoration of that trade which was the life-blood of the country. Though such a claim may seem to postulate unusual sagacity on the part of the Arab governors, the fact, I think, cannot be doubted. The explanation is perhaps to be found in the very rapid growth of Persian influence in the government of Khurāsān.

[1] It is quite clear that the embassies travelled overland, and were not casual visits of seafaring merchants, as has been suggested.

[2] The horses offered were most probably not Arab horses but those of the celebrated Ṭukhārī breed.

Persian, and to a lesser degree Turkish, officials from the conquered districts were early entrusted with positions of high responsibility. It is not at all unlikely, as is indicated by the Turkish title of Junayd's envoy in 733, that in many cases high native officials or the embassies of local states, who maintained throughout the closest relations with the Chinese court, were empowered to represent the government. The constant reference to homage paid by these ambassadors need not surprise us: doubtless the Arabs had no intention of the sort, but found it more easy and profitable, after the experience of Qutayba's embassy, to follow the recognized usages of the Chinese court.

The early T'ang period, in which Chinese influence attained its widest range, seems to have marked the culmination of this system of embassies. It was no doubt encouraged by the emperors in order to heighten their prestige by the evidence of the might and extent of the empire. The court at Baghdād must have been the scene of similar embassies: this is probably the fact underlying the statement of an Arabic historian (Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii, 479) that on the accession of Al-Manṣūr's son Al-Mahdī in 775, the Emperor of China, the kings of Tibet, Sind, Hind, and all the princes of Central Asia and the Turks sent in their allegiance. But for this brief space Ch'ang-ngan was the centre to which every kingdom in Asia was oriented. Of it could be said, as well as of Rome, that its mission was "to impose the settled rule of peace, to spare the humbled and to crush the proud". It is an unexpected sight in that Asia whose colossal empires and civilizations always seem to us so self-contained and rigidly aloof. From all quarters of the continent, from the steppes and the mountains, Indians, Arabs, Koreans, Tibetans, Japanese, Turks, Annamites, pass through the same audience chamber, each with their complaints and demands and quaint menagerie of presents. Little they ever brought back but fair words and grandiose titles, but it would be strange if there were not, in a few finer minds at least, some vision of that breaking down of barriers after which Asia, and Europe too, still strives.

TEXT AND TRANSLITERATION OF GRAMOPHONE RECORDS IN MANDARIN AND CANTONESE

Each record is in two parts. Part I contains Chapter XI, Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Sacred Edict; and Part II, Chapter I, of the Great Learning.

Record No. 1, Part I

Mandarin and Literal Translation

(Line 1) Wan 4 sui 4 yeh 2 i 4 ssŭ 1 shuo 1, jên 2 chia 1 tu 1
His majesty meaning says people all

yu 3 erh 2 tzŭ 3 hsiung 1 ti 4, chê 4 hsieh 1 shao 4 nien 2
have sons (younger) brothers. These several young years

tzŭ 3 ti 4 (2) tu 1 kai 1 chiao 4 hsün 4 ti 1.
sons brothers all should (be) taught instructed (ones).

Ni 3 k'an 4 ku 3 hsien 1 shêng 4 wang 2 li 4 ti 1
You look ancient previous sacred monarchs established

kuei 1 chü 4 chiao 4 hsiang 1 ts'un 1 ch'êng 2 shih 4
the rule usage instruct country villages city places

(3) tu 1 shê 4 li 4 hsieh 1 shih 1 chang 3, yu 3
all arrange establish several teachers elders, also

chiao 4 mei 3 yüeh 4 ch'u 1 i 1 jih 4 chiang 3 shuo 1
instruct each month at first day expound speak
(cause)

ch'ao 2 t'ing 2 fa 3 lü 4, yu 4 (4) i 1 nien 2 i 1 pien 4
court's laws regulations, also one year one time

k'ao 3 ch'a 2 tzŭ 3 ti 4 ti 1 hao 3 tai 3.
examine investigate sons (younger) brothers' good evil.

Tzŭ 3 ti 4 yu 3 ch'u 1 ping 1 tsai 4 ying 2
Sons (younger) brothers have gone soldier in barracks

Note.—Figures in brackets (2) indicate the beginnings of the lines of the Characters, reading R to L.

SACRED EDIT. CHAPTER XI, PARAGRAPHS 1 AND 2

萬歲爺意思說人家都有兒子兄弟這些少年子弟都該教訓的你看古先聖王立的規矩教鄉村城市都設立些師長又教每月初一日講說朝廷法律又一年一徧考察子弟的好歹子弟有出兵在營伍中的也教他習技藝知紀律這些規矩總因人生在世全靠子孫接後代人家興是子弟人家敗也是子弟

但天下那個人生下來就是賢人都是教訓成了的那個人生下來就是惡人都是不教訓壞了的所以人家子弟們不學好都是你們做父兄的不是怎麼說父兄的不是呢大凡人從五六歲到二十來歲

wu 3 chung 1 (5) ti 1 yeh 3 chiao 4 t'a 1 hsi 2 ch'i 4
camps therein are also instruct him practice skill

i 4, chih 1 chi 4 lü 4, chê 4 hsieh 1 kuei 1
scientific, know arranged laws (military) These several rules

chü 4 tsung 3 yin 1 jên 2 shêng 1 tsai 4 shih 4 (6) ch'üan 2
usages generally because men born into world all

k'ao 4 tzŭ 3 sun 1 chieh 4 hou 4 tai 4. Jên 2
rely sons grandsons connect (perpetuate) future generations. Man

chia 1 hsing 1 shih 4 tzŭ 3 ti 4, jên 2 chia 1
family prosperity is (in) sons (younger) brothers, man family

pai 4 yeh 3 shih 4 tzŭ 3 ti 4. (7) Tan 4 t'ien
ruin also is (in) sons (younger) brothers Now, heaven

hsia 4 na 3 kê 4 jên 2, shêng 1 hsia 4 lai 2 chiu 4 shih 4
under which one man born has come who is

hsien 2 jên 2 tu 1 shih 4 chiao 4 hsün 4 ch'êng 2 liao 3
good man all is taught instructed attain- ed

(8) ti 1. Na 3 kê 4 jên 2 shêng 1 hsia 4 lai 2 chiu 4 shih 4
it. Which one man born has come who is

ê 1 jên 2 tu 1 shih 4 pu 4 chiao 4 hsün 4 huai 4 liao 3 ti 1,
evil man all is not taught instructed spoil- ed it,

so 3 (9) i 3 jên 2 chia 1 tzŭ 3 ti 4 mên 2 pu 4
Thus therefore men home sons brothers (plural) not

hsüeh 2 hao 3 tu 1 shih 4 ni 3 mên 2 tso 4 fu 4
learn goodness all are you (plural) act fathers'

hsiung 1 ti 1 pu 2 shih 4. Tsên 3 (10) mo 4 shuo 1
(elder) brothers' not right. How why say

fu 4 hsiung 1 ti 1 pu 2 shih 4 ni 1. Ta 4 fan 2
fathers' brothers' not right? Great all (i.e. general rule)

jên 2 ts'ung 2 wu 5 liu 4 sui 4 tao 4 erh 4 shih 2 lai 2 sui 4
men from five six years to two tens about years

(11) t'ung 2 hsin 1 wei 4 sang 1, chih 1 shih 4
boy's heart not lost, knowledge experience

chien 4 k'ai 1, chêng 4 shih 4 chin 3 yao 4 ti 1
gradually expand, exactly is pressing important (i.e. critical)

SACRED EDIT. CHAPTER XI, PARAGRAPHS 1 AND 2

童心未喪知識漸開正是緊要的關頭偏偏你們做
父兄的只知疼他愛他怕他啼哭儘他要的便都給
他知他惱的便替他打罵出氣給他好衣服穿花々
綠々要叫人好看給他好東西喫寧可自己不喫要
顧兒顧女見他罵人不嗔怪他反說他罵的好見他
打人反說他性子利害是不怕人的明曉得子弟不
是偏生護短反說小孩子家不過頑要頑要罷了何
妨呢明曉得子弟下賤偷人東西反誇他伶俐從小
就顧家旁人說他的兒子不好反嗔怪別人

kuan 1 t`ou 2, p`ien 1 p`ien 1 ni 3 mên 2 tso 4
concern time (period) inclination you (plural) act

(12) fu 4 hsiung 1 ti 1 chih 3 chih 1 t`êng 2 t`a 1 ai 4
fathers (elder) brothers only know love him love

t'a 1, p`a 4 t`a 1 t'i 2 k`u 1, chin 3 t`a 1
him (i.e. pet and fondle) afraid he weep cry, simply (wholly) he

yao 4 ti 1 pien 4 tu 1 kei 3 (13) t`a 1, chih 1 t`a 1 nao 4 ti 1
wants what then all give him. Know him vex him
(i.e. knowing those who know their faults and vex them)

pien 1 t'i 2 t'a 1 ta 3 ma 4 ch`u 1 ch`i 4 kei 3 t'a 1 hao 3
then behalf him beat revile out anger, give him good
(vent anger by beating and reviling)

i1fu 2 ch`uan 1, hua 1 hua 1 (14) lü 4
clothes (to) wear, variegated variegated, flowered

lü 4, yao 4 chiao 4 jên 2 hao 3 k`an 1, kei 3 t`a 1 hao 3
flowered, want cause people beautiful see, give him good

tung 1 hsi 1 ch`ih 1 ning 2 k`ê 3 tzŭ 4 chi 3 pu 4 ch`ih 1,
things to eat, better even if you yourselves not eat.

yao 4 (15) ku 4 erh 2 ku 4 nü 3 chien 4 t`a 1
Want protect sons, protect daughters seeing him

ma 4 jên 2, pu 4 ch`ên 1 kuai 4 t`a 1, fan 3 shuo 1 t`a 1
revile man, not heedful blame him, reverse say he
(on the other hand)

ma 4 ti 1 hao 3, chien 4 t`a 1 (16) ta 3 jên 2 fan 3 shuo 1
revile is good, seeing him beat man reverse say

t`a 1 hsing 4 tzŭ 3 li 4 hai 4, shih 4 pu 4 p`a 4
he temperament formidable severe, is not afraid-of

jên 2 ti 1, ming 2 hsiao 3 tê 2 tzŭ 3 ti 4 pu 2 (17) shih 4
man. Clearly knowing (the) young boys not right

p`ien 1 shêng 1 hu 4 tuan 3, fan 3 shuo 1 hsiao 3
insist screen shortcomings alternately saying small

hai 2 tzŭ 3 chia 1 pu 4 kuo 4 wan 2 shua 3 wan 2 shua 3 pa 4
children not more making fun making fun that's

The Great Learning, Chapter I

大學之道。在明明德。在親民。在止於至善。知止而后有定。定而后能靜。靜而后能安。安而后能得。物有本末。事有終始。知所先後。則近道矣。古之欲明明德於天下者。先治其國。欲治其國者。先齊其家。欲齊其家者。先修其身。欲修其身者。先正其心。欲正其心者。先誠其意。欲誠其意者。先致其知。致知在格物。物格而知至。知至而后意誠。意誠而后心正。心正而后身修。身修而后家齊。家齊而后國治。國治而后天下平。自天子以至於庶人。壹是皆以修身為本。其本亂而末治者否矣。其所厚者薄。而其所薄者厚。

liao 3, ho 2 (18) fang 1 ni 1, ming 2 hsiao 3 tê 2 tzŭ 3
all, what harm ? Clearly knowing well the

ti 4 hsia 4 chien 4, t'ou 1 jên 2 tung 1-hsi 1, fan 3
young ones down mean (and) steal people's goods, contrary

k'ua 1 t'a 1 ling 2 li 4, ts'ung 2 hsiao 3 (19) chiu 4 ku 4
brag they quick clever, from youth are regarding (providing for)

chia 1. P'ang 1 jên 2 shuo 1 t'a 1 ti 1 erh 2 tzŭ 3 pu 4 hao 3,
family. Side people say their sons not good,

fan 3 ch'ên 1 kuai 4 pieh 2 jên 2.
contrary blame scold those men.

Record No. 1, Part II

Mandarin and Literal Translation

(Line 1) Ta 4 hsüeh 2 chih 1 tao 4 tsai 4 ming 2
Great Learning's teaching is in, illustrating

ming 2 tê 2, tsai 4 hsin 1 min 2 tsai 4 chih 3 yü 2
illustrious virtue, in renovating (the) people, in resting in

chih 4 shan 4. Chih 1 chih 3, erh 2 hou 4 (2) yu 3
extreme goodness. Knowing resting (place) and thereafter have

ting 4, ting 4, erh 2 hou 4 nêng 2 ching 1; ching 1 erh 2
settled settled and thereafter able (be) calm; calm and (object of pursuit)

hou 4 nêng 2 an 1; an 1 erh 2 hou 4 nêng 2
thereafter able (be) tranquil; tranquil and thereafter able

lü 4; lü 4 erh 2 hou 4 (3) nêng 2 tê 2. Wu 4
deliberate; deliberate and thereafter able attain. Things

yu 3 pên 3 mo 4, shih 4 yu 3 chung 1 shih 3; chih 1 so 3
have root branch, affairs have end beginning; know what

hsien 1 hou 4 tzê 2 chin 4 tao 4 i 3; ku 3 chih 1
first last then near teaching surely; Ancient ones

(4) yü 4 ming 2 ming 2 tê 2 yü 2 t'ien 1 hsia 4
wishing illustrate illustrious virtue in heaven under

chê 3, hsien 1 chih 4 ch'i 2 kuo 2; yü 4 chih 4 ch'i 2
those, first ordered their kingdom; wishing order their

THE GREAT LEARNING, CHAPTER I

未之有也。

右經一章。蓋孔子之言而曾子述之。其傳十章則曾子之意而門人記之也。舊本頗有錯簡。今因程子所定而更考經文列為序次於左。

康告曰。克明德。太甲曰。顧諟天之明命。帝典曰。克明峻德。皆自明也。

右傳之首章。釋明明德。

kuo 2 chê 3 hsien 1 ch'i 2 ch'i 2 (5) chia 1; yü 4
kingdom they first regulated their families; wishing

ch'i 2 ch'i 2 chia 1 chê 3 hsien 1 hsiu 1 ch'i 2 shên 1;
regulate their families they first cultivated their persons;

yü 4 hsiu 1 ch'i 2 shên 1 chê 3 hsien 1 chêng 4 ch'i 2
wishing cultivate their persons they first rectified their

hsin 1, yü 4 (6) chêng 4 ch'i 2 hsin 1 chê 3 hsien 1
hearts; wishing rectify their hearts they first

ch'êng 2 ch'i 2 i 4; yü 4 chêng 2 ch'i 2
(made) sincere their thoughts; wishing (make) sincere their

i 4 chê 3 hsien 1 chih 4 ch'i 2 chih 1; chih 4
thoughts they first extended their knowledge; extended

chih 1 tsai 4 (7) kê 2 wu 4; wu 4 kê 2
knowledge is in investigation things; Things investigated

erh 2 hou 4 chih 1 chih 4; chih 1 chih 4 erh 2
and thereafter knowledge extends; knowledge extended and

hou 4 i 4 ch'êng 2; i 4 ch'êng 2 erh 2 hou 4
thereafter thoughts sincere; Thoughts sincere and thereafter

hsin 1 ch'êng 4; hsin 1 (8) chêng 4 erh 2 hou 4 shên 1
hearts rectified; hearts rectified and thereafter persons

hsiu 1; shên 1 hsiu 1 erh 2 hou 4 chia 1 ch'i 2;
cultivated; persons cultivated and thereafter families regulated;

chia 1 ch'i 2 erh 2 hou 4 kuo 2 chih 2; kuo 4
families regulated and thereafter state orderly; state

chih 4 erh 2 (9) hou 4 t'ien 1 hsia 4 p'ing 2. Tzŭ 4 t'ien 1
orderly and thereafter heaven under peace. From heaven
(under heaven = China)

tzŭ 3 i 3 chih 4 yü 4 shu 4 jên 2, i 1 shih 4 chieh 1
son (emperor) also reaching to common people one thus all

i 3 hsiu 1 shên 1 wei 2 pên 3. (10) Ch'i 2 pên 3
use cultivation person regard (as) root. That root

luan 4 erh 2 mo 4 chih 4 chê 3 fou 3 i 3, Ch'i 2 so 3
confused and branch orderly that not so, That what (is)

hou 4 chê 3 po 2 erh 2 ch'i 2 so 3 po 2 chê 3
weighty then slighted and that what slighted then (regard as)

hou 4 (11) wei 2 chih 1 yu 3 yeh 3. (12) Yu 4 ching 1
weighty not it has been Right (hand) classic
(never has been)

i 1 chang 1 kai 4 k'ung 3 tzŭ 3 chih 1 yen 2 erh 2 tsêng 1 tzŭ 3
one chapter is (in) Confucius 's words and Tsêng Tzŭ

shu 4 chih 1. Ch'i 2 chuan 4 shih 2 chang 4 tzê 2
transmitted them. The explanatory ten chapters then (are)

(13) tsêng 1 tzŭ 3 chih 1 i 4 erh 2 mên 2 jên 2 chi 4
Tsêng Tzŭ 's views, and door- men (disciples) recorded

chih 1 yeh 3. Chiu 4 pên 3 p'o 1 yu 3 ts'o 4
them so. Old copies considerably have errors (in the)

chien 3, chin 1 yin 1 ch'êng 2 (14) tzŭ 3 so 3 ting 4
tablets, now because Ch'éng Tzŭ thus arrayed (them)

erh 2 kêng 1 k'ao 3 ching 1 wên 2 pieh 2 wei 4 hsü 4
and (having) again examined classical text (I) divide series

tz'ü 4 yü 2 tso 3.
order, as (on) left (hand).

(15) K'ang 1 kao 4 yüeh 4, k'ê 4 ming 2 tê 2.
K'ang announcement says, "Able illustrate virtue."

T'ai 4 chia 3 yüeh 4 ku 1 shih 4 t'ien 1 chih 1 ming 2
T'ai Chia says, "Contemplate study heaven's illustrious

ming 4. Ti 4 tien 3 yüeh 4, K'ê 4 ming 2 (16) chün 4
decree." Emperor Canon says, "Able illustrate lofty

tê 2. Chieh 1 tzŭ 4 ming 2 yeh 3. (17) Yu 4
virtue. All themselves illustrious also. Right (hand)

chuan 4 chih 1 shou 3 chang 1 shih 4 ming 2 ming 2
commentary 's first chapter explains illustrating illustrious

tê 2.
virtue.

Record No. 1, Part I

Cantonese

(1) Man sui ye i sz shüt yan ka to yau i tsz hing tai chae se shiu nin tsz tai (2) to koi kau fan tik. Ni hon ku sin shing wong lap tik kuai kü, kau heung ts'ün shing shi, (3) to ch'it lap se sz cheung. Yau kau mui üt ch'o yat yat kong shüt chiu t'ing fat lut, yau (4) yat nin yat pin hau ch'at tsz tai tik ho tai. Tsz tai yau ch'ut ping tsoi ying 'ng chung tik, (5) ya kau t'a tsap ki ngai, chi ki lut. Chae se kuai kü tsung yan yan shang tsoi shai, (6) tsün k'au tsz sün tsip hau toi. Yan ka hing shi tsz tai, yan ka pai, ya shi tsz tai. (7) Tan t'in ha na ko yan shang ka loi tsau shi in yan, to shi kau fan shing liu (8) tik. Na ko yan shang ha loi, tsau shi ok yan, to shi pat kau fan wai liu tik. Sho (9) i yan ka tsz tai mun pat hok ho, to shi ni mun tso fu hing tik pat shi. Tsang (10) mo shüt fu hing tik pat shi. Tai fan yan tsung 'ng luk sui, to i shap loi sui, (11) t'ung sam mi song, chi shik tsim hoi, ching shi kan yau tik kwan t'au Pin ni mun tso (12) fu hing tik, chat chi t'ang t'a oi t'a, p'a t'a t'ai huk, tsun t'a yau tik, pin to k'ap (13) t'a. Chi t'a no t'a, pin t'ai t'a ta ma ch'ut hi. Yü t'a hau i fuk ch'ün, fa fa (14) luk luk, yau kiu yan hau hon. Yü t'a hau tung sai hat, ning ho tsz ki pat hat. Yau (15) ku i ku nü. Kin t'a ma yan, pat ch'in kwai t'a. Fan shüt t'a ma tik hau kin t'a (16) ta yan, fan shüt ta sing tsz li hoi, shi pat p'a yan tik. Ming hiu tak tsz tai pat (17) shi p'in shang u tün, fan shüt siu sün tsz ka, pat kwo wan yau wan yau pa liu, ho (18) fong ni. Ming hiu tak tsz tai ka tsin lun yan tung sai, fan kw'a t'a ling li, tsung sui (19) tsau ku ka. P'ong yan shüt t'a tik i tsz pat hau fan ch'in kwai t'a yan.

Record No. 1, Part II

Cantonese

(1) Tai hok chi to, tsoi ming ming tak, tsoi ts'an man, tsoi chi yü chi shin. Chi chi, i hau (2) yau ting, ting, i hau nang tsing, tsing, i hau nang on, on, i hau nang lui, lui i hau (3) nang tak. Mat yau pun mut, sz yau chung ch'i, chi sho sin hau, tsak kan to i. Ku chi (4) yuk ming ming tak yü t'in ha chi, sin ch'i k'i kwok, yuk ch'i k'i kwok chi sin ts'ai k'i (5) ka, yuk ts'ai k'i ka chi, sin sau k'i shan yuk sau k'i shan chi, sin ching k'i sam, yuk (6) ching k'i sam chi sin shing k'i i, yuk shing k'i i chi sin chi k'i chi chi chi tsoi (7) kak mat mat kak i hau chi chi chi chi i hau (8) i shing i shing, i hau sam ching, sam ching, i hau shan sau, shan sau, i hau ka ts'ai, ka ts'ai, i hau kwok ch'i, kwok

ch'i (9) i hau t'in ha p'ing. Tsz t'in tsz i chi yü shu yan yat shi kai i sau shan wai pun. (10) k'i pun lun, i mut ch'i chi fau i, k'i sho hau chi pok, i k'i sho pok chi hau (11) mi chi yau ya. (12) Yau king yat cheung, k'oi hung tsz chi in, i ts'ang tsz shut chi k'i fu shap cheung, tsak (13) ts'ang tsz chi i, i mun yan ki chi ya, kiuk pun p'o yau ts'o kan, kam yan ch'ing (14) tsz sho ting, i kang hau king man, pit wai tsü tsz yu tso. (15) Hong ko üt, hak ming tak. Tai kap üt, ku shi t'in chi ming ming. Tai tin üt, hak ming (16) kün tak. Kai tsz ming ya. (17) Yau fu chi shau cheung shik ming ming tak.

Record No. 1

The Sacred Edict, Chapter XI, §§ 1 and 2

Translation (Baller)

(1) His Majesty's meaning: (he) says: People as a rule have either sons or younger brothers. All these juveniles (2) should be educated. Look at the regulations drawn up by the Monarchs of olden times. They ordained that some instructors should be appointed in every village and city; (3) that the laws of the Government (should be) expounded on the first of each month, and that (4) once a year the morals of the young should undergo examination. They also commanded that all youths who went out soldiering, (5) should study military science and know the Military Code. The why and wherefore of these regulations no doubt is that mankind (6) rely entirely upon their children to perpetuate their posterity. The prosperity or ruin of the family depends upon (the character of) the rising generation. (7) Now whosoever in the world is good, it is by education that he has become so; (8) whosoever is evil, it is by the want of education that he has been ruined. (9) Hence if people's youngsters don't follow the right, it is all the fault of you elders. (10) Why do I say this? Because people as a general rule from the age of five or six to that of twenty and over, (11) have not lost their boyish dispositions. Their experience is gradually forming; it is indeed a critical period! But unfortunately (12) your one idea is to pet them, and fondle them, and to give them everything for which they ask, for fear they should cry. (13) (If anyone) knows (their faults) and is vexed with them, you at once take up the cudgels on their behalf. You dress them out in gay clothing (14) that others may admire them, and pamper their appetites even at the expense of stinting your own. (15) You screen your children. If you see them curse or strike anybody, instead of rebuking them you commend them, (16) and say they are of first-

rate mettle, not afraid of anyone. You are well aware the youngsters are in the wrong, (17) but screen their shortcomings, saying, " The children are only in fun. (18) What's the harm ? " You know full well they meanly steal people's things, and yet you praise their smartness, (19) and call it beginning early to provide for the family. If others say your son is bad, you turn the tables and rebuke them.

The Great Learning, Chapter I

Translation (Legge)

(1) What the Great Learning teaches is—to illustrate illustrious virtue ; to renovate the people ; and to rest in the highest excellence. The point where to rest being known, (2) the object of pursuit is then determined ; and, that being determined, a calm unperturbedness may be attained to. To that calmness there will succeed a tranquil repose. In that repose there may be careful deliberation, and that deliberation will be followed (3) by the attainment of the desired end. Things have their root and their branches. Affairs have their end and their beginning. To know what is first and what is last will lead near to what is taught in the Great Learning. The ancients who (4) wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the kingdom, first ordered well their own States. Wishing to order well their States, they first regulated their (5) families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing (6) to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay (7) in the investigation of things. Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts (8) being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their States were rightly governed. Their States being rightly governed, (9) the whole kingdom was made tranquil and happy. From the Son of Heaven down to the mass of the people, all must consider the cultivation of the person the root of everything besides. (10) It cannot be, when the root is neglected, that what should spring from it will be well ordered. It never has been the case that what was of great importance has been slightly cared for, and, at the same time, that what was of slight importance has (11) been greatly cared for.

(12) The preceding chapter of classical text is, in the words of Confucius, handed down by the philosopher Tsêng. The ten chapters of explanation which follow (13) contain the views of Tsêng, and were recorded by his disciples. In the old copies of the work, there appeared considerable confusion in these, from the disarrangement of the tablets. But now, availing myself (14) of the decisions of the philosopher Ch'êng, and having examined anew the classical text, I have arranged it in order, as follows: (15) In the Announcement to K'ang it is said, "He was able to make his virtue illustrious." In the T'ai Chia it is said, "He contemplated and studied the illustrious decrees of Heaven." In the Canon of the Emperor (Yao) it is said, "He was able to make illustrious (16) his lofty virtue." These passages all show how those sovereigns made themselves illustrious. (17) The above first chapter of commentary explains the illustration of illustrious virtue.

DRAXT I ASURĪK

By J. M. Unvala

Preface

§ 1. The Pahlavi text treated in this article was first published by M. E. Blochet from a codex of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris—the manuscrit Supplément persan, no. 1216, p. 1—4—in the Revue de L'Histoire des Religions, Paris 1895, vol. 32, pp. 18—23 of the appendix, and translated by him with notes in the same volume of the Revue pp. 233—241. It was published for the second time in the PahlT. II, pp. 109—114 and edited by Jamasp-Asana (Bombay 1913) with collations from the mss. JE. JJ. MK. and DP.

§ 2. A short note on the text is written by E. W. West in GIrPh. II. p. 119: "Then follow the texts mentioned in §§ 77—78 two of which are non-religious and occur both in J. and Pt. The first of these is the *Drakht-ī-Asūrīg*, containing about 800 words, of which the first 85 are lost from J. It professes to be an altercation between a tree growing in the country of *Asūr* and a goat, in which both state their claims to being more useful than the other to mankind." It is said above that M. Blochet has made the first attempt at a complete translation. Another attempt to translate the text has been made in the introduction to the PahlT. II (Bombay 1913), pp. 37—39 by B. T. Anklesaria, but his translation is sometimes not quite consistent with the text, especially from the standpoint of grammar. Further where the text offers us the utmost difficulties, e. g. §§ 19, 20, 31, 32, 35—38, 41, 43, 46, and 52—54, the translator passes over these passages without even making the slightest allusion to this omission (cf. also KH. pref. § 2). Apart from these big omissions, he leaves out difficult words or expressions from the translation, e. g. 𐭤 § 14, 𐭤𐭥𐭭. 𐭤𐭥𐭩𐭩 § 16, 𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭠 § 35, 𐭮𐭥𐭭𐭮 § 36, 𐭠𐭮𐭥𐭭𐭩𐭩 𐭮𐭥𐭭𐭩 § 39, 𐭠𐭮𐭥𐭭𐭠𐭠 𐭥𐭭 § 40, 𐭮𐭠𐭠𐭩 𐭮𐭥𐭭𐭮 § 43, 𐭤𐭮𐭠𐭠𐭩 § 44, and 𐭮𐭥𐭭 § 51. I am not inclined to put the translation which Anklesaria has given in the category of a *purport* as he does when he says "the text purports to say that . . ." PahlT. II. in-

troduction, p. 37. Still I will not pass any remark on these omissions on his part, but leave the reader to form his own judgment on the method followed by him here and elsewhere in the introduction. Although I am quite aware of the risks of attempting a complete translation of such a recent text corrupted in parts through the ignorance of the scribes as the text in question, I have done so in order to put before the students of Pahlavi another short text transliterated on the principles laid down by BARTHOLOMAE in IF. 38, 39. Moreover I have selected this text from many others, because it contains numerous words, which are not to be found in already published glossaries. It contains, therefore, a further contribution with the Pahlavi Glossary of my *King Husraw* (Paris 1921) to the materials for a Pahlavi dictionary.

§ 3. The anecdote treated in the text belongs to the so-called "Rangstreitliteratur" or the literature dealing with disputations about the personal superiority between two persons or personified objects. This literature is mostly written in a poetical form, and very seldom in prose. M. STEINSCHNEIDER has given an elaborate list of the names of stories and anecdotes pertaining to this particular branch of literature in his "Rangstreitliteratur" in the Abh. der KAW. Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse, vol. 155, 4th part (1908), which are collected from Arabic, Persian, Modern Hebrew, Italian, French, Provencial, English, and German sources. Further BACHER has mentioned in ZDMG. 65, 532—33 a story of a sheep and the vine, which he found in a codex belonging to the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York, which contains mostly Persian texts written in Hebrew characters. He has also contributed an article called "Zur Rangstreitliteratur aus der arabischen Poesie der Juden Jemens" in Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg, Paris 1909, p. 131—147. It is clear from the list of STEINSCHNEIDER mentioned above, that this literature was very popular among the Mohammedans, Jews, and Christians, among the latter especially during the middle ages, when the troubadours travelled from place to place singing their stories. STEINSCHNEIDER is right in searching the prototype of the disputations in Modern Hebrew in the poetical form in the ancient Arabic poems, in which the hero of the piece boasts of the fame of his clan and his own personal merits, chiefly when he is taking part in a poetical contest or when he is before his enemy (p. 7). Properly speaking this type of Arabic poems must be, therefore, called "poems pertaining to a contest of preference" in Arab أَلْمُفَاخَرَةُ or أَلْمُعَاتَبَةُ. On the other hand in the Persian

representatives of this branch of literature, the مُنَاظَرَات "the poems of contest", the persons contending are so inconsiderable, that the necessity of a judge, who pronounces in favour of the one or the other contending party, becomes absolutely unavoidable, and in consequence, the originally planned مُنَاظَرَات becomes "a poem of strong eulogy" تَهنِيب, viz. of the judge. The Persian poet Asadi (died between 1030—41) was the first to make the songs of contest native to the soil of Persia, and thus he must be considered the founder of the مُنَاظَرَات (GIrPh. II. 226 ff.).

§ 4. Just as in the Persian مُنَاظَرَات, in the anecdote of the Pahlavi text the persons contending, the tree and the goat, are so inconsiderable, that both of them call upon men to judge their personal superiority over their opponent (cf. § 2, no. a). But as might be expected, there is no decision arrived at in the text to settle this dispute, which proves most probably the imperfection of the Pahlavi text. Moreover the anecdote does not only fall into the category of "the literature dealing with the contest of personal superiority, but it falls also into that of the fable".

§ 5. It seems to me that there existed once an original Pahlavi form of the anecdote, perhaps written in imitation of the Arabic اَلْمُفَاخَرَة, which was translated into Modern Persian. Both the original Pahlavi and the MP. version have been lost to us in course of time, after the latter was re-translated into the Pahlavi form lying before us (cf. also KH. pref. § 4). It is for this reason, that we find again in this text new features - features uncommon in the classical Pahlavi works like the *Dēnkart*, *Dātastān ī-Dēnīk*, &c., enumerated and commented on in KH. pref. §§ 11—12. Further we find some MP. dialectical forms like 𐭧𐭮𐭬 *ast* for 𐭧𐭯 *hast* §§ 1, 32, 36, 44, 𐭪𐭥𐭭𐭣 *karēnd*, pres. 3. plur. §§ 6, 7, and so forth. 𐭪𐭥𐭣 *karēt*, pres. 3. sing. § 21, 𐭪𐭮𐭲 *kert*, ppp. § 24, 𐭪𐭥𐭬 *karom*, pres. 1. sing. § 26, and the expressions like *um pa ʿanāras zamīk draxt-om* § 3, where the pron. 1 sing. in the cas. rect. is unusually expressed by the encl. 𐭬𐭰𐭰 *m*. and *ān om draxt* § 2, *bāz-om* § 21, *der-am frāc sanīt* § 21, and so forth, where 𐭬𐭰 or 𐭬𐭰 *om* stands for the pron. 1. sing. in the cas. obliq. Again in *man pa ʿanāras zamīk draxt-om* § 3, *xʷat-rimānīk kas-om* § 49, *ān-om spēt padan* §§ 41, 43, *ēr-om* (I am alone) *apartar hač tō* §§ 45, 48. Anklesaria calls these forms and expressions *Darī* (PahlT. II. introd. p. 37). But I should rather like to call them simply MP. dialectical expressions, because they are not peculiar to one dialect only, but are common to the group of MP. dialects called Central dialects, cf. GIrPh. II. p. 381 ff. More-

over the word *Derī* according to AL-KHOWARIZMĪ signifies the Median dialect—والدريّة لغت اهل مُدُن المدائن—which was used also as the court-dialect (cf. *Liber Mafātīh Al-Olūm*, p. 111v. 5, edited by G. VAN VLOTEN, Leyden 1895). Whereas in modern times the name *Gabrī* is widely used by oriental as well as occidental writers instead of *Derī*, with which the Zoroastrians of Persia designate their dialect as a protest against the degrading word *Gabrī* (GIrPh. I b 382).

§ 6. There are further in this text some words written with the unusual *plene* orthography, e. g. 𐭠𐭫𐭮𐭲𐭥𐭫 *apartar* §§ 2, 45, 48 for 𐭠𐭫𐭲𐭥𐭫, 𐭮𐭲𐭥𐭫 *sart* § 20 for 𐭮𐭠𐭫𐭲𐭥𐭫, 𐭮𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭲 and 𐭮𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭲 *Sanāt* § 21 for 𐭮𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭲, 𐭮𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭲 *barēt* §§ 21, 26 for 𐭮𐭲𐭥𐭫𐭲, 𐭠𐭫 *ar* § 2, 𐭬𐭲 *man* § 3, 𐭬 *man* § 43, and 𐭬 (an unusual ideogram) (ana) *man* § 46 for 𐭠, 𐭩𐭩 = 𐭩𐭩 *to* for 𐭤 § 49, 𐭮𐭲𐭥 *āgēt* § 49 for 𐭮𐭠𐭲𐭥, and 𐭮𐭠𐭲𐭥 *vēnāt* § 54 for 𐭮𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭲. Finally, there occurs a peculiar diminutive form 𐭬𐭫𐭮𐭲𐭬 *martomak* in §§ 19, 20, and 44 in the sense of 𐭬𐭫𐭮𐭲𐭬 *martom* "mankind, man".

§ 7. My wording of the text is based mostly on the text published in PahlT. II (s. above). Necessary corrections are made in the text and better readings adopted after a careful examination of the collations given in the footnotes to the above-mentioned text and of the text published by M. BLOCHET (s. above), which I designate P. or the ms. of Paris in the text-critical notes.

§ 8. These text-critical notes are marked by Arabic figures, and are occasionally accompanied by remarks on rare words and on the PahlB orthography. Redundant words are enclosed in round brackets and words omitted and hence inserted by me in square ones. All notes marked by the letters of the alphabet have reference to the exegesis. In these latter notes I have used abbreviations A. and B. for ANKLESARIA and BLOCHET respectively, whenever I have quoted their translations. As I have intended this article for the use of the students of our school, I have given in the notes the MP. equivalents even of the easiest and the most common MidP. words. For the same reason I have restricted myself to as litteral a translation of the text as possible.

A LIST OF THE ABBREVIATIONS OF THE TITLES OF BOOKS AND THE NAMES OF AUTHORS

(Comp. KH. introd. pp. 8—9. BullSOStud I. 4. p. 125.)

VA *Artāk Virāz Nāmak* Edition of M. HAUG and E. WEST: The Book of Arda Viraf. Bombay & London 1872.

BullSOStud The Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies London Institution. London

Franke Beitrage aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvolker und Skythen Zentralasiens (aus dem Anh. z. d. Abhandl. der k. Preuß. Ak. d. Wiss. vom J. 1904. Berlin 1904) von O. Franke

HN *Haδōxt Nask*, according to the edition of M. Haug in the Book of Arda Vīraf. Bombay & London 1872. p. 267 ff.

KH The Pahlavi Text "King Husrav and his Boy" published and translated by J. M. Unvala Paris 1921.

Marquart Erānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i. von Dr. J. Marquart Berlin 1901.

PW Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, herausgeg. von O. Boehtlingk and R. Roth Petersburg 1855 ff.

Other abbreviations

Comp. KH. introd. pp. 9—10. BullSOStud. I. 4. p. 126

cas. obliq. casus obliquus	Fr. French
cas. rect. casus rectus	Gab. Gabrī
caus. causative	opt. optative
denom. denominative	orthogr. orthography
dimin. diminutive	partic. participle

𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 𐬛 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁
asurīk ī draxt

𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 𐬌𐬀𐬭 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 𐬌𐬀𐬭 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 𐬌𐬀𐬭 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 .
šahr ō tar hast rust 1 draxt **1.**

𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 𐬌𐬀𐬭 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 𐬌𐬀𐬭 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 𐬌𐬀𐬭 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 [ō]
hast saras hast husk bīnaš asurīk [ī]

𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 𐬌𐬀𐬭 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 𐬌𐬀𐬭 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 [ō] 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 𐬌𐬀𐬭 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁
mānēt baras mānēt naδ [ō] *rēšak u tarr*

𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 𐬌𐬀𐬭 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 𐬌𐬀𐬭 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 [ō]
.awarēt bar šīrīn angūr [ō]

The Assyrian tree.

1. A tree stands grown up there in the land of Assyria. Its trunk is dry, its top is fresh, and its root[1] resembles the (sugar-)cane[a], its fruit resembles the grape. It produces such (sweet fruits[b]).

1. [1] For the orthogr. cf. KH. p. 55. — [2] P. 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 — The other mss. have 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 for it. A. reads *ast*, the Dari expr. for *istēt* "is". — [3] The copyist has written the ideogram for *tar* "aside, besides" instead of 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁 *tarr* "fresh", MP. تر; cf. for a similar mistake KH. § 69, no. 3. — [4] Mss. 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬙𐬁. — [5] For the expr. cf. KH. § 93.

[a] Mp. ريشكة (Vullers). — [b] FrP. 4 4 — MP. دي. — [1] Cf. MP. بار أوردن (Vullers).

𐭰𐭥 𐭪𐭭 [𐭮] 𐭠𐭫 𐭤𐭠𐭲𐭤𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭥 -
om āu [rāδ] dātəstān-martomān **2.**

2. For the judgment[a] of men that my[b] high tree contested[c] with a goat saying: "I am superior to thee in various things.

𐭪𐭠𐭫 𐭤𐭠𐭫𐭩𐭠𐭫 𐭥 𐭠𐭩 𐭩𐭠𐭩 𐭠 𐭤𐭠𐭫𐭩
:ku nipartīt ham ō būz bulənd i drəxt

𐭤𐭠𐭭𐭠𐭪 𐭩𐭠𐭩 𐭠𐭩 𐭩𐭠𐭩 𐭪𐭠𐭫𐭮𐭠𐭫𐭲 𐭭𐭪 𐭪𐭠 𐭪𐭠
gōnak-xəs pa hom apartar tō haē ax

𐭠𐭩𐭩
.hēr

𐭩𐭠𐭤𐭠𐭫𐭩𐭠𐭫 𐭪𐭥 𐭪𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭩 𐭠𐭩 𐭩𐭠𐭩 -
drəxtom :amik 'aniras pa mān **3.**

3. I am the tree in the land of X'aniras[a]; there is

---

2. [1] Thus in Ta. JJ 𐭤𐭠𐭲𐭤. I. 𐭤𐭠𐭲. — [2] It is written here with the vowel \ *o*, which serves as a connecting link between *'n* of *ān* and *'m* the encl. pron. 1 sing. — [3] P. 𐭩𐭠𐭩 — [4] Cf MidPT. *'az*, Brhl. zAirWb 122, and pref. § 6. 𐭮𐭩 also *buz* "a goat", as also later on Bloche translated the word differently first "goat" and then "I". The vocative is necessary, as it shows us who begins to speak first. The original text had perhaps 𐭮𐭩 𐭮𐭩 *buz az* "a goat, I". — [5] An unusual orthogr. for 𐭩𐭠𐭫𐭩𐭠𐭫. 𐭩 is written for 𐭯 acc. to the Sassanian pronunciation of *p*, as also in §§ 45. 48.

[a] A reads *aya*, voc. part., a Dari expl.; B. reads *den* "(for the men of) the religion" and takes *martoman-dātəstān rad* with § 1. I take the word to mean "judgment", because in our story the contending parties are so insignificant that the necessity of a judge, who pronounces his decision in favour of one or the other party is absolutely unavoidable, just as it is in the Persian مناظرات. Of course in our story there is no decision arrived at as to the superiority of one of the two contending parties over the other, as it is expected, but they go their different ways after enumerating their points of superiority. — [b] A. takes it for a Dari form for 𐭤𐭤𐭮 *hom* "I am", B. for an encl. pron. 1. sing., s. no. 2. — [c] A. reads *am nipartīt* "I argued", which is certainly wrong; for meaning comp. *hammiparīh* "fight, combat, duel", KH p. 71, cf. MP. نبرد. The form *nipartīt* goes back to a denominative 𐭪𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭫𐭲𐭩𐭠𐭩 *nipartītan* "to fight, to combate". — [d] Lit. "upper", hence "superior". A. "more deserving", of course a free rendering.

3. [1] Cf. pref. § 6. — [2] P. 𐭮𐭩𐭠𐭮 — [3] Thus 𐭤 is of course redundant, as it is already expressed in 𐭤𐭯 *um*. Or does it stand for 𐭤𐭩 *om*, i. e. 𐭤𐭤𐭮 *hom* "I am"?

[a] The name of the seventh part of the world situated in the middle of the other six, Aw. *x'anuraθa-*, s. Brhl. AirWb. 1864.

𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬉𐬙𐬯𐬀 𐬎 𐬐 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬐 𐬐𐬌 𐬉𐬉𐬐 𐬯𐬎
x'aret man haδ šah če hamtan nēst

𐬐 𐬎𐬌 𐬐𐬀𐬭𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬯 𐬉𐬉 𐬐𐬀𐬌
. bar āwarom nōk ka

no (other) like[b] me, because the king eats from me, when I carry fruits anew.

𐬐𐬀𐬌 𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬯 𐬉𐬉𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬐 ε
. hom tax't-makūkān **4.**

4. I am the plank[a] of the ship[b c].

𐬐𐬀𐬌 𐬉𐬉𐬀𐬭𐬯𐬀 [δ] 𐬐𐬀𐬌 𐬉𐬉𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬐 ϛ
. vatpānān [ι] hom frasp **5.**

5. I am the cloth[a] of the sails[b]

[1][𐬉𐬉𐬀𐬭] 𐬐 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬐 𐬎 𐬐 𐬉𐬉𐬀𐬭𐬯𐬀 ζ
[patāš] ke karend man haδ gyākrōp **6.**

𐬐𐬀𐬌 𐬯 [1] [2]𐬯𐬀 𐬉𐬉𐬀𐬭𐬯𐬀
. man u mōhan virāzēnd

6. They make[a] from me the broom[b], with which they clean[c] the house[d] and the courtyard[e].

— [a] Properly speaking 'having a similar body: having the same dimension': for meaning comp. MP. همپایه "standing in the same rank, on the same footing: a colleague". MP. همرنگ "having the same colour", and so forth.

4. [a] MP. تخت "plank, board". for the orthogr. s. KH. § 8. no. 2. and PahlT. I. 118. 3. where 𐬉𐬉𐬀𐬭𐬯𐬀 *taxtak*. cf. ArmLw *taxtak* — [b] MP مکوک "shuttle"; ArmLw. *makuk* "boat, canoe". The final *-ān*, the pl. suff. is peculiar. s. *aturan-vazak* § 8. — [c] I prefer this translation to those of A. and B., taking *makūkān* in the sense of Arm *makuk*, because immediately in § 5 the sail of the ship is mentioned. A. translates "I am the pin (?) of the shuttle", whereas B. "I become the shuttle and the board".

5. [a] MP. قَرَسپ "a variegated cloth with which the house and other buildings are decorated on festival days (Vullers), comp Aw. *fraspat* "cushion, pillow", Bthl. AirWb. 1003: "the beam of the roof (Vullers). B takes the word in the latter sense, whereas the meaning 'mast' given to this word by A. is incomprehensible — [b] MP. پادبان (Vullers and Zenker "the mast of the ship" (Vullers). B. takes the word in this latter sense.

6. [1] Inserted in order to complete the sense as very often in this text, as in § 7. 12. 13 and so forth: comp Aw. *patu* "with (an instrument)", "per": also used as a preposition of place "where (cf. § 7. s Bthl. AirWb. 823 The final "s is the encli. pron 3 sg. It is always placed after the substantive — [2] P. 𐬯𐬀𐬭. — [3] P ه

[a] For reading and meaning cf MidPT. *karīn* for *kunišn*. IF. *38*. 21 *ker-* is a dialectical form for *kun-* in MP. central dialects. s. GIrPh I. *281*. *389*. *394*, *399*. — [b] MP. جاروب: s. GIrPh I a 303. For *gyak-* s KH. § 9. no. 3. Bartholomae takes the word grammatically in the plur. corresponding to 𐬉𐬉𐬀𐬭𐬯𐬀, as also in the following paragraphs, cf Tedesco, Anzeiger Wien. Ak. d. W., phil.-hist Kl *1921*. 1 f This form without the plur suffix then stands

[ꝺꝺꝺ] ꝛꝺ ꝺꝺꝺ ꝺ ꝺ ꝺꝺꝺ ꝛ
[*patiš*] *kē karēnd man hać garāz* **7.**

ꝺꝺꝺ ꝛ ꝺꝺꝺ ꝺꝺꝺ ꝺꝺꝺ ꝺ
. brinj u yav kōpēnd

7. They make from me the wooden mortar[a], in which they pound[b] barley and rice[c].

[ꝺ] ꝺꝺꝺ ꝺ ꝺ ꝺꝺꝺ ꝛ
[*i*] *karēnd man hać damānak* **8.**

ꝺꝺꝺ ꝺꝺꝺ ꝺ
. vazāh-ahrān

8. They make from me the pair of bellows[a], which blows[b] the fire[c].

---

apparently for the nom and acc. plur. — [1] ꝺꝺꝺ *vrazend* pres. 3. plur. from ꝺꝺꝺ *vrazitan* "to arrange, to bring into order", lit. "to rule, to govern". Ai. *vi-rājati* "he masters" (PW.) denom. from ꝺꝺꝺ *virāj-* "ruler", comp. Aw. *vīrāz-*, a proper noun, cf. Bthl. AirWb. 1454; further comp. Aw. *vazan-* "arrangement, commandment, rule and regulation", for which the Pahl. version *vrādišn*, *urādišn*, s. Bthl. AirWb. 1526. The word in question is of course connected in its meaning with MidP. *ārastan* and *vārastan* *vrāzend* pres. 3. plur., s. KH. § 57, "to arrange, to bring into order, to decorate". MP. آراستن, *ویراستن. cf. Horn. NpEt. 4 and 300. Bartholomae considers the word to be corrupted form of ꝺꝺꝺ *brazend* "they make shining clean", cf. AirWb. 50, no. 1; further cf. Ni. 83. 2 ꝺꝺꝺ, peculiarly often ꝺ for ꝺ before ꝺ. — [2] From Aw. *maēθana-*, MP. میهن (Vullers) for meaning comp. ꝺꝺꝺ *mahak* "tent, camp", PahlT. 5, 21. — [3] From Aw. *nmāna-* "house", MP. مان. — [4] For the expr. *mēhan u man*, s. PahlT. 86 1. 9. *167* 17. *166* 16, where *man u mehan* occurs. Bartholomae translates it "dwelling room" and house. Cf. Bthl. MiranM. III 36, no. 3.

7. [1] Mss. have a redundant ꝺ after this word.

[a] MP. گواز. Arab. جواز "a wooden mortar" (Vullers); "a large wooden mortar in which rice is beaten off" (Steingass). A. renders the word by "the thrashing pin", whereas B by "pestle", cf. Aw. *gaēāza-* "the goad for cattle", Bthl. AirWb. 511. ArmLw. *garazan*. MP. گواز (Vullers and Steingass). — [b] Lit. "they beat", cf. MP. کوبیدن and کوبیدن which are related to کوفتن "to beat"; comp. Ai. *kopaya-* caus. from. *kup-* "to set in motion, to shatter, to make shivering". — [c] FrP. *4* 1. — MP. جو. Bartholomae considers ꝺꝺꝺ to be perhaps *uzay* "blowing up", i. e. "flaming up by blowing", cf. § 34, no. b. — [d] MP. برنج. ArmLw. *brinj*.

8. [1] Mss. ꝺꝺꝺ, probably for ꝺꝺꝺ.

[a] Cf. MP. دمه "a pair of bellows", derived from MP. دمیدن "to blow". — [b] Pres. partic. from ꝺꝺꝺ *vazitan* "to blow"; comp. MP. وزان. — [c] The form is here most probably the *plurale tantum*, but comp. *makūkantat* § 4.

𐭠𐭥𐭫𐭦𐭩𐭥𐭫𐭠 [𐭫] 𐭧𐭩𐭬 𐭩𐭧 𐭬 𐭠
. *varzikaran* [*i*] *hom mōk* **9.**

9. I am the [a]wooden-[b]shoe[a] of the cultivators[b].

𐭠 [1]𐭬𐭥𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭬𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭭 [𐭫] 𐭧𐭩𐭬 𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭩𐭭 𐭠
. *brahanakpaδān* [*i*] *hom nālain* **10.**

10. I am the two [a]wooden-[b]sandals[a] of the bare-footed ones[b].

𐭬𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭩𐭫𐭬 𐭤 𐭠 𐭬𐭫 𐭠
paδ tō kē karēnd man hač rasan **11.**

11. I am the cord[a], with which they bind thy[b] foot.

𐭠 𐭩𐭫𐭠𐭭 [𐭬𐭥𐭤]
. *bandand* [*pataš*]

[1]𐭩𐭫𐭠𐭬 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭩𐭫𐭬 𐭤 𐭠 𐭬𐭫 𐭠
gartan tō kē karēnd man hač ēp **12.**

12. They make from me the post[a], with which they kiss[b] thy[c] neck[d]

𐭠 𐭩𐭥𐭬𐭯 [𐭬𐭥𐭤]
. *māčēnd* [*pataš*]

---

9. [a] Comp. ArmLw *mok*, and MidP. 𐭬𐭩𐭯 *mōčak* § 35, which is a contracted form of **mok-ak* "little shoe", dimin. from 𐭬𐭩𐭯 *mok*. MP. موزه, properly speaking "a small shoe; the shoe of a woman", with which comp. ArmLw *mocak*. — [b] Cf. MP. ورزگار, ورزگر, and برزکار, and برزگر "a cultivator, a peasant" (Vullers).

10. [1] Thus also P., whereas PahlT. *109*. 12 has 𐭬𐭥𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭬𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭭.

[a] MP. نَعْل, Arab. dual نَعْلَيْن "the wooden-shoe (for the bath or for walking in the mud)" (Zenker); ArmLw *nal* "the horse-shoe". The word is borrowed from Arabic. A. only transcribes the word by *rāin*[a]. B. further compares the word with MP. نخله "shoes" (Steingass and Vullers). — [b] MP. برهنه‌پا.

11. [a] MP. رسن, Al *rasanā-* s. Horn NpEt. 137. — [b] Lit. "to thee the feet", ethical dat., s. § 12.

12. [1] P. 𐭩𐭫𐭠𐭬, most probably the copyist's mistake for 𐭩𐭫𐭠𐭬, MK. JJ and JE. have 𐭩𐭫𐭠𐭬𐭭 2 *gardūn* written as one word.

[a] MP. چوب "wood, a block of wood, a post of wood" (Vullers). B. correctly takes it to mean the heavy long piece of wood which is tied to the neck of cattle very rarely, to that of goats and sheep, which prevents them from running away and from attacking men. A. translates it "the stick". — [b] MP. ماچیدن, ماچ کردن to "kiss", the vulgar and onomatopoetic form for بوسیدن, cf. Horn NpEt. 54. Arm. *pacem. paganem* "I kiss" are also onomatopoetic. B. "on fait courber", "they make bend", but then the reading [c] — [c] Lit. "to thee the neck", ethical dat., s. § 11. — [d] A. reads 2 *gardon* "two apples of thy neck", lit. "two necks", s. no. 1.

sarākūn tō kē karēnd man hač mēx **13.** *. ~ ? ~ [pataš]*

13. They make from me the peg[a], on which they ~ ? ~[b] thee head downwards[c].

sēč tō ke āturan [i] hom ēzm **14.** *. brezēnd*

14. I am the fuel[a] of the fire[b], which roast thee completely[c].

[i] sar pa hom āsāyak-tapəstān **15.** *. sahrdarān*

15. I am the shade[a] of summer[b] over the head of the rulers[c].

13. [1] All mss. except P [illegible]. — [2] Mss. [illegible]. [3] A. reads *sarkûnak razênd*

[a] MP مېخ. — [b] It seems that A connects *razend* with MidP. *āvextan*. MP. آويختن, which is impossible to do as not only the prefix *a-* but also the long *ē* are missing in *razēnd*. B. renders "they attach or bind (thee) with the head lowered" — [c] MP. سراكون (VULLERS and STEINGASS). Comp. for آكون. MidP. *akustan* "to hang up". KH. § 26. MidPT. *āgust* A. takes the و of the following word with [illegible] and reads *sarkûnak* "headlong", which even supposing to be a corrupted form of *sārakūnak* can hardly explain the final *-ak*, or most probably on the analogy of MidP *čigōn-ak*. MP. چگونه "how?", "quomodo".

14. [1] P [illegible].

[a] FrP 4 4 — Cf MP. هيزم. — [b] Cf. § 8. no. [c]. — [c] Comp. MP. سېچ. سېچ "preparation, order", from which the denom. سېچيدن. سېچيدن "to prepare; to dispatch of" (VULLERS and STEINGASS). Most probably the meaning "preparation" is developed from the original meaning "pain", "the successful passing through pain", and hence "preparation", cf. HORN NpEt 294. Here of course I take the word adverbially "through, and through". MHG. "gar", and the expr. *sēč bristan* equal to MP سخت برشتن "to cook thoroughly". Or does the word signify some product of the goat?

15. [a] MP ساية, as to the orthogr cf. § 18, where [illegible] *sayak* occurs. A. renders the word by "the umbrella", whereas P by "the fan, the umbrella". But the meaning is far-fetched, as the MP. word for "umbrella" is سايه‌بان, and not ساية. BARTHOLOMAE. — [b] MP. تابستان. A. and B. takes the word in the acc of time — "in summer". B. also takes the word to mean "parasol", lit. "the shade of summer". — [c] The word *sahrdārān* can hardly mean "the satraps" in this and other passages. The mean. "the rulers" — cf. MP شهرداران suits everywhere very well

[ı] 𐭠𐭫𐭲𐭩𐭪𐭠𐭫𐭥 [ב] [1]𐭧𐭧𐭣 𐭱𐭠𐭫 ıו
[u] *varzīkarūn* [i] *hom šakr* **16.**

𐭧 [2]𐭣𐭩𐭱𐭢 𐭬𐭠𐭪𐭧𐭣𐭬𐭱𐭠𐭫𐭥 [ד] 𐭱𐭠𐭣𐭩
hač tapangūk āzatmartān [i] *angəmen*

𐭠𐭫𐭲𐭩𐭪 ס 𐭠𐭫𐭲𐭩 ו
. *karend man*

16. I am the sugar[a] of the cultivators[b] and the honey[c] of the noble. They make from me the chest[d].

[2]𐭧 𐭧𐭣[2]] [1] 𐭱𐭬𐭥 [ד] 𐭬𐭠𐭪𐭠𐭱 ıv
[*kē hom*] *šnas* [i] *dārūkdān* **17.**

[4]𐭩𐭣 𐭣𐭱𐭠𐭪𐭩[4] [ı] 𐭠𐭫𐭲𐭩 (ד) 𐭬𐭩𐭥𐭱 [3]𐭩𐭣 𐭬𐭩𐭥𐭱 [3]
ō bīžask [u] *barend* (i) *sahr ō sahr*

𐭠𐭫𐭲𐭩𐭪 ס 𐭣𐭱𐭠𐭪𐭩
. *bīžask*

17. I am the medicin-case[a] of one who understands[b] (medicin), which they carry from city to city and from physician to physician[c].

[1]𐭬𐭠𐭪𐭠𐭫𐭧 [ד] 𐭧𐭧𐭣 𐭱𐭱𐭣 ıח ıט
murvīčakan [i] *hom āsyān* **18. 19.**

18. 19. I am the nest[a] of small birds[b]. I throw[c]

---

16. [1] These two words form part of § 15 in PahlT. *110.* 1. but they properly belong to § 16. — [2] In P 𐭧𐭣 ı 𐭱𐭣. i. e three words.

[a] FrP. 5. 2 — MP. شکر A reads it *khaiya* and leaves off untranslated, whereas B. has quite misunderstood the whole sentence He translates "I am the *aish* (= bee-hive =) of those who collect the honey" — [b] Cf § 9, no [b] — [c] FrP. 5 3. MP. انگبین. A. reads it *gôbashyā* and leaves out untranslated: cf. no. a. — [d] MP. نیمنگو "a chest, a casket" Steingass, "a basket, especially for bread: a box for perfume-sellers: a surgical box" (Vullers). A. reads it *tufang*, MP تفنگ "musket", but then the final 𐭠𐭫 remains unexplained B. translates it "spinning-wheel and spindle", thus he reads * ' * *u dāk*, MP. دوک

17. [1] JJ. and P 𐭬𐭥. Fa 𐭬𐭥 with the vau 𐭬𐭥𐭱 — [2] Inserted in order to complete the sense — [3] Thus P. — [4] Thus P.

[a] MP دارودان: MidP. *dārak* "medicine. — [b] For meaning comp. *ōpakān-hušnas*, KII § 12. A. reads *iyā* "behold", cf § 2, no a, whereas B. *danā* physician, and says in the note lit. "savant" the arab. words طبیب. حکیم which signify "physician" originally meant "a learned man, a savant". — [c] MP. بزشک. ArmLw. *bzšk*. A. translates the sentence "which the consulting physicians carry from place to place". This is from the grammatical standpoint quite incorrect. If he reads *bzaskān-bzask*, it must mean "the chief physician" or lit. "the physician of physicians" like *šāhān-šah* "the king of kings". Most probably he has left out *bzšk* in the translation and taken *bzaškan* plur. as governing the plur verb *barend*

18. 19. [1] P 𐭧𐭣𐭩𐭱𐭢.

[a] AMP. آشیان — [b] Cf. MP مرغک: for the dimin suffix *-ōak*, s GIrPh. I a 281 — [c] FrP. *20.* 11 — Cf. MP آفگندن.

[d] 𐬱𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬑 [c] 𐬑𐬀𐬭𐬙𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬑 [b] 𐬯𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬑
be rastak [d] *kārdēhkan* [c] *sagak*

𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬑 𐬑𐬀 𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬵 𐬚𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬑
aršēnd ka rust būm nok pa arganom

𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬑 𐬱𐬀 𐬚𐬌𐬥 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬑 .
rinišēnd ne be kum martomak .

𐬀𐬯 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬑 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬥 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬥 .
en rēšan zarrgōn het rāhom **20.**

𐬥𐬀𐬙 𐬚𐬌𐬥 𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬑𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬑 𐬵 𐬑𐬀 [𐬚𐬌𐬥] 𐬚𐬌𐬥
mad nest kēs martomak ce an ka sarēt

𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬑 𐬑 𐬚𐬌𐬥 𐬑 𐬀𐬵 𐬚𐬌𐬥 𐬑 𐬀𐬵 𐬚𐬌𐬥
ʾarand ci bār man hac man u

𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬑 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬑 .
arēzīnd hamburt .

[my] shade[a] over the fatigued[b] merchants[c], [I who am[d] grown up in the fresh[e] earth, when men[f] appreciate[g] [me correctly through this] that they do not destroy[h] me.

20[a]. I wish: may there be golden-coloured[b] rivers[c]: may this be[d] that men, for whom there is no wine and bread[e], eat from me the crop [of fruits], which are hanging[f] together[g] on me!

— [a] For orthogr. s. § 15, no. [b] MP. خسته "wounded, sick, infirm"; cf. *ayan-zastak* "wounded to the life" s. 69c; for meaning cf. GIrPh. I b 142 Lit. "trampled under foot", ppp. from 𐬱𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬵 *zastan*, cf. Bthl. MiranM. II 27. [c] Paz. *kardahagā*, MS. 4 6, 37, 36; Ta has 𐬑𐬀𐬭𐬑𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬑 *kardanan* "ministers". MP. کاردان (Vullers). A translates "workers", perhaps reading the variant *kārkaran*, MP. کارگران. — [d] Lit. "new", MP. نو; cf. Horn NpEt 234. [e] MP. مَردُمَک "a little man, a manikin" Vullers, dimin. from مَردُم "man"; for etym. cf. Bthl. zAirWb. 70. The sing. is used here in the collective sense with the verb in the plur. FrP. *11*, 1. — [f] Denom. from MnP. ارز *arz* "value, price", cf. HN. *1*, 9, 19, and PahlV. *1*, 1. MP. ارج. — [g] Denom. from 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬥 *arēzīnam* "I value"; for meaning cf. AV. *86*, 5.

20 [a] P. 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬑 other mss. 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬑 𐬀𐬑 as two words. — [b] Thus P.; cf. § 18. — [c] Thus Ta.; P. 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬑, other mss. have 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬑 𐬀𐬑, whose 𐬑 must have been originally written as a variant of 𐬀 of preceding word, cf. PahlT. *110*, no. 25.

[a] The above translation remains doubtful. A leaves out the whole paragraph upto the first six words of § 21 untranslated. B renders it as follows — "(§ 18) When men appreciate me according to my exact value, and do not inflict me any injury (then), I wish that during the whole day there may be for them freshness", i. e. the weather may be refreshing the whole day). Men who have neither bread nor wine nourish themselves from my fruit, which hang continually (on my branches)". He says in the note that this translation is conjectural. — [b] MP. زرگون or *zarrīn* "golden", MP. زرین, cf. § 51, no. [a]. — [c] cf. Aw. *raδay*, *raiδi*, Bthl. AirWb. 1344. [d] Opt. 3. sing. from 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬑 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵 *satan* "to go, to be, to become". FrP. *20*, 6. MP. شدن. — [e] FrP. p. 16. — MP. نان. — [f] Contracted form for 𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬙 𐬚𐬌𐬥 *ava.xt hand*, lit. "are hanged", cf. MP. آویختن. — [g] Lit. "borne together", cf. MP. بُردن

[1]𐬀𐬎𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 [d] 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬌𐬀𐬌 [2]𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 :-1
asurīk [*t*] *draxt būt raxt au kas* **21.**

[3]𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 [3]𐬱𐬀𐬙 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐
šanat fra dēram ·karēt pasoː bāzam

𐬀 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 [4]𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 [5]𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 [4]𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐
man ō ·ti tō raneh man ō ·ti tō ku

𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 [6]𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬀 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐
sanāt kartakan man haː ·ka upartīh

[*d*] 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 [7]𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐
[*t*] *soːanat halak ōē nang baret*

𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 [8]𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 :-
. *patkāret*

21. When that was said[a] by the Assyrian tree, my goat answers[b]: It was heard by me for a long time[c], viz. "Thou also disputest[d] with me, thou also fightest[e] with me." When this from my deeds is heard [by thee] shame will be [to thee, for] it contradicts[f] that foolish[g] word of thine.

21. [1] These six words form part of § 20 in PahlT *110* 7. 8, but they properly belong to § 21. — [2] For orthogr. cf § 4, no 3. — [3] Thus P, for 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐, cf no 2. — [4] P has 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐. — [5] P has 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐. — [6] Thus all. P and Ta 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐. — [7] Or *baret* cf. ai *bharatu*. An unusual orthogr. for the ideogram 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐, as also in § 26. At any rate either 𐬀 or 𐬀 is redundant: cf 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 *barāt* "may be" opt 3 smg. PahlT. *16*. 8. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. *17* 7 for the ideogr 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐; the word occurs in the colophon of the *Ayātkār ī Zarīran* written by the Persian scribe *Mihr-Awan Kai-khusrō* in 691 A. Y. Thus 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 must also have its origin in the copy of this scribe. — [8] For orthogr. 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 cf no. 2. 3. and § 4, no. 4. Mss 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐.

[a] Thus also B. MidPT *raxt*, Gab *rāt* "said, spoken", ppp from **rāxtan* "to say, to speak", *raxend*, cf. § 27, pres. 3. plur., MidPT. *raxend* "they say", comp. MP نواختن "to flatter, to sing". — [b] Bthl. zAirWb. 216. 217. — [c] For *karēt*, s. § 6, no. 1. — [d] Cf MP شنیدن, also شنودن FrP *23*. 4. Thus also B. A translates "raises forth (*fra*) *shanat* its head unto me". It is difficult to find any justification for this reading and meaning of *shanat*, as there is no word in the known MidP. and MP. texts that may be compared to it. Or has he taken it to be equal to MP. افشاندن, فشاندن "to strew, to scatter". — [e] Bartholomae reads *sar-om fra sanat* "he raises his head unto me" (ethical dat.), and takes *sanat* for the caus. of *sutan* "to be". — [f] Denom. from MidP. **ran*, gAw *rana-* "a disputer, a fighter". Cf Bthl. AirWb 1523. A reads *rane* "thou drivest at:" B. *iaδhrāi + ak* "he who is behind, hence inferior". — [g] Pres. 2. smg. for meaning s. § 3. no 1. — [h] Lit "fight", denom from 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐 *pathar* "struggle, combat, contest", MP پیکار, s. KH 95. A. translates "When my doings will be listened to, shame will repel (𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐) that foolish utterance of thine". B rendering is quite obscure. It is as follows: "because it is I, who always furnishes to little babies their milk, as much as they desire. They protect me on the pasture-ground". — [i] Comp. MP. هالک "a bad fellow, a corrupter, destroyer", comp. Bthl. AirWb 1790.

r'ast buland i šāh hom burz **22.**

yim ī šēt [ō] dēr pa kē sāhīh manēt

dērān ī ranj ō hangām farroī ō pa

. hast būt barandak

dāru čī huśk i drax't martoman **23.**

. zarrēn būt saras drax't ū

22[a]. I am exalted[b]. [just as] an exalted king wished: may the sovereignty[c] remain [with me always], which had been wholly [attached] to shining *Yim*[d] in the happy period[e] for a long time for the pain of the demons.

23. O men! the tree of even dry wood[a], whose top was golden[b] —

---

22. [1] Thus P., mss. ‹ 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬙 ›. — [2] P. ‹ 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬙 ›. — [3] The copyist has written this word with too many hooks ‹ 𐬠 ›, there are eleven ‹ 𐬠 ›s in P., whereas other mss have eight. — [4] Mss. ‹ 𐬀 ›. — [5] P. ‹ 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬥 ›, other mss ‹ 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬌 ›.

[a] This passage is very obscure. The translations of A. and B. differ from each other very much. A. renders it as follows: "Lofty art thou, tall demon! Majestic (*bazūn*?) thou art; thou resemblest the demon of demons which was over the head of Jamshīt: thou hast become complete at that auspicious period and day of the demons". B.'s version is quite unintelligible; it runs as follows: "I am honoured just as a great king wished. The sovereignty, which Jemshīt possessed for a long time, it is through the milk, that it became prosperous (*): it is by him, that the evil was enchained which the demons caused men". — [b] MP. بلند. — [c] MP. شاهي, comp. GF. 3 88. A. renders it "demon of demons", but it can be read *saida*, and not *saida-ān saidā'*. — [d] Thus literally. MP. جمشيد, Aw. *yima χšaeta*, cf. Bthl. AirWb. 1300. — [e] FrP. *11* 1. — [f] MP. هنگام. The word is a pseudoideogram for ‹ 𐬲𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬥 › *hangām-*. It seems that it has its origin in the orthography ‹ 𐬲𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬥 ›, then ‹ 𐬲𐬀𐬙 › through the prolongation of ‹ 𐬀 ›, comp. KH. 55. I think it quite far fetched to consider the word as a corrupt orthography for Heb. עֵילָם, s. Pahl. Paz. Gl. p. 61.

23. [a] MP. دارو درخت (Vullers): *dāru* is most probably a transcription of Aw. *daoru*. — [b] A. translates "O men! (Is this) too the tree of immortal beverage (*anush-dārū*), the tree, whose top was golden?" But as no such claim is made by the tree in the preceding part of the story I am not inclined to read ‹ 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬎𐬁 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬎 › *anush-dārū*. If *anush* is read, then the word must be written ‹ 𐬀𐬥𐬎𐬎𐬁𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬎 ›.

*) B says in the note: "because during the whole time of his sovereignty he did not nourish himself but on the milk of the goat".

𐭦𐭠𐭫𐭩𐭭 𐭪𐭥𐭫𐭠𐭪 𐭪𐭤𐭫𐭠𐭪 𐭤𐭫𐭠𐭪 𐭩𐭭 𐭤𐭥 𐭠𐭥 𐭤𐭥 ٤٣
zarrēn hēh kert kūdakan ō kē tō **24.**

𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭩𐭭 𐭤𐭥 𐭪𐭤𐭫𐭠𐭪 𐭪𐭤𐭫𐭠𐭪 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 ٤٤
. gōšākas kē dānāk sačēt burtan bar pa

24[a]. Thee, who art made golden, it beseems[b] to bear fruits, for the children[c]. Wise [is he] who becomes acquainted with what he has heard[d].

𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 ٤٥
tō hač bar barom :ku an hakar **25.**

𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 [𐭥] 𐭤𐭥 ٤٦
. apāsāt [u] buland

25. If [thou sayst] this: I bear fruits more than thee[a], and useful ones[b],

𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 ٤٦
nangam karom 1 pasox at **26.**

𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 ٤٧
. gran barēt

26. and [then] if I give[a] thee the answer, it would be to me great shame.

𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 𐭤𐭥 ٤٧
pārsīk ī āpyasn pa vāčēndam **27.**

27. Men call[a] [rather] me in the *Āpzohr* cere-

24. [1] Mss. 𐭦. — [2] Mss. 𐭣. — [3] For read. cf. § 6. no. [4]. It is written here *plene*. — [4] For read. and mean. cf. KH. pref. § 11. MP. ب. — [5] Mss. 𐭦.

[a] A. translates "Owing to these thy (vile) doings is thy top yellow-coloured. But the wise ought to be humble with the ill-informed". This translation does not suit the context, as there was upto now no mention of the vile deeds. B. leaves out the first part of the section untranslated: he connects 𐭤𐭥 𐭦 𐭤𐭥 "owing to thy bad intelligence (*dušakās*) with § 25. My translation from § 20 to § 29 is also in parts conjectural. — [b] MP. کودک. — [c] Cf. MP. سزیدن. — [d] MP. بُردن. FrP. 20. 14. 15. — [d] MP. گوش "ear," and آگاه "knowing, intelligent". Reading *dānāk hač dūsākas* the sentence can be translated "wise [is one] through an evil-informed man", i. e. by observing such a man one may get wise through his follies.

25. [1] P. has a redundant 𐭩 before 𐭣. Other mss. have 𐭩. The copyist must have read 𐭣 *ō* and placed the ideogr. 𐭩 for it. — [2] Thus JJ. Mss. 𐭤𐭥.

[a] Lit. "I bear (the crop of) fruits higher than thee". — [b] MP. آبا Vullers, and MP. سود.

26. [1] Thus P. — [2] P. omits 𐭥; other mss. write 𐭤𐭥 together. — [3] For orthogr. cf. § 21. no. [7].

[a] Lit. "I make thee an answer", cf. § 6. no. [4].

27. [1] P. 𐭤𐭥. — [2] Mss. 𐭤𐭥.

[a] Lit. "they say to me they speak to me", for mean. cf. § 21. no. [4].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
ritartak u hēh ravaṣ [kē tō] ku martom
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
. draxtan [i] apēsāt [u]

mony[b] of the Parsis than [thou], who art [merely] foliage[c], but [otherwise] dead[d] and useless[e] among trees.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] **28.**
martōmūn awarēh bar tō hakar **28.**

28. If thou bearest fruits, men of the [sacred] law[a] would let [thee] loose on the pasture-ground[b] even in the manner[c] of oxen

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
pa hūland apar gōyaot dātəstan [i]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
. garan [i] ēk ravak

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] **29.**
-rōspīh ke kasom ēmanīk - ēat **29.**

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
. kas zatak

29. Am I a self[a]-conceited[b] person[c] like one who is born of a courtesan[d]?

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] **30.**
(i) az gaδ-hūland ī dēv asnūn **30.**

30. (i). Hear[b]. I fight[c] the demon who is [i][d] having

---

[a] Mss. [illegible], written *plene*, instead of [illegible]. — [b] P [illegible].

[1] The *Yasna* ceremony, in which some water taken from a well or a spring, is offered mixed with *Hom*-juice and *jurūm* (milk of the she-goat) as a libation to an *Yazata*. It is finally poured into the same well or spring. It is certain that there is no reference to the ceremony for the consecration of the holy water — *zaoθra*, MP. [illegible], cf. Spiegel, "Die heiligen Schriften der Parsen, Vol. II, introduction p. XCII-XCIII. A. translates "mystic utterance" *ard-soxʷan*, but then [illegible] is expected. B. "sacrifice" *izishn*. — [a] Cf. MP. [illegible], lit. "increase, grass, herbage". ArmLm. *tasa* "misery". ZDMG. *46* 329; s. Horn, NpEt. 296. A. "thou hast grown", but then *raxsit heh* is required. B. "dried up". — [b] Cf. MP. [illegible], ppp. from [illegible] *ētartan*, s. KH. 54; thus also B., whereas A. "hast spread". — [c] Cf. MP. [illegible] "without." MidPT *'abē*, s. Bthl. zAirWb. 51, and cf. MP [illegible].

28. [1] JJ & P. [illegible], other mss. [illegible]. — [2] In [illegible] *yaot* is written *plene*.

[a] A. *aya* "behold", cf. § 2, no. [a], § 17, no. [b]. — [b] Aw. *gao-yaotay-*, cf. Bthl. AirWb. 484. — [c] FrP. 25. 2. MidPT *ērīnag*, for etym. cf. Bthl. SRb. 12, cf. further WZKM. 27. 372. KH. 67.

29. [1] Mss. [illegible].

[a] FrP. *11*, 4. — MP. [illegible]. — [b] MP. [illegible] "conceited, pecond" (Steingass). — [c] FrP. *11*, 1. — MP [illegible]. — [d] MP. [illegible].

30. [1] P [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	the uplifted mace [e], [since]
varčāvand bay dātār ka patkārom	when the Creator, the
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	glorious [f] Lord [g], the shin-
i dēn apēčak ōhrmazd x'āpar bāmīk	ing One [h] bountiful [k] *Ōhr-*
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	*mazd* taught [l] the pure [m]
. čāšt (čē) māzdayasnān	religion of the adorers of
	Mazda.
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	**31.** It is not at all [a]
būz kē man haδ yut ōhrmazd x'āpar **31.**	possible to honour bounti-
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	ful [b] *Ōhrmazd* except [c]
haδ jīv či harkiδ šāyēt nē yaštan hom	through me, who am the
[illegible] [illegible]	goat, because they make
. karēnd man	from me the *Jīvām* [d]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	**32.** in the *Yazišn* [a] of
[*u*] *yazatān i yazišn andar* **32.**	the *Yazats* [b], and of *gōšu-*

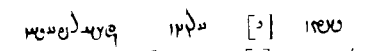
— [2] P. [illegible], other mss. [illegible]. — [3] P. [illegible]. — [4] P. [illegible].

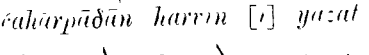
[a] B. omits the first six words in the translation. — [b] Cf. MP. شنودن: FrP. *23.* 4. A. reads again here *ēyā* "behold" [1] — [c] For meaning, cf. § 21. no. [t]. A. "I challenge thee"? B. "I shall answer thee". — [d] Lit "illicit desire", MP. آز; from Aw. *āz-* "to strive for, to crave for". Bthl. AirWb. 342. A. reads *az* "I", cf. § 2. no. 4; cf. AV. *6.* 8. *95.* 7. — [e] MP. بُلند. and Aw. *gaδā*, which is here transcribed, s. Bthl. AirWb. 488. A. "thou art tall, but then [illegible] *buland-ēh* is expected. — [f] MP. ورزاوند. — [g] MP. بغ, cf. Bthl. AirWb. 921. — [h] MP. بامي, an appellation of the town of Balkh (Vullers), cf. AV. *14.* 14, 20. *15.* 16, 21. — [k] MP. خاور. The renderings of A. "Just", of B. "omnipotent" are certainly wrong. — [l] Cf. MP. چشيدن "to taste", from which the caus. MP. چاشيدن "to let taste", but MidP. *čāšitan* always means "to teach", which later on got the sense of "to taste" (Vullers), cf. Horn NpEt. 97. — [m] MP. آويزه, ويره, cf. Horn NpEt. 58.

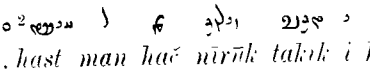
31. [1] Mss. [illegible]. — [2] P. [illegible] in Aw. characters. Mk. and JJ. place [illegible] above [illegible] by way of transcription.

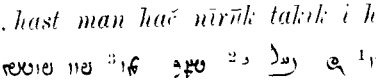
[a] MP. هركز. FrP. *31.* 3. where بلند, cf. for ety. Horn NpEt. 244. A. and B. omit in the translation. — [b] Cf. § 30. no. [k]. — [c] FrP. *25.* 6. — Cf. MP. جدا. — [d] MP. چيوام a cultus-word, from Aw. (*gāuš*) *jīvyąm* "the liquid nourishment, which the cow offers, i. e. the milk of the cow", s. Bthl. AirWb. 610. The word is used at present for the milk of the she-goat used in the *yazišn* ceremony of the Zoroastrians.

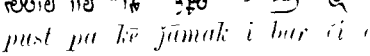
32. [a] Lit. "adoration, praise", a cultus-word, the name of a Zoroastrian ceremony. — [b] Lit. "worthy of respect, adoration", a cultus-word, Aw. *yazata*, cf. Bthl. AirWb. 1279. MP. ايزد.

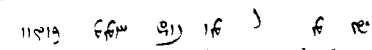

čahārpādān harvn [ı] yazat gōšurun

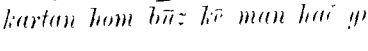

. hast man haē nīrūk takīk i hōm ći ō


pust pa kē jāmak i bar ći an **33.**


kartan hom būz kē man haē ǰut darom


. šāyet nē


kē karēnd man haē kamar **34.**


. murvarīt pa azrāyēnd

rvac, the *Yazat* of all[d] quadrupeds[e]. The strength[f] to powerful[g] *Hōm*[h] also is from me[i].

33[a]. Also that burden[b] of clothes[c], which I carry on my back, it is not possible to make except from me, who am the goat[d].

34. They make from me the belt[a], which they set[b] with pearls[c].

— [c] Aw. *gaos uuran*, lit. 'the soul of the bull', cf. Bthl. AirWb. 509. There is no doubt that *Drvāsp Yazat* is meant here, s. Bthl. AirWb. 783, SBE. 5 336, no. 5. In Šl. 22 14 *Gosurun* is called an archangel, who is the protector of the fourfooted beasts. — [d] MidPT. *harvn*, plur. of *harv*, Aw. *haurva-* 'whole' as much as to say 'all together' for the plur. suffix *-n*, comp. MidPB. *harvispn*, from *harvisp* 'all'. Bthl. zAirWb. 149, 150 B. translates 'benevolent, bienfaisant', which is certainly wrong. It is impossible to guess his reading. — [e] MP. جهرپایی. — [f] MP. نیرو — [g] MP. تکی. — [h] MP. هوم a cultus-word, the name of the plant from whose twig the juice is extracted during the *yazišn* ceremony, and then that of the juice itself. — [i] B. 'the force (قوم *o.*) of the robust and vigourous *Hōm* 'is incorrect, especially, because *nīrūk* is a noun and not an adj.

[1] Mss. : *gōšurūk* most probably on the analogy of words like *mēnūk* or a false pedantic orthography. — [2] For orthogr. cf. § 1, no. [2].

33. [1] P. , other mss. . — [2] P. omits, other mss. . — [3] Mss. .

[a] A. omits § 32. 33 from the translation. — [b] MP. بار. — [c] MP. جامه. — [d] The clothes made from the goat's hair are most probably meant here.

34. [a] MP. کمر. ArmLw. *kamar* — [b] The read. and mean. of the word doubtful. I take it to be a caus. of an *af'el* form of the root זרע 'to sow', Arab. أَزْرَعَ 'to have, to be in the state of having seed', the MidP. inf. would be *azrōtan* 'to make to have seed, to scatter seeds'. Fr. 'parsemer', hence 'to set with (jewels)'. A. translates 'they bedeck', whereas B 'they embroider', it is impossible to guess their readings. Bartholomae suggests *aznāyēnd* 'they sew, sew on'. Then the orthography reminds us of ȝZ. whereas in *uzrāy* (cf. § 8. no. [b]) would represent VZ. of the Turfan texts. — [c] MP. مروارید. ArmLw. *margarit*, borrowed from Gr. μαργαρίτης, cf. Horn ArmGr. I 363.

āzātān i sārtak [u] hom mōčak **35.**

husravān i angustpān [u] dātəstān [i]

mašk̊om . hamharzān-(i) šāh [u] **36.**

pa ryāpān u dašt pa apdan [u] karēnd

man hač ap sart carfik rōč garm

. hast

[hač] karēnd man hač maškīčak **37.**

i sūr u stacr rīrāzēnd apar sūr kē

35. I am the stocking[a] and the riding-equipage[b] of the nobles of the law, and the gloves[c] of the Xosroes[d],

36. and of the body-guards[a] of the kings. They make from me the (water-)bag[b], and the receptacle for water[c]. In the desert[d] and the waterless track[e], on a warm day, ice-cold[f] water is from me[g].

37[a]. They make from me the hide (of the drum)[b] by means of which they prepare[c] stately[d] the fes-

35. [1] ms. [illegible]. — [2] P. omits.

[a] Cf. for meaning § 9, no. [a]. — [b] Cf. MP. ساخت. Horn NpEt. 153. "the girth or surcingle of a horse, together his armour, covered on the both sides with felt cloth" (Steingass). A. omits in the translation. B. reads *yastak* "sacrificers". — [c] Lit. "the thimble". MP. انگشتپان. — [d] MP. خُسْرَو, cf. KH. 66. The word is used here in the general sense of "the powerful king".

36. [1] Mss. [illegible].

[a] ArmLw. *hamahar*: or *hamharz*, cf. WZKM. 17. 48. Christensen thinks that the word should probably mean "the officer of the corps of *pustighbāns* (*puštikpāns*) or some other corps of body-guards, and adds in the note that it signifies at any rate a very distinguished personage (Christensen, 94).*) — [b] MP مشک. — [c] NP. آبدان. — [d] MP. دشت. — [e] Lit. "without water". MP. بیابان. — [f] Lit. "having snow, ice", hence "icy, ice cold", for meaning cf. [illegible] *vafrōn* "snowy-[white]". KH. § 96. MP. برفی. — [g] MP. سرد. — [g] B. has not understood the passage. He translates "It is from me that they make the bag and the *abdān*, necessary (*niyāzān*) in the sacrifice, and in the days of heat, and the . . of the *sardab* is from me".

37. [1] Mss. [illegible]. — [2] P. omits.

[a] A. omits this paragraph from the translation. — [b] MP. مشکیچه. Dimin. from *mašk*. MP. مَشک. "a ship-skin, tanned or not, especially for carrying butter-milk or water". Steingass. — [c] For meaning cf. § 6, no. [e]. — [d] MP. بِسْیَر; here used adverbially. Cf. *pārak i st* "stately riches". KH. § 7.

*) L'empire des Sassanides, le peuple, l'État, la cour . . . par Arthur Christensen. Copenhagen, 1917.

[4]𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎 𐬀 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬀𐬎 𐬛𐬀 𐬉 𐬨 [3]𐬱𐬀𐬎
muškič . vīrāzēnd šēš man hač razurk

𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬀𐬎 𐬉 𐬨
karēnd man hač

tival day[c], and they make[c] full[c f] preparation through me for the great festival day. They make from me the musk[g]

𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬙𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬥-𐬛𐬀𐬑𐬱𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬥 (𐬀) [*patas hē*] **38.**
šahrdārān-dātestān (u) [patas hē] **38.**

𐬛𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬀 𐬛𐬀𐬵𐬛𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬥 𐬀 𐬛𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬨
rēs u sar dēhəpatan u xʷatayan kē

𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬭𐬐 [𐬀] 𐬯𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬵 𐬱𐬀𐬎 [3]𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬀𐬎
andar āzarm [u] šakāh pa vīrāzēnd

𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 𐬛𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎
. dārānd kanar

rulers[b] of the law who are the independent rulers[c] and the rulers of the country[d] make[e] [their] head and beard[e f]. With magnificence[g] and dignity[h] they keep [themselves] in the [due] limit[h].

𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬀𐬎 𐬉 𐬨 𐬛𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 **39.**
karēnd man hāč nāmak **39.**

39. They make from me the book[a]. They write[b]

– [3] Thus P., mss. 𐬌𐬀𐬵. — [4] Mss. 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌, the copyist has most probably mistaken it for the opening word of the paragraph.

— [c] MP. سور "a banquet, feast". B. renders the word once "on festival days" and then "the great tambourin": is it then the name of some unknown musik-instrument? Then most probably it is connected with a music-instrument 𐬛𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎 *dahalaka-(?)* KH. § 61. dimin. from MP. دهل "drum, tambur". — [f] For meaning cf. § 14. no. [c]. — [g] MP. مُشک. ArmLw. *mušk*. B. reads *mashk-gajak* "chawry for driving away flies", but then *max*, MP. مگس and not *mashk-*.

38. [1] Mss. 𐬱𐬀𐬵. — [2] Mss. 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎.

[a] A. omits this paragraph from the translation. — [b] For meaning cf. § 15. no. [c]. — [c] MP. خدای. خدا: for meaning comp. Gr. *cὸτοχράτωρ*: for etymology cf. BTHL. MiranM. 3. 13 ff. — [d] ArmLw. *dehpet*. It seems to me that the MidPers. words 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬥 *husravān* "Xosroes". 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬙𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬥 *šahrdārān* "satraps' *), 𐬛𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 *xʷatāyān* "autocrats, independent rulers" and 𐬛𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬥 *dēhəpatān* "rulers of the country" are used in this text more or less as synonyms for "rulers, kings", as not seldom in MidPB., s. BTHL. MiranM. 3. 23 ff. — [e] Lit. "they bring into order: adorn, embellish", cf. § 6. no. [e] The perfuming and colouring of the hair and the beard with the black musk (§ 42) is undoubtedly meant here, a practice not uncommon in the Orient. B. translates "balance"? — [f] MP. ریش. — [g] MP. شکوه; cf. AV. *14.* 9. ŠGV. . . . 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌. — [h] MP. آزرم. — [k] MP. کنار.

39. [a] FrP. *15.* 2. where 𐬛𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎. MP. نامه. The ideogram must be read *megallatā*, cf. ArmLw. *magalat* "parchment". HBM. ArmGr. *1.* 2. 312. both of

*) They called themselves "kings", which justified the title of the Persian kings "the king of kings". (CHRISTENSEN. 21.)

𐭠 𐭥𐭯𐭲𐭣 [ı] 𐭥𐭯𐭩𐭥𐭲 [d] 𐭯𐭫𐭥𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭲
u diptar [*u*] *dipīrān* [*i*] *frawartak*

𐭠 𐭥𐭯𐭩𐭥𐭲 𐭫 𐭱𐭥 𐭥𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭲
. nīpēšand man apar ⁎ ? ⁎

on me the letter[c] of the scribes[d] and the register[e] and the ⁎ ? ⁎[f].

𐭠𐭱 𐭥𐭫𐭲𐭣 𐭫 𐭱 𐭥𐭫𐭲 ٤٠
kē karēnd man hač ēk **40.**

𐭥𐭫 𐭱 𐭫𐭤 . 𐭠𐭯𐭩𐭣 𐭱𐭥 𐭯𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭣
man hač dōl . ⁎ ? ⁎ apar bandand

40. They make from me the (leathern-) bottle[a] which they bind on the ⁎ ? ⁎[b]. They make from me the bucket[c], and the finest garment[d] of the goat's hair[e], which the nobles and the great ones carry on the shoulder[f].

𐭠𐭱 𐭠𐭲𐭮𐭫𐭥𐭲 𐭥𐭫𐭲𐭣 [ı] 𐭥𐭫𐭲𐭩𐭫𐭥𐭲 [d] 𐭠𐭯𐭩𐭣
kē paśmēn-bāz [*i*] *vaṛšīk* [*u*] *karēnd*

𐭠 𐭥𐭫𐭲𐭣 𐭫 𐭱𐭥 𐭫𐭤 𐭠𐭯𐭩𐭣 ı 𐭠𐭮𐭮𐭮
. dārēnd dōš apar vazurkān u azātān

[𐭯𐭮𐭮] 𐭠𐭱 𐭥𐭫𐭲𐭣 𐭫 𐭱 𐭥𐭫𐭲 ٤١
[*patāš*] *kē karēnd man hač šikanǰ* **41.**

41. They make from me the strap[a], with which they bind the saddles[b] on which *Rōtastaǰm*[c] and

---

[1] P. omits. MK. JJ. 𐭥𐭯𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭣.

them are derived from Syr. ܦܸܝܼܟܼܬܵܐ "volumen". Aram. מְגִלָּה "(book)-roll". B. "diplômes". — [b] FrP. *23.* 2. — Comp. MP. نوشتن, for the orthography 𐭥𐭯𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭣 cf. Bull.SOStud. I. 4. 139. no. 2. — [c] ArmLw. *hrovartak*, s. Hbm. ArmGr. *1.* 1. 184. B. "page". — [d] They were the "secretaries of state" under the Sasanides and their chief was called *dipīrān mahist* (PahlP. *2.* 1) or *Ērān-dabīr-bedh* (*ērān-dipīrpat*) (Christensen). — MP. دبیر. ArmLw. *dpir*., cf. 𐭯𐭫𐭥𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭲 *dipirth* "the art of writing". KH. § 64. — [e] MP. دفتر (Zenker, Steingass). — [f] The read. and mean. of the words is obscure. It is perhaps a synonym of *diptar*. Or has it its origin in a contamination of 𐭯𐭠𐭲𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭩 *pātəxšāh* and 𐭠𐭫𐭲𐭥𐭮𐭮𐭩 *artəxšr* and does it not mean only "of the king" i *pātəxšāh*? It is omitted by A. and B. in the translation.

40. [1] Mss. 𐭱𐭲 P. gives the variant 𐭱𐭫𐭲 for it. — [2] P. 𐭯𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭣. — [3] Thus P. — [4] Thus P., mss. 𐭠𐭱. — [5] Mss. 𐭮𐭲𐭮.

[a] FrP. *7.* 5. — MP. خیک. A. "bowstring"? — [b] Perhaps *darōn*, MP. دروں, the short form of 𐭠𐭣𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭣 *andarōn*, PahlT. *2.* 17. MP. اندرون "inside, interior" (of a well), then — "which they bind over the interior of the well": thus also B. — [c] MP. دول. ArmLw. *doil*. A. reads "the onagre". *γūl*, Arab. غُول. which reading seems to me to be quite hasardous. Again he does not translate 𐭠𐭱 (?) or as it is corrected by me 𐭱𐭤 B. "the jug". — [d] MP. وَخشی (Vullers and Steingass). — [e] MP. پشمین. — [f] MP. دوش.

41. [1] P. has a var. 𐭤𐭮𐭯𐭲𐭮. — [2] P. has var. 𐭮𐭲𐭮.

[a] Cf. MP. شکنج "the twisting or coiling of a rope" (Steingass). "a mash or lock of hair" (Zenker). B. "the strap of the saddle". — [b] MP. زدن. — [c] The name of the Persian national hero, cf. Justi Nb. 262-63. The name

𐬐𐬀 𐬉𐬀 [ı] 𐬐𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬯𐬌𐬙 𐬌𐬌 𐬉𐬀 𐬐𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬙𐬌𐬙
pa kē [u] nisāstand bē apar spendadāt

𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬙 [3]𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌 [ı] 𐬐𐬀 𐬉𐬀
zonnār bavom darand zandpīl [u] pīl mas

𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌 𐬐𐬀𐬌 𐬀 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌 [5]𐬐𐬀𐬌 𐬐𐬀 𐬉𐬀
darand kar andar kārəčar vas pa kē

[ı] 𐬐𐬀𐬌 [ı] 𐬉 [6]𐬐𐬀𐬌 𐬌 𐬐𐬀𐬌
[i] band [man] hač sahēt nē hambūn

[9]𐬐𐬀𐬌 𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬌 [8]𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌 [7]𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌 [ı] 𐬐𐬀𐬌
*ānom * ? · * ? * u pilān [i] zenān*

𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬌 𐬐𐬀 [ıı] 𐬀 𐬉 [11]𐬐𐬀𐬌 [10]𐬐𐬀𐬌 𐬐𐬀𐬌
hom būz [kē] man hač yut ērēn hērān

𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌 𐬌 𐬐𐬀𐬌
. šāyēt nē kartan

Spendadāt[d] had sat, and which they place (lit. they keep) on the great elephant[e] and on the male (war-) elephant[f]. I become the girdle[g], which they make use of[h] in many battles[k]. It does not seem to be of the same origin (?)[l] [They make] from me the strap[m] of the saddles of elephants and * ? * * ? *. That I am, —riches of [every] sort.[n] Except from me, who am the goat it is not possible to make them[o].

— [3] Mss. 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌. — [4] Thus P. — [5] P. add 𐬐𐬀𐬌 after it. — [6] P. 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌, the latter has var. 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌. — [7] P. omits, other mss 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌. — [8] Mss. have the words written together 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬉𐬌, P. only 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌. — [9] P. 𐬐𐬀𐬌. — [10] P. 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌 — [11] P. 𐬐𐬀𐬉. occurs very seldom in the Pahl. litterature, e. g. PahlT 3 23. 22. 5. and Bd 31 41. where the orthography is uniform. On the contrary in MP. the word is written differently, e. g. روستهم and روستم, the forms which approach the MidP. form (cf. ZDMG. 49. 731. ZDMG. 46. 141) and رُستم and روستمَ (cf. WZKM. 15. 380-381): for ety. cf. Bthl. zAirWb. 70. — [a] MP. اسفندیار. Aw. *spənto-dāta* The name of one of the sons of *Vištaspa*, the champion of the Zoroastrian faith: cf. Bthl. AirWb. 1622. Justi Nb. 308. — [b] MP. پیل. FrP. 9. 2. — [c] MP. زندهپیل. Arab. زَنْدبِيل "the great elephant" (Vullers). FrP. 9. 2. where 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌. with the var. 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌. Muller's reading *zang-pīl* "the elephant from Zanzibar" (cf. WZKM. 7. 152) is objectionable, because in FrP. 9. 2 and in the text the *d* or *zand pīl* is always characteristically marked. For ety. cf. Horn NpEt. 148. — [d] MP. زُنّار "the girdle, esp. that worn under the clothes like the *cīcium* of the Christian monks, the stola" (Zenker), "the *kūstī* of the Zoroastrians": also "the Brahminical thread: a Hindu rosary" (Shakespear); like the ArmLw. *zunar* it is borrowed from Gr. *ζωστήρ*, dimin. of *ζώστη* "a belt, a girdle". B "the cord (𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌 ?) and the lasso". — [e] Lit. "they keep in use, they keep useful", comp. MP. در کار نیست "it is useless". B leaves out the text from 𐬐𐬀𐬌 upto 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬌 untranslated. — [f] MP. کازار. — [g] The sense of these words is obscure: MP. هم بون ?): for *sahet*, cf. *sahəstan*, inf. FrP. 18. 1. — [h] MP. بند. lit "band, fetter". — [k] Cf. § 28. no. c. — [l] A omits the whole section from the translation.

𐭪𐭫𐭭𐭣	𐭠	𐭦	𐭱𐭲	𐭤𐭬	𐭢𐭲
karēnd	*man*	*hać*	*hambān*	**42.**	

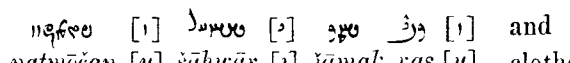
𐭯𐭩𐭮𐭲	𐭥	𐭱𐭠𐭭	𐭪𐭩	[*d*]	𐭣𐭠𐭲𐭠𐭮𐭲𐭠𐭭	[*i*]	*rāćarkānāṇ*		
pist	*u*	*nān*	*kē*	*dātəstan*					
𐭥	[*d*]	𐭫𐭩𐭬𐭩𐭪	[*i*]	𐭮𐭠𐭩𐭥𐭭-𐭬𐭩𐭱	[*n*]	*panīr*	*u*		
u	*x'artīk*		*rāẏn-mēš*						
𐭲𐭥𐭮𐭲𐭩𐭪	𐭩	𐭱𐭪	𐭩	𐭧𐭩𐭲	𐭩	𐭫𐭥𐭩𐭮	𐭥	𐭠𐭯𐭥𐭮	
tuxārīk	*i*	*xazz*	*u*	*sigā*	*i*	*mušk*	*u*	*kapār*	

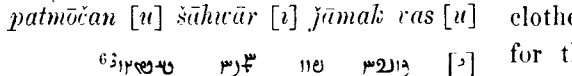
42 The merchants[a] of the law make from me the leather-bag[b], who bring bread[c], and the *pist*[d], and cheese[e], and the edible[f] butter[g] of the sheep[h], and camphor[k], and the black[l] musk[m], and raw silk[n] of *Tuxar*[p].

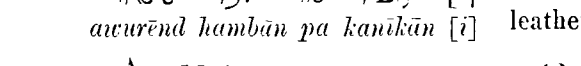
---

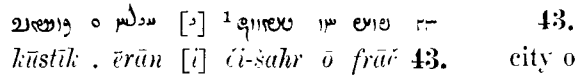
42. [1] Mss. 𐭱𐭲. — [2] Thus P with the variant 𐭧𐭩𐭲. — [3] P. 𐭮𐭠𐭩. — [4] Thus P — [5] P. omits, mss. 𐭥.

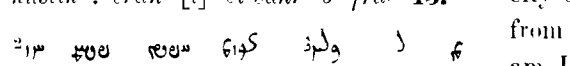
[a] MP. جازرگان, ArmLw *razarakan*. — [b] MP. هنبان "the cloak-bag, portmanteau" (Vullers), "leather-bag wallet (Zenker). — [c] FrP. p. 16. — MP. نان — [d] Cf. KN. 133 *zahr apāk pist u sakr rimīxt* "poison mixed with flour and sugar", cf. also Bibl. zSR. III 37. MP. پست or پُست "a kind of food made of deer's liver, almonds, etc., and of which a bit the size of a pistachio-nut will support the life of a dervish for several days", also "roasted flour, a sort of porridge made of flour, or of corn" (Zenker). A. "*pōst* cheese" ! Although the words 𐭧𐭩𐭲 and 𐭫𐭩𐭬𐭩𐭪 are separated by 𐭥 *u*. — [e] MP. پنیر. — [f] Cf. MP. خوردي "food, nourishment" (Zenker). ArmLw. *xortik*: FrP. *19* 7. comp. *rōn-x'artīk*, KH. § 38 "side-dish". A. *xurtak* "pounded" (camphor). — [g] MP. روغن, FrP. 7. 5 — [h] FrP. 7. 3. MP. ميش. A. reads *arūn*, and leaves out untranslated. B. "la salade" ? — [k] MP. كافور, borrowed from Skr. *karpūra-*, cf. GrBd *11A*. 7. — [l] MP. سيا, cf. KH. § 96, no. 9, where 𐭱𐭱𐭱. — [m] Cf. § 37, no. 1. — [n] MP. خَزّ (Zenker): "silk, silken stuff" (Silvgass), "fine hair of beaver", "beaver" (Vullers): B. "the goat-skin". — [p] An ethnicon. Lit. "pertaining to the *Tuxār-s*", from whom their country is called *Tuxārastan*. MP. طخارستان. تخارستان. It is called in Chinese *T'ou-ho-lo*, and lies to the west of the *Ts'ong-ling* mountains, and to the south of the river *Or-hon* (Oxus) (Edouard Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux. St. Petersbourg 1903, p. 155). The *Tocharas* lived in the basin of the Tarim, in the eastern Chinese Turkistan. The name Tu-hu-lo or Taxāristan is mentioned first in the Chinese Wei annals, which deal with the period 386—556, whereas the name Toxāra occurs in the Greek and Roman historical sources already at a period dating five centuries back (Franke p. 32). Later on the Toxāras as well as the Tahias were finally merged in the Ta-Yue-chi tribe, which played an important part in the history of the lands of the Oxus and India (Franke p. 41). These powerful conquerors are named differently by the Indian and western Chroniclers, viz. Tochara (*Tukhāra* in Sanskrit), Indoskythen, Turuṣka, Kushān, Huns, etc., but the Chinese, not caring for the historical changes, use for them always the name Ta Yue-chi (Franke p. 12). *Tuxāristan* is after all another name for Bactria, and formed the eastern province of the Iranian empire, corresponding to modern *Xorasan*. In the Awesta and Achaemenian


patmōčan [*u*] *šāhwār* [*i*] *ǰāmak vas* [*u*]


awurēnd hambān pa kanīkān [*i*]


kūstīk . ērān [*i*] *čī-šahr ō frāč* **43.**


ān padām spēt ānom karēnd man hač


patmōčan [*u*] *šāhwār* [*i*] *taškūk*

and many magnificent[q] clothes[r], and the garment[s] for the girls[t] in [their] leather-bag[u]

43. even towards the city of *Ērān*[a]. They make from me the *kūstīk*[b]. That am I—the white *padān*[c], that magnificent *taškūk*[d], and the garment of the great ones. That am I,

— [n] P. .

times Balx[*]). Aw. *Bāxδiš*[**] was the important frontier town of the province, and had preserved its old importance even during the rule of the *Toxārs* or Ta Yüe-chi (Marquart 88). — [q] MP. شاهوار, lit. "royal, princely". — [r] MP. جامه. — [s] MidPT. *patmōčan*, ArmLw. *patmučan* "robe, garment", cf. Bthl. zAirWb. 183, and Horn NpEt. 288. — [t] Cf. MP. كنيز Horn NpEt. 194. — [u] A. takes *kanīkān* as the subject of *āwurēnd*, which is grammatically possible. But as the articles mentioned in the paragraph are nearly all articles of commerce, *vāčarkānān* must be logically taken for the subject.

43. [1] Mss. , for orthogr. cf. KH. § 14. Acc. to Bartholomae *čē* is as much as *i*, as in the northern (Parthian) TurfanPahl. — [2] P. .

[a] Thus literally. It is better to take it as "the land of Iran", cf. the title of J. Marquart's work "*Ērānšahr*". Still the city of الگرخ later known as گرخة, which was founded by Šāpūr II, had its official name according to Tabari I. ٨٤٥, 14 *Ērānšahr-Šāpūr* (Marquart 145). It seems to be the same city as *Ērān-kart-šāhpur* which was founded according to tradition by Šāpūr I (cf. PahlT. *23*. 3. 4) (ibid.). A. takes *frāč ō šahr čī i ērān* with the following *kūstīk hač man karēnd* and translates "in the Iranian districts they prepare the sacred girdle out of me". Then he leaves out the whole paragraph untranslated. — [b] MP. كوستيك the sacred thread-girdle of the Parsis, cf. Bthl. AirWb. 98. — [c] MP. پدام, comp. Horn. NpEt. 73. and Bthl. AirWb. 830. — [d] Read is uncertain; cf. VD. 181 the gloss to *vastrak i star pīsīt*, MP. صدره the holy shirt of the Parsis; cf. also Darmesteter, ZA. 2. 243. N. 94. where . and Bthl. AirWb. 411.

*) Bāxl, Bāhl, Bahl, Balx, ethnicon *bālxīk, *bāhlīk, balxī, syr. بلخسما. belongs to the *Toxaric* dialect prevalent in Balx, which was a norm for the Buddhist in the north of the Hindukuš, and which changed the group-*θr* to *l* (Marquart 88).

**) Cf. Bthl. AirWb. 953.

[3] [patas kē] ānom vazurkān
[4] [u] var pa kanīk [i]
[u] ēvom
[i] srōk . gēhik

handām
stāyēnd gartan
amāk man
i rul čiyōn bōdāt hubōδ tan patrand
* ? * 2

through whom they praise[e] the limb[s][f] of the girl [specially] as regards her breast[g] and neck[h]. I one, and those of the same species[k] as I, our contact[l] makes the body fragrant[m] with good scent, just like the rose[n] of the world. Two horns[p](?) * ? *

kōf ō kof . . . darom pušt ō apāč **44.**
[1] [ō] šarēt
[ō] zrēh i varkaš ō tar hindūkān
ō tar mānand kē martomak sartak-yut
[2] [x^vānīhēnd] varčašm u * ? * bum

44. I carry behind on [my] back[a] . . . goes from mountain[a1] to mountain towards the land[b] of the big *kišvar*[c], from the coasts[d] of the *Hindūs*[e] to the other side towards the sea[f] *Varkaš*[g], to the men[h] of different spieces[k], who dwell[l] on the other

— [3] Thus P., mss. ۱ . — [4] P. omits. — [5] Rare phonetic orthogr. of the prounoun 1. sing., cf. KH. § 103. no. 1. — [6] Mss. . — [7] Thus P., mss. . — [e] MP. ستایدن. — [f] MP. اندام. — [g] MP. بر. — [h] MP. گردون. — [k] MP. هم — often as the beginning of a compound and MP. سرده. — [l] پیوند. — [m] *bōδitan*, denom. from *bōδ* "fragrance", MP. بویدن. — [n] MP. گل. B. reads *gâlistân* "un parterre de roses, a rose-bed" for *rul i gēhik*. — [p] Thus B., MP. سرو. The read. and mean. of this and the following word remain obscure; for the latter cf. § 44. Or is it *vitast* "ell, yard", cf. Aw. *vitastay*. Thus BARTHOLOMAE.

44. [1] Mss. , most probably - stood for = equally obscure and then repeated through mistake by the copyist: for the expr. cf. and § 17. — [2] P. omits. — [3] Mss. .

[a] MP. پُشت. — A. "hump". He translates the passage: "Moreover I have humps on the back: on my humps go different races of men . . .". I think that some words are missing after *dārom*. — [b] MP. بوم. — [c] MP. کِشور. — [d] MP. کوست. — [e] MP. هندوک. — [f] Cf. MP. دریا. HORN NpEt. 125. — [g] Aw. *vaorukaša*, cf BTHL. AirWb. 1429. — [h] Cf. § 19. no. [h]. — [k] MP. جود. and MP. سرده. cf. § 43. no. [k]. — [l] FrP. *20*. 8. — MP. ماندن.

side in the -?- [m], anp are called [n] the *Varćaśms* [p], because [their] eye [q] is on [their] chest, and their head [r] is like that of a dog [s] or like [t] a little bell [u], men who eat wood and leaves [v], and milk [w] the milk [x] from the goat. The livelihood [y] even [z] of those men [a] is from me.

45. They make from me the *Pēšpārak* [a] [which is] similar to the delicacy [b] of the immortal ones [c], [and] which the ruler and the mountain-chief [d] and the noble eat. I am alone [e] superior [f] to thee, o Assyrian tree.

— [4] Thus P. — [5] 𐬚 stands most probably for 𐬛, properly speaking *ē*, cardinal numeral "one", cf KH. § 55. — [6] P. 𐬀.

— [m] Cf. § 43. no. [p]. B. "cursed, accursed", i. e. *vǰastak*. MP. گجسته. But then 𐬫𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 (GT. *I* 11. 14) or 𐬫𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬱 (ŠGV. is expected. Or has he read 𐬫𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬭 *rat-dūk* ? — [n] Lit. "having the eye on the shest", cf. GrBd. *107*. 5. — [p] FrP. 23. 4. — MP. خواندن. — [q] FrP. *10*. 3 — MP. چشم. — [r] MP سر. — [s] FrP. *9*. 1. — MP سگ. — [t] Cf. MP. ماڭ. Horn NpEt., no. 967. 1102 bis. Hbm. PSt. 97. — [u] MP. بَرَنگ (Vullers and Steingass). — [v] MP. برگ. — [w] Cf. MP. دوختن. — [w] FrP 7. 4 — MP شیر. — [x] Cf MP زیوش. — [y] B. reads *ōǰ* "force, strength". — [z] Cf. § 19. no. [b].

45. [1] P. omits, mss have [2].

[a] MP. پشپار, a sort of sweetmeat (حلوا) prepared from flour, butter and syrup, called شفاخ in Arab. (Vullers). — [b] Cf. MP. خورش. خوراک. FrP. 5. 2. — [c] MP. انوشه: *anosak-xvar* may also mean "the immortal delicacy". J. reads it *hanōāk* "ministrel". — [d] MP. خُنیا. cf KH. § 64. — [e] MP. کوهبار. comp PahlT *21*. 8 — [f] Lit. "I one", for *ēr*, s. KH. § 67. B. 𐬉𐬀𐬌𐬭 "my works". A. *adak-am* "thus I", cf. § 48 where 𐬉𐬀𐬌𐬭. — [1] Cf. § 2, no. [5].

𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬎 𐬐𐬀𐬌𐬎 ¹𐬉𐬌𐬎 [𐬉] 𐬀 𐬇𐬍
bēt panīr u šīr man [hač] u **46.**

𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬉 𐬀 ³𐬉𐬌𐬍 ²𐬛𐬌𐬎 ¹𐬀 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬛𐬌𐬎
kašk u dūγ-am mahēst u apurnāyak

𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬉 𐬀
karēnd

¹𐬌𐬌𐬐𐬌𐬎𐬉 𐬛𐬌 𐬀 𐬇𐬍
yazišnkārān datəstān u **47.**

𐬛𐬀𐬎 𐬀 𐬌𐬎 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬛𐬎 𐬌𐬌𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬛𐬎
pōst man pa pātyāp māzdayasnan

𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬉 𐬀
darand

𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬉 𐬌𐬍 ³𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬉 𐬀 𐬌𐬌 ²𐬀 ¹𐬐𐬀𐬎 𐬇𐬎
barbut ō kanār u rīn u čang **48.**

𐬀 𐬌𐬎 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬛𐬎 ⁵𐬛𐬌 ⁴𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬉 𐬀
man pa čadand hamē tambūr u

46. And milk and cheese[a] is from me, and the child[b] and the grown up ones[c] make from me curds[d] and *kašk*[e].

47. And the *Māzdayasnas*[a], who are performing the *yazišn* ceremony[b] according to the [ritual] law preserve [their] *patyāp*[c] [valid] on my skin[d].

48. Whenever[a] [they play] the *Čang*[b], and the *rīn*[c], and the *kanār*[d], [and] beat[e] on the *bar-*

---

46. [1] Unusual ideogram for 𐬀, pron. 1. sing. Aram. אֲנָה, אֲנִי, syr. ܐܢܐ. Arab. أَنَا. — [2] Thus P., mss. 𐬛𐬌𐬎𐬀. — [3] Mss. 𐬐𐬌𐬍.

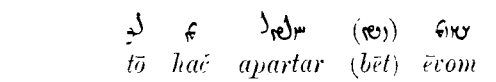
[a] Cf. § 42. no. [e]. — [b] MP. بُرِنا. — [c] MP. مهست. — [d] MP. دوغ (comp. Skr. *dugdha*) "churned or sour milk, whey, butter-milk (Steingass). — [e] MP. گشنک "sour milk dried: a sort of condiment made of butter-milk: a kind of thick pottage made of wheaten flour or barley-meal with sheep's milk" (Steingass). — [f] A. leaves it out in the translation.

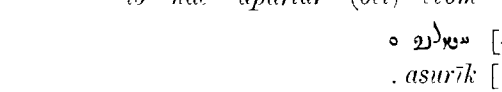
47. [1] Thus P., mss. 𐬌𐬌𐬐𐬌𐬎𐬉 A. "worthy" *sūdakaran*?

[a] Lit. "the worshippers of Mazda", comp. Bthl. AirWb. 1169. — [b] Cf. § 32. no. [a]. — [c] MP. پادیاب, the washing according to the ritualistic law: the word is mostly used for the washing of the members of the body, that remain uncovered, especially the hands, the feet and the face. There is here a reference to the custom of having loose leather-socks slipped into the shoes, as well as to the custom of sitting on the goat's skin or on the bolster of goat's skin during the nine days of the great ritualistic washing which the priests observe strictly. — [d] MP. پوست.

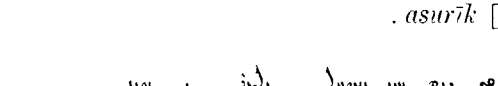
48. [1] P. 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬉. — [2] P. omits. — [3] P. 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬉𐬌𐬍. — [4] P. 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬉. [5] Mss. 𐬛𐬎, the common mistake for 𐬛𐬌, s. KH. § 4. no. [1], § 12. no. [13].

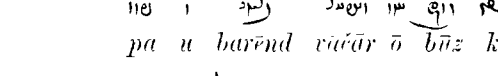
[a] Lit. "always"; then "every time when, whenever", cf. MidPT. *hamīr*, s. KH. § 71. — [b] MP. چنگ, cf. KH. § 62. no. [2]. — [c] ArmLw. *rin*: cf. KH. § 62. no. [2]. — [d] Cf. Aram. קָנָר, cf. KH. § 82. — [e] MP. زدن, FrP. 21. 3. A. omits *hamē čadand* in the translation. B "All different airs, which they play on the violin and the tambour — it is through me that they make them resound

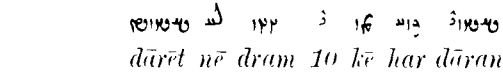

tō hač apartar (bēt) ēvom srayēnd

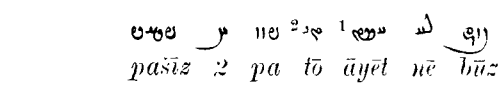

. asurīk [i] draxt

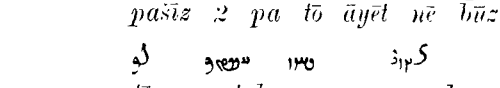
but[1] and the *tambūr*[2], they play[h] [of course] on me, [thus] I alone[k] am superior[l] to thee, o Assyrian tree.


pa u barēnd vačār ō būz ka **49.**


dārēt nē dram 10 kē har dārand vahāk


pašīz 2 pa tō āyēt nē būz ō frāč


tō xastak-gyan xarēnd kudakān


. ratūn hač arkandak frāč višūpīhēh

49. When they bring the goat to the market[a], and offer it for sale[b], every one who has not got ten *dram*[c], does not come near the goat. [But] the children buy[d] thee for two *pašīz*[e]. Wounded[f] to the life[g] thou willst be destroyed[h] exterminated[h] by the spiritual leaders[l].

— [1] MP. بَرْبُط, cf. KH. § 62. no. [7]. — [2] Cf. Arab. طَنْبُور. cf. KH. § 63. no. [6]. [h] MP. سرایدن. The goat mentions here these music instruments, because all these have their important parts, viz. the chords of the first three made of the sinew, and the hide of the last two made of the skin of the goat. — [k] Cf. § 45. no. [e]. — [l] Cf. § 2. no. [5].

49. [1] The rare orthogr. for . cf. FrP. *20* 6. — P. . — [2] P. has in Paz. characters . mss. . which form has arisen through the Iranian way of writing › (cf. for in the Aw texts*) which has produced such meaningless forms like *vōhu* for *vohū* "good", *ahu* for *ahū* "lord" in the prayer-book of the *kadīmī* section of the Zoroastrians. — [3] Mss. . — [4] Mss. .

[a] MP. بازار. cf. HORN NpEt. 38. and § 42. no. [a]. — [b] Lit. "they hold it for the (sale-)price", MP. بها. cf. HORN NpEt. 55. — [c] Cf. MP. درهم : FrP. *16.* 2. — [d] FrP. *21.* 13. — MP. خردن. — [e] MP. پَشیز "a small coin" (ZENKER). — [f] Cf. § 19. no. [e]. — [g] MP. جان. for read. cf. KH. § 9. no. [3]. — [h] Caus. from *sūptan*, *visūptan* "to disturb, to distroy", s. AV. *18.* 13. — [k] Cf. MP افگندن "to throw away", from Aw. *apa* and *kan* "to dig out, to root out", comp. for *kandan* AV. *81.* 1. — [l] A. omits *gyān-xastak ... ratūn* in the translation. B. the weaver dig (*arkand*[2]) thy body constantly". Thus he reads *yālāhak*, MP. جولاهه. جولا. FrP. *15.* 4. He takes *hač ratūn* with § 50 "that they offer the sacrifice to the *Ratus* to the other side of this vast earth". This translation as he himself says is conjectural.

*) There is practically no difference in the and even in GELDNER's Aw. texts.

𐭠𐭭𐭲 𐭭𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭩𐭪 𐭩 𐭮𐭭 𐭠𐭭𐭲 𐭡𐭰
ēnam nēwakih u sūt ēnam **50.**

𐭥𐭭 𐭩𐭦𐭭 𐭤 𐭦 𐭩𐭦 𐭮𐭤𐭣 𐭩 𐭮𐭭𐭮
bē būz man hač kē drūt u dahišn

𐭡 𐭩𐭥 𐭮𐭭𐭮 [2]𐭠𐭲 𐭤𐭮 𐭩𐭥𐭤 [1]𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭮𐭭
.būm pahān ǰi im tar āyēt

𐭩𐭲 𐭤 𐭦𐭩 𐭮𐭭𐭮 (𐭣) 𐭮𐭭𐭮𐭤 𐭠𐭭𐭲 𐭡𐭱
ō man kē so.ᵛan (i) zarrēn ēnam **51.**

𐭮𐭤𐭥 [2]𐭩𐭤𐭮𐭤 [𐭣] 𐭮𐭭𐭮 𐭦𐭩 𐭩𐭮𐭤 𐭮𐭮𐭥 𐭤𐭯
rarāz u hūk [i] pēš kē ǰiγōm nihāt tō

𐭤 [2]𐭩𐭤 𐭮𐭮𐭥 𐭮𐭩𐭩𐭤𐭤𐭥 𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭤𐭤 (𐭣)
1 čang aδāp afšānēt mūrvārīt (i)

𐭡 𐭩𐭮𐭠 𐭣 𐭮𐭭𐭤 𐭣 𐭮𐭭𐭮 𐭮𐭮𐭠
.mast i uštr i pēš žanēt

𐭩𐭩 𐭮𐭭𐭮 𐭤𐭮𐭮 𐭤𐭮𐭥𐭣 𐭩𐭩 𐭦 𐭡𐭲
būn pa ku karēnd apāč būn hač **52.**

𐭣𐭮𐭮𐭣 𐭩𐭩 𐭠𐭮𐭮𐭯 [2]𐭮𐭩𐭤 𐭮𐭭𐭮𐭮 [1]𐭣
hubōδ an ⁎?⁎ ⁎?⁎ kōfān dahišnīh i

𐭦 𐭩 𐭠𐭩𐭠𐭮𐭮𐭩 [3]𐭤𐭯 [𐭣] 𐭮𐭭𐭲 [2]𐭮𐭩𐭤 𐭩𐭩
hač u x'arom tarun [i] gayāh kōfān

50. This [is] my use[a] and goodness[b], these [are] my gifts[c] and welfare[d], which are coming from me [who am] the goat also on the other side of this[e] broad[f] earth[g].

51. These [are] my golden[a] words, which are laid[b] before thee by me, like [one] who strews[c] pearls before a pig[d] or a boar[e], or play[f] the *Čang* before a mad[g] camel[h k].

52[a]. They make it again from the beginning, that from the beginning of the creation ⁎?⁎ ⁎?⁎ the mountains[a], I eat that fragrant [and] fresh[b] mountain-grass[c]. and

---

50. [1] P. 𐭮𐭮𐭩𐭮. — [2] Thus for 𐭤. cf. KH. pref. § 12.

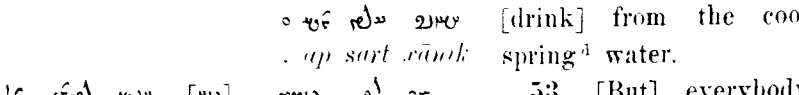
[a] MP. سود. — [b] MP. نیکی. — [c] MP. دهش. — [d] FrP. *26.* 1. — MP. درود. — [e] FrP. *24.* 2. — [f] MP. پیهن. — [g] MP. بوم.

51. [1] P. omits. mss. 𐭣. — [2] P. 𐭩𐭤𐭮.

[a] FrP. *16.* 2. — MP. زرین. cf. § 20. no. [b]. — [b] FrP *21* 12. — MP. نهادن. — [c] MP. افشاندن. FrP. *18.* 15 where 𐭮𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭮. The form 𐭮𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭮 is possibly the result of the false and defective orthogr. 𐭮𐭮𐭩𐭮𐭮 *pasūntan*, in which *pasūn* יְסֻנּוּן would be the regular 3. plur. impf. from Aram. סְסָנָה without the conventional ' *ya* prefix. Thus the third root-letter ה, which is written in glossarial form 𐭩 is normally suppressed in 𐭮𐭤𐭮. Now as regards 𐭤, it is surely a false orthogr. for 𐭮. cf. Bull,SOSt. I, 4, p. 139. no. [2]. — [d] FrP. *7.* 4. — MP. خوک. — [e] MP. گراز. — [f] Lit. "strikes, strokes". MP. زدن. — [g] FrP. *21.* 3. — MP. مست. — [h] FrP. *7.* 1. — MP. اشتر. — [k] A.'s translation ends here, so also that of B. except that he translates the first sentence of § 54.

52. [1] P. omits. — [2] P. omits. — [3] Mss. 𐭤𐭯.

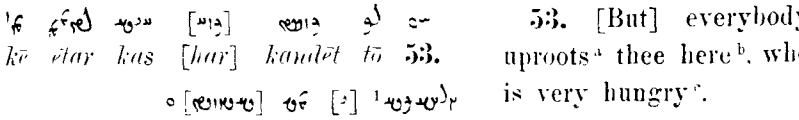
[a] The whole sentence remains obscure. — [b] Cf. MP. تر. — [c] FrP. *6.* 2. — MP. گاژ.



[drink] from the cool spring[d] water.

53. [But] everybody uproots[a] thee here[b], who is very hungry[c].

54. And the goat went away in triumph[a].



May he who has written [this] obtain the *Garōθman*[b] possessing good multitude[c] [of men] in good fame[d] and steadfastness in the faith[e], may he himself live long! In every + ? + of + ? + enemies, may he see[f] this head of the enemy dead[g]! May he also who has composed[h] [this] and he who has written this be in the same way[k] possessing the renowned body in this world[l] and possessing the redeemed[m] soul in the heavenly (world)! May it be so[n].

— [d] MP. خاني

53. [1] P. ɜɣɯɔɽ. mss. ɜɟɯɔɽ.

[a] Cf. MP. كندن. ʃ § 49. no [b]. — [b] Paz. *aidar*, FrP. *25*. 8. — [c] Cf. MP. گرسنكي. s AV. *23*. 2. *59*. 5. *89*. 2, lit. "who has great hunger".

54. [1] Thus P., mss. ɔɸɽɔɽ. — [2] Mss. ɔɽɔɽ. — [3] Mss. ɽɽ ɸɔɽ. — [4] Mss ɽɽ ɓɸɔɽ. — [5] Mss. ɸɔɽ. pres. ind., better subj

[a] MP. فيروزي. — [b] Aw. *garōdəmāna* "the house of the praise", s. Bthl. AirWb. 512 — [c] MP. هو and MP. رم. Aw. *hvąθwa* "having good flocks". Bthl. AirWb. 1857. — [d] Abstr. noun from *husrav*, cf. § 35. no. [d]. — [e] Comp. MidPT. *abastāvagānān* and *abastāgān* "firm in faith", s. Bthl. zAirWb. 51, abstr. noun. — [f] Pres. ind. 3. sing. from *dītan* "to see". MP. ديدن. FrP. *20*. 9. a very rare *plene* orthogr — [g] MP. مرده. — [h] Lit. "laid down (in writing)". FrP. *21*. 12. — MP. نهادن. — [k] MP. هم and *ēvēn* "mode, species", cf. *ēvēnak* § 28. no. [c]. — [l] MP. گيتي — [m] MP. بختن. — [n] MP. ايدون.

INDEX OF MIDP. WORDS

The figures show the paragraphs

ʾa 21
ḫa 26
ḫa 3, 19
ḫaḫaʾa 19
ḫaʾa 54
ḫaḏaʾa 50
ḫaḫaʾa 49
ḫaʾa 32
ḫaḫaʾa 6, 57, 38
ḫaʿa 20
ḫaʿa 49
ḫaʿa *ṣaṣt* 21
ḫaʿa *nihāt* 51
ḫaʿa 36
ḫaʿa 27
ḫaʿaʿa 40
ḫaʿa 10
ḫaʿaʿaʿa 5
ḫaʿaʿa 27
ḫaʿa 49
ḫaʿaʿaʿa 42
ʾi 44
ḫaʿi 44
ḫaʿi 44
ḫaʿi 30
ḫaʿi 36
ḫaʿaʿi 9, 16
ḫaʿi 8
ḫaʿaʿi 27
ḫaʿaʿi 43
ḫaʿaʿaʿi 44
ḫaʿaʿi 54
ḫaʿaʿa 40
ḫaʿaʿi 2
ḫaʿaʿi 21
ḫaʿu 28
ḫaʿu 54
ḫaʿaʿu 54
ḫaʿ 31, 33, 41
ḫaʿaʿ ḫaʿ 44
ḫaʿaʿ 44
ḫaʿaʿaʿ 32
ḫaʿaʿaʿaʿ 24
ḫaʿ 40
ḫaʿ 7
ḫaʿ 46
ḫaʿaʿ 16
ḫaʿ 40
ḫaʿaʿaʿ 53
ḫaʿaʿ 29
ḫaʿ 30
ḫaʿ 2, 28, 35, 38, 42, 47
ḫaʿaʿaʿ 6
ḫaʿ 37
ḫaʿ 50
ḫaʿ 42
ḫaʿ 18
ḫaʿ 41
ḫaʿ 36
ḫaʿ 31
ḫaʿ 35
ḫaʿ 49
ḫaʿ *sanīt* 21
ḫaʿ *ṣaṣt* 20
ḫaʿ 17
ḫaʿ 24
ḫaʿ 52
ḫa 1, 44
ḫaʿaʿaʿ 38
ḫaʿ 32
ḫaʿaʿ 21
ḫaʿaʿ 42, 43
ḫaʿaʿ 31, 33, 41
ḫaʿaʿ 22
ḫaʿaʿaʿ *sahīh* 22
ḫaʿaʿaʿ *dēr* 30
ḫaʿaʿaʿ 22
ḫaʿa 50
ḫaʿaʿa 52
ḫaʿaʿ 1
ḫaʿ ḫaʿ 22
ḫaʿ 44
ḫaʿ 23
ḫaʿaʿaʿ 17
ḫaʿaʿ 38
ḫaʿaʿ 41
ḫaʿ 33, 42
ḫaʿ 32
ḫaʿaʿ 30
ḫaʿ 52
ḫaʿaʿ 40
ḫaʿaʿaʿ 54
ḫaʿ 54
ḫaʿaʿ 12, 43
ḫaʿ 26

ક્રિયા 0, 1, 2, 3, 21, 23, 45, 48
કૃદન્ત 27
કે 36
કેટલું 39
કેવું 39
ક્ષ 22
ખ 3
ગ 8
ઘ 30
ચ 32
ચતુર્ભુજ 47
છંદ 3
? જાણવા 49
જીવવું 35
જ્ઞ 1
ટ 44
ઠ 27
ડ 2, 28
ઢ 1, 23
ણ 20
ત 54
તત્સમ 30, 31
તદ્ભવ 54
દ 30, 31
ધ 35
ન 54
નપુંસકલિંગ 54
પ 22
ફ 45
બારખડી 42
ભ 54
મ 2, 45
ય 32
ર 46
રહસ્યમ 38
લ 41
વ 41
શ 28
ષ 43, 44, 48
સ 44
સંખ્યા 52
સંજ્ઞા 29, 53
સર્વનામ 29
સંયુક્ત 15
સામાન્ય 30
સંયુક્ત 18
સ્વર 1, 32, 36, 44
સ્વામી 49
હ્રસ્વ 19, 49
અ 42
આ 32
ઇ 21
ઉ 16
ઊ 31
એ 19
કે *az* 2
કે *az* 30
કે *aaz* 42
એકાક્ષરી 34
ઓ 54
ઔ 36
કોણ 43
ક્રિયા 41
ખરીફ 20
ગ્રહ 42
ઘર 3
ચોમાસું 8, 14
છાપરું 27
જમીન 27
જોડણી 36
ઝાડ 30
ટપાલ(ખાતું) 25
ઠેકાણું 45
ડાંગર 41
ઢોર 28
તડકો 43, 44, 48
થાળી 44
દાતરડું 52
ધરતી 29, 53
નદી 29
પગરખાં 15
ફાનસ 30
બળદ 18
ભાઈ 1, 32, 36, 44
મજૂર 49
યજમાન 19, 49
રાત 42
લાકડું 32
વરસાદ 21
શબ્દ 16
ષટ્કોણ 31
સૂર્ય 19
અક્ષર 34
અનાજ 54
અવાજ 36
આકાશ 43
આંખ 41
ઇજારદાર 20
ઈંટ 42
ઉંદર 3
ઊંચું 8, 14
ઋતુ 27
એકમ 27
ઓરડો 36
ઔષધ 30
કઠોળ 25
કમળ 45
કરોળિયો 41
કાચબો 40
કાપણી 29
કાપવું 21, 26
કુ 30
કૂવો 16
કેરી 54
કોદાળી 48
ખાતર 13
ખેડવું 54
ગધેડો 21
ગામ *kŭrt* 24
ગામ *sart* 36, 52
ગાય 43, 44
ઘઉં 43, 54
ઘાસચારો 43
ચકલાભાઈ 41
ચણવું 24
છ 1, 52
છાણ 22
છોડ 41
જમીન 11, 40, 41
જાણવું 43
જોડ *pa* 24
ઝાડવું 54
ટોપલી 22, 25
ઠ ટોપલી 30
ડાંગરિયું 24
ઢોરાં 22
ણ 19, 44, 50
તો 2, 21, 31, 33, 41, 44, 49, 50, 54
તોફાન તો 40
દાતરડાની 29
દોવાણ 21, 26
ધ 30

ꞏ 45, 46. 49
ꞏ 1, 3, 20, 24. 25, 28, 33
ꞏ 30
ꞏ 1
ꞏ 2
ꞏ 44
ꞏ 7
ꞏ 49
ꞏ 10
ꞏ 25
ꞏ 17
ꞏ 1, 19
ꞏ 42
ꞏ 43
ꞏ 41
ꞏ 22
ꞏ 50
ꞏ 11
ꞏ 38
ꞏ 1
ꞏ 20, 42
ꞏ 19
ꞏ 49
ꞏ 53
ꞏ 41
ꞏ 51
ꞏ 41
ꞏ 49
ꞏ 44
ꞏ 41
ꞏ 54
ꞏ 40
ꞏ 51
ꞏ 29
ꞏ *zarrēn* 23. 24
ꞏ *zarr-gōn* 20
ꞏ 44
ꞏ 39
ꞏ 43
ꞏ 42
ꞏ 1
ꞏ 38
ꞏ *kandēt* 53
ꞏ *kōst* 44
ꞏ 43
ꞏ 24, 49
ꞏ 44
ꞏ 7
ꞏ 13
ꞏ 52
ꞏ 45
ꞏ *kask* 46
ꞏ ꞏ?ꞏ 41
ꞏ 18
ꞏ 41
ꞏ 42
ꞏ 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 31, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43. 45, 46. 52
ꞏ 21
ꞏ 44
ꞏ 44
ꞏ 26
ꞏ 21
ꞏ 34
ꞏ 44
ꞏ *man* 43
ꞏ 42
ꞏ 18
ꞏ 34, 51
ꞏ 54
ꞏ 9
ꞏ 35
ꞏ 54
ꞏ 13
ꞏ 6
ꞏ 36
ꞏ 37
ꞏ 36
ꞏ 6, 44, 45
ꞏ 22
ꞏ 48
ꞏ 46
ꞏ 30, 47
ꞏ 12
ꞏ 51
ꞏ 23, 44
ꞏ 19, 20, 44
ꞏ 4
ꞏ 39
ꞏ 28
ꞏ 54
ꞏ 42
ꞏ *tō* 49
ꞏ 43
ꞏ 4
ꞏ 15
ꞏ 52
ꞏ 32
ꞏ 16
ꞏ 42, 46
ꞏ 47
ꞏ 12
ꞏ 31
ꞏ 45
ꞏ 49
ꞏ 43
ꞏ 40
ꞏ 14
ꞏ 41
ꞏ 54
ꞏ 41

 50
 32
 30
 47
 39
 21
 42
 41
 39
 22
 5
 52
 51
 43
 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 38, 43
 30
 42, 43

THE INDEX TO THE TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE PAHLAVI WORDS OCCURING IN THE TEXT OF *DRAXT I ASURĪK*

(The numbers refer to the paragraphs)

Afsanēt 51
amak 43
andar 54
angəmēn 16
angūr 1
angustpūn 35
apāksūt 25
apartar 2, 45
āpdūn 36
apēčak 30
apēsūt 27
apurnāyak 46
āpyasn 27
ārzēnd 19
āsāyak 15
ašnūē 30
āšyan 18
aturān 8, 14
āvērtēnd 20
avkandak 49
arstōbānīh 54
avganom 19
āyēt 49
az 2
az 30
azarm 38
āzāt 45
azatan 35, 40
āzāt-martān 16
azrāyēnd 34

bay 30
bāmīk 30
band 41
bandand 11, 40, 41
bar 1
bār 1, 3, 20, 24, 25, 28, 33
barang 44
barēnd 49
barom 25
bavandak 22
bavēt 21, 26
bēt 45, 46, 49
bižask 17
bōδat 43
bōxtak 54
brahanak-paδ 10
brinǰ 7
buland 2, 22, 25
buland-gaδ 30
būm 19, 44, 50
būn 1, 52
burtan 24
burz 22
būz 2, 21, 31, 33, 41, 44, 49, 50, 54
būz-pašmēn 40

čahār-pāδān 32
čašm 44
čāšt 30
čūp 12

dahisn 50
dahišnīk 52
damīnak 8
damāk 24
dār 44
darǰ 54
dārū 23
darūkdan 17
dašt 36
dātar 30
datəstān 2, 28, 35 38, 42, 47

dēhəpatān 38
dēr 22
dēr-am 21
dēr 30
dērān 22
dīn 30
dpīrān 39
diptar 39
dōl 40
dōš 40
draxt 0, 1. 2. 3. 21. 23. 45. 48
draxtan 27
dūγ-am 46
dušēnd 44
dušman 54
dušmanān 54

ērān 43
ētar 53
ērēn 41
ērēnak 28
ēr-om 43. 44. 48
ēzm 14

farrox 22
frasp 5
frawartak 39

garm 36
garōtman 54
gartan 12. 43
garān 28
gavāz 7
gayāh 52
gēhīk 43, 54
girāt 54
gōsakas 24
gōšurun 32
gōyaot 28
grān 26
gūrsākīh 53
gyakrōp 6
gyān 49

halak 21
hambān 42
hambūn 41
hamburt 20
hamērēn 54
hamharzān 36
hamsartak 43
hamtan 3
hangām 22
harkīč 31
harrīn 32
hast 1. 32, 36. 44
hērān 41
hōm 32
huramak 54
hušk 1. 23
husrav 54
husravān 35

im 50

jāmak 33, 42
jīr 31

kamar 34
kanar 38
kandēt 53
kanik 43
kanīkān 42
kāpār 42
kardēhkān 18
kārəčār 41
karēnd 6, 7. 8. 11. 12, 13, 16. 31. 34. 36. 37. 39–43. 45. 46, 52
karēt 21
karom 26
kartakān 21
kas 29. 59
kas-om 29
kask 46
kert 24
kōf 44
kōfan 52
kōfdār 45
kōpēnd 7
kōst 44
kūdakan 24, 46
kūstik 43

māčend 12
mahēst 46
makūkān 4
man [𐬨] 43
man [𐬨𐬭] 46
mān 6, 44. 45
mānand 44
mānēt 22
martom 27
martomak 19. 20, 44
martomān 2, 23. 28 44
mašk-om 36
maskūak 36
mast 51
mazdayasnān 30. 47
mēhan 6
menūk 54

mēr 13
mēs 42
mōčak 35
mōk 9
murtak 54
murvārīt 34, 51
murrīčakān 18
mušk 42
mušk-īč 37

naδ 1
nālain 10
namak 39
nān 20, 42
nang 21
nēwakīh 50
nihāt 51, 54
nipartēh 21
nipartıt 2
nipēšand 39
nipēšt 54
nīrūk 32
nōk 3, 19

ōhrmazd 30, 31

pa 24
padām 43
pahān 50
panīr 42, 46
pašīz 49
pašmēn 40
pataš 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 38, 43
patkārēt 21
patkārom 30
patmōčan 42, 43
patvand 43
pātyāp 47
pērōčih 54
pēšpārak 45
pīl 41
pīlān 41
pist 42
pōst 47

ranj 22
rasan 11
ratān 49
rēš 38
rēšak 1
rōγn 42
rōtastahm 41
rust 1, 19

sačēt 24
sāh 22
sahēt 41
šāhīh 22
šāhwār 42, 43
sak 44
šakr 16
šakūh 38
sanīt 21
sarākūn 13
sart 36, 52
sartak 43, 44
šavēt 20
sāxtak 35
sayak 18
šāyēt 31, 33, 41
šēt i yim 22
sēž 14, 37
šikanj 41
šīrīn 1
siyā 42
snāš 17
spendadāt 41
srōk 43
srāyēnd 48
stāyēnd 43
sūr 37
sūt 50

takīk 32
tan-husrav 54
tapangūk 16
tāpəstūn 15
tarun 52
taskūk 43
tart 4
tō (>ᵉ) 49
turarīk 42

vāčār 49
vāčarkāman 42
vačēnd-am 27
vahak 49
varčašm 44
varčāvand 30
vary 44
varkaš 44
vartīk 36
varzəkarān 9, 16
vatpānān 5
vazūk 8
vazurkūn 41
vaxš 27
vaxšīk 40
vāxt 21
vēδān 20
vēnat 54
vimānīk 29
vināšēnd 19

rōrāzēnd 49
rišupīhēh 49
ritartak 27
ryāpān 36

xānīk 52
xarēnd 49
xastak 19, 49
xazz 42
xīk 40
xʷānīhēnd 44
xʷaniras 3
xʷapar 30, 31
xʷar 45
xʷartīk 42
xʷatayan 38
xʷat-rimānīk 29

yaštan 31
yazat 32
yazatān 32
yazišn 32
yazišnkārān 47
yim 22
yut 31, 33, 41
yut-sartak 44

žadand 48
zamīk 3
žanēt 51
zandpīl 41
zarrēn 23, 24
zarrgōn 20
zātak 29
zēnān 41
zennar 41
žirāt 54
žirišn 44
zrēh 44

THE INDEX TO THE TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE PAHLAVI WORDS OCCURING IN THE TEXT OF "KING HUSRAV AND HIS BOY"

(The numbers refer to the vocabulary)

aδap 249
aδar 260
aδar-kaš 261
āfrīn 315
afrayntīhah 338
āhūk 273
ākand 297
ākās 299
ākasīh 300
ākust 298
alrendīk 286
amāk 418
amič 303
an 270
anārgil 227
anārgōn 226
and 209
andar 103
andarray-račīk 222
ānygōn 210
angust 211
anōš 201
anōšak 201
anōšak-rurān 203
anōšhusrav 202
ap 313
apəspar 333
apač 328
apāk 420
apar 334
aparīh 505
apar-kašak-āxēz 336
āpātīh 327
apāxtar 330
apāy 323
apāyəst 324
apē 316
apēbīmīh 318
apēzyānak 321
apik 322
apurnāyīh 336 *bis*
arāstak 289
areng 287
armanīk 293
armār 537
artəšīran 294
ārzānīk 295
asəwār 253
asəwārīh 254
ašarmīhāh 256
āsēnsār 277
askombak 257
āšnūt 22
asp 279

aspast 280
aspramak 282
asprēs 281
asprōt 109
astar 467
ast-paδ 259
asurīk 255
āraδ 329
āvar 146
avd 317
avrōsak 337
avsart 331, 332
avzūnīh 339
avzarpatān-sardar 271
azāt 325
āzūtak 325
āzatakih 326

baγ dēspānīk 385
bahrak 387
bahrīk 390
balāt 402
bārak 391
barbut 405
barbut-srāy 406
bārīk 391
bast 397
bātak 392 *bis*
bast 392
baśmāvurt 407
bē 377, 378
bēh 384
bēt 386
bižaskīh 408
bistak 399
bōδ 380
brahm 404
brēz 403
brāktak 401
bustīk 398
bāt 373

čahrom 592
čaku 617
čakoč 616
čambar-čačīk 618
čang-srāy 501
čāpuk 597
čarp-angust 613
čarp-avrōsak 614
čarz 608
čašm 576
čašuk 588
čatrang 623
čē 528
čič 496
čigōn 575
čikāmak 583
činīk 573
čōpakān 569
čōpakān-husnas 570
čōr 568

dahān 571
dahom 133
dānak 132 *bis*
dandan 147
dānisn-kāmak 129
dār 158, 185
dārēnak 128
darpan-sardār 189
dar-vāčīk 159
dast 126
dāst 142
dastavarīh 178
dehapat 174
derang 179
dīnar 106
dapurīh 199
dit 195
dit 278
ditkar 196
dōst 87
dostih 88
draz 187
drustih 81 *bis*
drāt 134
dumb 96
dumbak 96
dumbalak-srag 97
dūtak 99
durazdahom 89

ē 223, 250, 375
ečī 269
ērpatihāh 267
ēn 95
ēnīh 247
ērān-vinārt 265
ētōn 268
ēr 242
ērak 242
ērak-sālak 243
ēvčand 244
ērēn 245
ērēnak 245
ērēnīhāh 246

farroγ 604
frāčtar 565
frahang 605
frahangastān 607
frahang-kartan 606

framāy 610
frapīk 611
frast 136
fražaft 615
frazānak-sorān 612
frazand 562

gāh 137
gartan 188
gašt 122
gar 531
gavazan 86
garmēš 532
gesūk 343
gon 80
gōnak 80
gōnak-gōnak 81
gōr 90
gōšt 396
grāmīk 186
grift 35
gūč 101
gūč-avrōsak 102
gūčnak 93
gupt 100
gyak 107
gyāk-gyāk 108

h- 239 bis
hač 314
hačaðar 319
hačaðarpāð 320
haðoxt 276
haft 340
haftom 341
haft-kišvar-xatāy 342
hakar 312
halīlak 291
hamahl 305
hamāk 306
hambak 309
hambast 308
hambōðtar 307
hamē 304
hamnipartih 302
hamrānīh 310
hamrēr 301 bis
handačīsn 221
handām 218
handāt 215
handātak 215
hang 239
hangam 219
har 460
hastom 262
her 598
hērīk 262
hērīk-i-sur-boð 263
hērīk-i-zart-boð 264
hil 145
hindūk 212
hiratīk 266
hubōð 233
hubōðtar 234
hūk 296
hunar 208
hunivāk 205
hunivakih 206
hunivākhar 207
huniyak 204
husnās 216 bis
husrav 229
husravīh 230
husrav-sparγm 231

i 75, 224, 376
im 423

ka 311
kam 478
kamak-hanjām 479
kamakāh 480 bis
kamand 487
kamānavarīh 488
kām-šīrīsn 480
kangak 458
kanīak 459
kanīnak 457
kanvar 456
kapīk-rašik 492
kāpūr-bōð 481
kar 476
karān-dōst 477
kark 465
karpak 470
kart 466
kas 472
kasak 472
katakīk 491
katām 489
kavat 461
kavātan 462
kavātīk 463
kē 495
kōfak 471
kāpal-bōð 469
kōtah 468
ku 373
kulang 484
kun 34, 466
kūn 455
kust 62

lauzēnak 421

°*m* 493
maẓ 526
maδ 252
māh 513
mākhusrav 514
man 494
mān 507
mart 522
mart-dōst 523
marū 517
marū-i-artəsīrān-bōδ 518
marū-i-spēt-bōδ 519
mār-raćīk 510
marvārōtīk 519 bis
marzaugōš-bōδ 524
marzpān 525
mas 503
māt 301
mātak 511
mātak 512
matar 301
mayān 515
mayānćīk 516
mēčaktar 506 bis
mēnišn 502
munj 501
mārt-bōδ 500
murv 499
mustak-srāy 498

nāδ 33
nahom 30
nām 41
nāmbarak 43
nāmīk 42
narkas 52
narm 55
nastarōn-bōδ 46
naxran 37
nazdikīh 58
nazdisttar 59
nē 431
nēšāhpūrīk 17
nēst 416
nēvr 10
nēvrak 10
nēvrakōk 13
nēvr-artasīr 11
nēzak 27
nēzakvarīh 28
nizōšt 12
nih 228
nikīr 63
nikīrišn 64
nīlōpal-bōδ 24
nipēk 71
nipišt 70
nišast 197
niyak 38
nizār 60
novćat 32
nūn 454

ō 57
ōē 57
ōštāp 220
ōstāt-mart 232
ōžan 452

pa 379, 556
pačan 596
pāδ 587
pāδak 593
paδtak 584
pahan 589
pahlom 590
pahlomīh 591
pahrāćīh 586
pahan 582
palangmusk-bōδ 599
patātak 602
pa-mućaktar 558
°*pan* 585
panćom 572
pārak 595
parrak 609
parsik 594
parvart 606
parvartak 601
pas 254
pasandīt 474
pasox 579
pat 619
patxćīh 621
patkar 622
patvaćak 620
pa-xvat 557
pēs 577
pēšak 578
pīh 548
pīr 581
pistan 580
pit 283
pitar 283
pōst 566
pōstēn 566 bis
pvr 567
pursīt 560
pušt 563
pust 564

rāð 430
raft 346
rāh 432
rāk 436
rāməst 435
ramak 440
rāmišn 434
ranǰak 422
ras 167
rasan rāčīk 424
rāst 433
rēšak 425
rētak 429
rōč 94
rōγn 508
rōγn-handūtak 509
rōð 411
rōðēn 413, 414
rōn-x'artīk 410
rōspīk 415
rōt 419
ruvān 417

°*š* 135
sačākīhāh 368
šaft 175
šaftālūk 177
šaftēnak 176
sah 506
šāh 150
šāhān-šāh 521
šāh-balūt 153
šāh-dānak 151
šahr 168
šahrdār 169
šāh-sparhm-bōð 152
šakr 162
sālak 345
šām 156
saman 123
saman-i-spēt-bōð 124
saman-i-zart-bōð 125
šamšer 165
šamšēr-rāčīk 166
sangīvel 111
šapəstān 172
šapəstanīk 173
sar 350, 351
sar-hangēž 352
sardār 104 bis
šašom 141
šātīh 157
šav 61
saxt 121
šāy 149
šayēndakīh 155
sēp 120 bis
sēr 143
sēždahom 344
sīmēn 348
simōr 164
sīn 115
šīr 144
šīšak-rāčīk 139
s sīmbar-bōð 347
sitīkar 357
siyā 119
škoft 160
šmāk 439
sox'an 116
spahrm 371
sparγm 371
sparm 371
sparvāčīk 369
spēt 364
spētak 367
spēt-dumbak 365
spētpāk 366
spōxtak 363
srāy 354
srōt 353
-stān 358
stārak 360
starran 361
staxr 362
stāyišn 359
stōr 355
stūr 356
sūlāčak 113
sūr 105
sūr-parrak 112
susan-i-spēt-bōð 104
suxr 105

°*t* 9
tāčak 554
tāk 9
tāk 544 bis
tak-žamān 538
tambūr-i-mas-srāy 520
tambūr-srāy 549
tan-drustīh 530
tapāh 552
tar 442
tarun 545
taruntar 546
tās-vāčīk 543
tawarzat 553
tawarzatak 553
tāxt 544
tēz 542
tīhūk 539
tīr 540

tīr-māhak 541
titar 551
tō 438
turuš 547
turān 534
turānkar 535
turānkarīh 536

u 1
ustr 191
uzīr 241 bis
uzmāyišn 238

vāčīk 45
vafrēn 72
vafrēnak 73
vahīk 36
vahuman 31
vanafšak-bōδ 8
vāng 29
vanǰak-vāčīk 7
var 48
varan 51
varāz 53
varr-pōstēn 50
varz-vāčīk 54
vas 14
vāspuhr 39
vastrak 47
vātām 44
vat-baxt 65
vātrang 44 bis
vazurk 437
vēh 15
vēš 16
vičār 74
vidērdāt 85
vimār 26
vin 2
vinārt 12 bis
vinas 6
vindat-vasnasp 5
vin-kannār-srāy 4
vin-srāy 3
vīrāδ 25
višatak 20
višuft 21
vitār 66
vitart 68
vitart 67
vul-bōδ 91
vurkānīk 92
vušu 83
vušnasp 84 bis

-war 49, 388
-war 388

xargōš 285
xar-vatrāng 273
xrat 293 bis
xūp 241
xᵛaft 292
xᵛān 485
xᵛar 23, 200
xᵛār 225
xvarišn 236
xᵛartik 237
xᵛaš 216
xᵛaš-aržīk 217
xᵛas-arak 395
xᵛast 381
xᵛastar 395
xvatay 240
xᵛēš 69

yasmīn 140
yasn 114
yast 122 bis
yar 148
yarar 132
yārtan 130
yazatan 154
yazatan-pahlomih 154 bis
yāždahom 171
yavānīh 84

zait 449
žamān 192
zamb 453
žan 443, 559
žand 444
žang-vāčīk 82
zanǰīr-vāčīk 447
žan-kāmakih 19
zart 450
zēn-vāčīk 445
zil-vāčīk 448
zimastān 193
žīvandak 446
žīvišn 446 bis

THE DISCOVERY OF THE ORIGINAL DEVANĀGARI TEXT OF THE CHRISTIAN PURĀNA OF THOMAS STEVENS

By JUSTIN E. ABBOTT

THE collection of books and manuscripts belonging to the library of William Marsden, and given by him to King's College in 1835, but now in the possession of the School of Oriental Studies, has in its valuable contents a few Marathi manuscripts. Sir E. Denison Ross, in his article on "The Manuscripts Collected by William Marsden", published in the *Bulletin* (Vol. II, Pt. III), has reproduced on pp. 535 and 537 the entries made by Mr. Marsden on these Marathi MSS.

Through the kindness of Sir E. Denison Ross my attention was called to this list of Marathi MSS. My examination of them by necessity has had to be very hasty, but they are worthy of an early mention, as the collection is unique. I will take them up in the order given by Sir E. Denison Ross, with the entries made by William Marsden.

(1) "The Adi or First Puran, a Christian work in the Mahratta language and Nagri character, divided into Five Parts and appearing to contain an exposition of the Old Testament."

(2) "The Deva Puran or Divine History: a Christian work in the Mahratta language and Nagri character, appearing to contain an exposition of the New Testament or History of Christ."

The discovery I made, that these two parts were the Devanāgari original of the *Christian Purānna* of Thomas Stevens, edited by J. L. Saldanha, and published in Mangalore in 1907, was a complete surprise, for I believe it has not even been suspected that such a Devanāgari original existed. A Portuguese original, translated and transcribed in Roman character, has been conjectured, but not a Devanāgari original. A comparison of the two texts side by side furnished the indisputable proof that this MS. containing the Devanāgari text is the original text of Thomas Stevens' *Opus magnum*. The manuscript is in two volumes, with different handwriting. The Deva Puran is clearly a copy of an earlier copy, but roughly guessing the age of the manuscript, each of the volumes must be well over 200 years. In the Adi Puran there are 4,035 verses and in the Deva Puran 6,686, making a total of 10,721.

From a comparison of what for convenience I shall call the Mangalore text, that published by J. L. Saldanha in 1907, with the Devanāgari text of this MS., it is evident that the Mangalore edition is printed from a MS. whose text is a transliteration in Roman characters of this Devanāgari text. The original author of the Mangalore text took great liberties, however. He used in spelling and idiom the Konkani form of Marathi then current among Christians. Instead of dignified Sanskrit formations to express theological and ecclesiastical technical terms he chose those more familiar to his expected readers, for example, he used *Bautismu* for *Dnyānasnān*, *Trinidad* for *Trīva*, *Sacrament* for *Devadravya*, *Navā Testament* for *Navā Granth*, *Padre Guru* for *Shri Guru*, *Tempal* for *Deval*, *Saderdot* for *Guru*, *Meditação* for *Dhyānajapa*, *Altara* for *Devāra*, *Sacrificiu* for *Devapuja*, *Prophet* for *Duradrishti*, etc. Chapter 22, of the Mangalore text of the *Dussarem Puranna*, is an interpolation, which the original editor of that text evidently felt necessary in order to justify to his Christian and Hindu readers Christ's miracle of turning water into wine. There are therefore fifty-nine chapters in the *Dussarem Puranna* of the Mangalore text, and but fifty-eight in the Devanāgari original. Chapter 12, verse 76, in the *Dussarem Puranna* of the Mangalore text is an example of the interpolation of a verse. An owner of the Devanāgari manuscript was evidently acquainted with the Mangalore text, for he has added this verse in the margin, and changed the numbering of the verses to correspond with the Mangalore text.

It will now be possible to print a Devanāgari text that will give us the great work of Thomas Stevens, the first Englishman believed to have gone to India, in a form more worthy of his scholarship and mastery of the Marathi language. Thomas Stevens was born about 1549, arrived in Goa 1579, and died in 1619. It should of course be noted that neither the Mangalore text, nor this Devanāgari text, gives the name of the author. It is from outside evidence that Thomas Stevens is credited with the authorship of the Purāṇ. Objectors to his authorship on the ground that a European could not have written, unaided at least, in such excellent Marathi, will have their objections further fortified by the greater excellence of this Devanāgari text; but on the other hand, it is a very early tradition that he is the author. There is in the Bibliotheca de Ajuda, at Lisbon, a catalogue entitled *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, which I have seen. It is dated 1676. This early catalogue gives a short account of Thomas Stevens, and credits him with three works: (1) *A Grammar of Canarese*,

(2) *Christian Doctrines,* and (3) a work entitled *Puran,* which the article praises as Thomas Stevens' *opus magnum.*

(3) "A Christian work in the Mahratta language and Nagri character containing Instructions for the knowledge of the Universal Lord; Prayers (*mantra*) adapted to several occasions, Invocations (*prarthana*), a kind of Litany; and a Catechism or Dialogue, in question and answer, between a Tutor and his disciple on points of faith and doctrine. (Probably composed by the Jesuits of Goa.)"

This entry by William Marsden is a correct description of the manuscript with its several parts. The MS. is of the same age as that of the Adi Puran mentioned above, well over 200 years, and in the very same handwriting.

(4) "Tales on the subject of Rama and other mythological personages, in the Hindustani language and vulgar Nagri character."

This entry of Marsden's needs slight correction. The language is Marathi: the script is Modi, for which he has used the designation "vulgar Nagri character". There are three stories:—

(*a*) The story of Harichandra Rājā.
(*b*) The story of Pusara and Chakravarti.
(*c*) The story of Vikramāditya.

(5) "Fruitos da Arvore da Vida a nossas almas e corpos salutiferos, by P. Antonio de Saldanha," is in Marathi, and in Roman character. The book also contains a poem in *Abhang* metre, filling twenty pages in double columns. The subject is the Crucifixion of Christ. The Marathi is excellent.

In the "Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus. Première Partie: Bibliographie par les Pères Augustin et Aloys de Backer," published in 1896, an account of Antoine de Saldanha is given. He was of Portuguese origin, born at Mazagan (Africa) in 1598. He went to India with the purpose of a military career, but changed his mind and became a novitiate in 1615. He passed forty years in the Mission at Salsette, near Goa, and died at Rachol, 2nd December, 1663. His works were:—

(*a*) Tratado dos Milagres, que, etc., written in "langue bramane". Titles, permissions, etc., in Portuguese.

(*b*) Rosas e boninas deleitosas do ameno Rozal de Maria etc. Rachol.

(*c*) Fruito da arvore da vida a nossas almas e corpos salutiferos. Rachol.

(*d*) Vocabulario da lingua Concanica.

(*e*) Beneficios insignes dos Anjos Custodios.

(*f*) Baculo Pastoral para administraçaõ dos sacramentos.

In the "Fruitos da Arvore etc." we have therefore another specimen of Marathi Christian literature in prose and poetry of an author contemporary with Thomas Stevens. As Thomas Stevens lived until 1619, Antoine Saldanha, who became novitiate in Goa in 1615, must have been acquainted with the former.

(6) "Vocabulario da lingoa Canerim do Norte concertado e acrecentado em 1664." (See p. 537 of "Manuscripts Collected by William Marsden.") The language is Marathi. Apparently the Marathi spoken at Goa was called at that time "Canerim, Concani, or Bramana", indiscriminately.

(7) "Grammatica da lingoa Bramana, que corre na Ilha de Goa e sua comarca." The volume contains a Marathi Grammar, and also a work on Syntax, by Frei Gaspar de Miguel, with the title "Sintaxis na lingoa Brahmana, comporta pello Frei Gaspar de Miguel".

This Gaspar de Miguel was also a contemporary of Thomas Stevens. For his eulogy of Thomas Stevens see "Christian Puranna", p. xcv. According to the Bibliotheca-Lusitana, he lived in the middle of the seventeenth century and was the author of many works. The titles of ten are given. (See also Introduction to "Grammatica da Lingoa Concani composto pelo Padre Thomaz Estevao", pp. cxvii, cxxv, clxvi. There is a copy of this in the British Museum.)

(8) "Arte da lingoa Canari." A Marathi Grammar. The method of transliteration is practically the same as in all the above, but it has the appearance of being the earliest of the grammars, and I suspect it is the work of which Thomas Stevens is the author; for it appears to be the basis of an enlarged Grammar, the original form of which is ascribed by the author to Thomas Stevens. (Compare this text with that of "Grammatica da Lingoa Concani, composta pelo Padre Thomaz Estevao". Second edition, printed in Goa, 1857. A copy exists in the British Museum.)

(9) "Arte da Lingoa Canarim. Doctrina Christam em lingoa Bramana Canarim." This is Marathi also. The volume contains: (1) A condensed Grammar of Marathi; (2) Ten *Upadesh*; (3) "Doctrina Christam," in the form of question and answer between *Guru* and *Sishya*; (4) A prayer; (5) A calendar.

In the above Marathi manuscripts the School of Oriental Studies has the most unique collection of the literature produced by the early

Jesuit missionaries in Goa. These manuscripts came from the Goa archives. It is quite possible that some of them may be in the very handwriting of their authors. In a recent search for such literature in the libraries of Lisbon, I had the kind assistance of my friend Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira. With his help I discovered at Lisbon in the Academia de Sciencias the manuscript of a Portuguese-Marathi and Marathi-Portuguese dictionary of that same early period. At the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris I also found a manuscript of the same period, a "Doutrina Christam em Canarim". In the *Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrit Indiens* this MS. is entered as "724 (Indien 78.) Doctrine Chrétienne en Canarin de Goa et en Portugais". This consists of a Catechism in both Portuguese and Marathi in parallel columns, the Marathi being a translation of the Portuguese. The manuscript is old, and the Catechism is the work of Thomas Stevens himself, or of some contemporary. Possibly it may be in Thomas Stevens' own handwriting. The Marathi is in Roman characters, with the usual system of transliteration of that period.

The School of Oriental Studies has therefore the original texts of at least three of those early authors, Thomas Stevens, Antoine Saldanha, and Gaspar de Miguel, and they furnish material for settling many questions that have arisen regarding the writing of that early missionary literature, and of the special dialects of the Marathi spoken at Goa at that time.

A DISSERTATION ON THE PHONETICS OF THE ZULU LANGUAGE

By Clement M. Doke

Introductory

THE Zulu language proper, Isizulu, is now spoken by the natives of Zululand and of the greater part of Natal though naturally there are dialectal differences within that area, and these differences become more pronounced as the Xosa border is approached. The language of the amaMpondo, for instance, seems to savour both of Zulu and of Xosa. One of the outstanding phonetic differences between Zulu and Xosa is that the latter uses the alveolar nasal combination **nd** where the former uses the velar **ŋg**, e.g. Xosa **ndi**, and Zulu **ŋgi**, I.

J. L. Döhne, in his *Zulu-Kafir Dictionary* of 1857, writes: "Generally speaking, the Zulu distinguishes only two dialects, the high language—Ukukuluma, and the low—Amalala. To the first belong the Zulu, Tembu, and Xosa, to the second the languages of all the other tribes of Natal, the frontier Fingoes, the Sutos, etc. Another specification of the dialects is the Ukukuluma, high language; the Ukuteta, a clear, sharp pronunciation; the Ukutekeza, which usually omits the nasal sounds, and transmutes some consonants; the Ukutefula, which changes some labials and liquids; and the Amalala, using none except low, broad, and flat sounds. But this classification is merely nominal, and the Zulu itself bears the stamp of the Tekeza and Tefula, in many practical points, as in its soft form *ngi—ŋgi ya tanda ŋgukuhla*, and *yi—yisibi*, etc. And in these points it again differs from the Xosa, which has the sharp sounds *ndi, ku, si*, etc."[1]

Bishop Colenso, in his introduction to the *First Steps in Zulu-Kafir* (p. 3), makes the following observations: "The amaTefula dialect is spoken by many of the Natal Kafirs especially by the amaQwabe tribe. Its chief peculiarity consists in putting *y* (or rather a sound which resembles that of *y* but is really a softening

[1] Preface, p. xv.

of the *l*) in the place of *l*, and changing *ny* into *n*, as shown in the following examples:—

Zulu	amaTefula
lapo, there, when.	*yapo*.
umlilo, fire.	*umyiyo*.
innyama, meat.	*innama*.

"The amaLala dialect differs much from the Zulu. The name (amaLala) is given collectively to certain tribes in this district (the amaNcolosi and others), who were conquered by the Zulus, and of whom many are said to *tekeza* in their speech, whereas the tribes along the Zulu coast to the N.E. of Natal, as far as Delagoa Bay and beyond, generally *tefula*. A few examples of the peculiarities of this dialect are here given:—

Zulu-Kafir	amaLala
inkomo, bullock.	*iyomo*.
inkunzi, bull.	*iyudi*.
inkonyana, calf.	*iyomwane*.

"The amaLala use very freely the harsh guttural represented by *r* . . . which practice is called *ukuradula*. Many of the tribes, however, in Natal, which formerly used to *tekeza*, are Zuluized."

Furthermore, Callaway's folk tale "Ubabuze", written in the Bakca dialect, shows that in that dialect the affricates **ts** and **dz** are frequently used, the former taking the place of the regular Zulu **th**, and the latter found as **ndz** instead of the Zulu **nd**.

Two of the most noteworthy offshoots from the Zulu language, due to the migrations of the Zulu impis, are the Matebele (Sindebele) and the Ngoni (Chingoni) languages, spoken in Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland respectively, in the latter of which a gradual displacement of the clicks seems to be taking place.

The facts set out above all point to the existence of a number of dialects, differing with either locality or social position, all more or less classed under the designation of Zulu. Hence, it is difficult to set up any one standard for Zulu proper, and divergences from the phonology of any one speaker are only to be expected, and should hence be tolerated.

In the following dissertation on the phonetics of the Zulu language, I have followed the pronunciation of my principal informant, Rev. J. Dube; but I have noticed that in many

instances where other Zulus use the palatal affricate sound (**cʃ**) Mr. Dube uses **ʃ**, e.g. **cʃaja** and **ʃaja**. Moreover, because he makes a clear distinction in using **cʃ** in a few well-defined cases, e.g. **ucʃani**, I am of opinion that his pronunciation would prove more correct if any standard of correctness could be set up. On the other hand, these differences may prove to be purely local, as is that of the degree of "rasping" of the velar fricative (**x**), which, it will be noticed later, is strongly rasped among the Amaxosa, and to a certain extent among the South Natal Zulus, while in the north it is so devoid of rasping as to be easily mistaken by Europeans for **h**.

Classification of Zulu Sounds

In Zulu, sounds are divided into two main classes, vowels and consonants, while the latter class is subdivided into plain consonants and click consonants or clicks; and it will be seen that for purposes of tabulating in two dimensions, i.e. according to manner and position, three charts are necessary.

In the use of clicks, Zulu, together with its sister-tongue of Xosa, stands almost unique among Bantu languages. Clicks of two species only are found in the Suto language, and they are probably due to Zulu or Xosa influence, though, as I shall point out later, there is also evidence of direct Hottentot influence. Nevertheless, in Suto the clicks are rarely met with, and are by no means a systematic feature of the language, as they are in Zulu and Xosa. The words in the Thonga and Ronga languages which contain clicks are directly borrowed from Zulu, while those in Ndebele and Ngoni have already been accounted for.

There can be little doubt that the clicks in Zulu and Xosa owe their origin to Hottentot influence, both the dialects of Hottentot and those of Bushman being even richer than Zulu in these sounds. Material for research and comparison along these lines is, however, very scanty.

Zulu, in common with almost every Bantu language, possesses a remarkably simple system of vowel sounds, for a sufficiently correct representation of which five or, at the most, seven symbols only are required; whilst the difficulty in the way of the foreign student's acquirement of the language lies in the consonantal sounds, some of which, especially the uvular affricate, the voiced lateral fricative, and the clicks, are entirely foreign to European speech sounds.

The Orthography used

In dealing with the phonetics of this language, the symbols of the International Phonetic Association have been used; and, where they have been insufficient, new symbols have had to be invented. The reasons for having adopted entirely new symbols for the voiced and nasal clicks, instead of adding **g** and **ŋ** to the unvoiced forms are fully explained in the section dealing with click consonants.

The Zulu language contains seven simple vowel sounds, represented by the symbols

i, e, ɛ, a ɔ, o, u,

thirty-three elementary plain consonant sounds, represented by the symbols

p, b, ß, t, d, c, ɟ, k, g, m, ɱ,
n, ɲ, ŋ, ɳ, l, ɬ, ɮ, f, v, s, z,
ʃ, ʒ, x, q, χ, ʔ, h, ɦ, ɧ, j, w,

and nine click consonant sounds, represented by

ʇ, ʏ, ɳ, ʗ, ǃ, ǁ, ʖ, ʘ, ǂ.

It will be found that in a simplified orthography two of the symbols used for vowel sounds may probably be dispensed with, viz. **o** and **e**, leaving only five symbols for the vowels.

Aspiration of plain and click consonants is marked by the addition of **h** thereto; thus, in addition to the above consonant sounds, Zulu employs the six aspirated sounds, **ph, th, kh, ɲh, ʗh,** and **ʖh.**

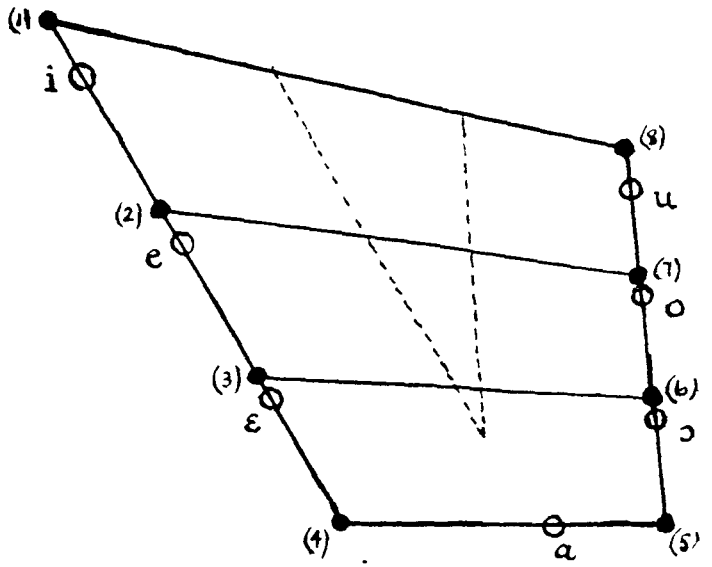
The elementary consonants. **c, ɟ, ʒ, q, χ,** and **ʔ**, are not used in their elemental forms in Zulu, but in "affricate" consonant groups, of which there are five, viz. **ts, tɬ, cʃ, ɟʒ,** and **qχʔ**, the last of which, in this orthography, is written as **ɣ.**

Zulu Vowels

From the subjoined chart it will be seen at a glance that the Zulu vowels, **i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u,** are not so "close" as the cardinal vowels,[1] in each case on the chart the Zulu vowel positions being below cardinal. The Zulu **a**-sound is perhaps nearer to the back

[1] For an explanation of the "cardinal" vowels and the use of the vowel chart, cf. the various phonetic readers published by the London University Press, and particularly the Italian Phonetic Reader. They are indicated on the chart by the numbers (1) to (8).

position than to the front, but it is not nearly so far back as No. 5. The chart shows the positions of the eight "cardinal" vowels used as a basis for comparison by the International Phonetic Association.



THE ZULU VOWELS IN DETAIL

i

The Zulu **i** has a tongue-position somewhat lower than that for cardinal vowel No. 1. It is a pure vowel differing distinctly from the English diphthongic **i**, as heard in such words as *see*, *feed*, etc. In Zulu this vowel may be either long or short, and the short vowel is of the same quality as the long, not differing in quality as does the short **i** in such English words as *pit*, *bid*, from the long **i** in *peat*, *bead*. Zulu short **i** resembles more closely the French short vowel.

Examples: **i:** (long **i**) **si:jafuna.**
ni:na.
isi:lɔ.
i (short **i**) **indɔdɑ.**
isihambi.

It is noticeable that the short **i** is usually found in unstressed positions. However, in onomatopœic words, preceded by some form of the verb **ukuthi**, a short **i** is often found in a stressed

position, e.g. **ukuthi lisa,** to be faint; whereas in **isili:sa,** a male, the stressed **i** is long. Further, when a regular verb is formed from such an onomatopœic word or particle containing **a** short stressed stem-vowel, that vowel becomes lengthened, e.g. **ukuthi phiŋga,** to make a dodging movement, becomes **uku phi:ŋga;** similarly with **ukuthi ɓiɬi** and **uku ɓi:ɬa,** meaning to fall apart softly. The same phenomenon takes place with the other vowels.

e

In Zulu, **e** is a little lower in tongue-position than cardinal vowel No. 2. It is rarely used, always short, and has probably no phonemic value to make its distinction from **ɛ** necessary. When a word ending in **ɛ** is followed by one beginning in **i**, the vowel with the higher tongue-position has a tendency to draw the vowel **ɛ** up into a position near that of cardinal vowel No. 2, e.g. **iŋkɔmɔ i ɬaʃwɛ,** but **a ku ɬaʃwe iŋkɔmɔ.** But such a distinction it is not necessary to make in transcriptions.

Somewhat more important is the case, found especially in locatives, where the initial prefix **i-** of Class 2 nouns is supplanted by the locative **ɛ.** That prefix **i-,** being derived from an original prefix **ili-,** has a more durable quality and greater significance than those of the initial vowels of other class prefixes, e.g. Class 3, **in- izin-,** etc.; Class 4, **isi- izi-**; or Class 5, **imi-.** The locative of the noun **iŋgɛla** (a path, Class 3) is **ɛŋgɛlɛni,** but that of **ikhanda** (head, Class 2) is **ekhanda,** where the more durable quality of the **i** draws the vowel **ɛ** up to the position of **e.** In such cases it would perhaps be better to use the vowel **e,** even though it is by no means certain that the distinction is phonemic, so that the use of either one or the other would cause any misunderstanding or alter the meaning of a word.

ɛ

This vowel in Zulu has but a slightly lower tongue-position than that for cardinal vowel No. 3, but it must be rigorously differentiated from the diphthong used in English words, such as *air, care,* etc. It is a pure vowel. In Zulu it is used in long and short forms, and is subject to the same rules as obtain in the case of the vowel **i,** viz.: in unstressed positions it is short; in stressed positions it is long, except in the case of certain onomatopœic words used with the verb **ukuthi**; but, when these words are used as regular verb forms, the short stem-vowel **ɛ** becomes long.

Examples: ɛ: (long ɛ) **wɛ:na.**
bɛ:ka.
thumɛ:la.
lɛ:tha.
ɛ (short ɛ) **jakhɛ.**
ukuthi tɛβa, **uku tɛ:βa** to sway to and fro.

ɑ

In Zulu, **ɑ** has a tongue-position somewhat advanced from the back position of cardinal vowel No. 5. It is used in both long and short forms, the latter being found in unstressed positions. English speakers must be warned against using the English neutral vowel **ə** when short **ɑ** appears in a final position, thus **amafutha,** not **amafuthə.** The same rules for short stressed **ɑ** in onomatopœic words obtain as have been set forth when treating of **i** and **ɛ.**

Examples: ɑ: (long ɑ) **jɑ:khɛ.**
thɑ:nda.
aβɑ:ntu.
ɑ (short ɑ) **linda.**
amazimu.

ɔ

In Zulu, **ɔ** has but slightly lowered tongue-position, as compared with that of cardinal vowel No. 6. This vowel, too, may be long or short, according as to whether it is in a stressed or unstressed position, with the usual exception of the onomatopœic words, just as with the preceding vowels which have long or short forms.

Examples: ɔ: (long ɔ) **βɔ:na.**
iŋkɔ:si.
itɔ:lɛ.
ɔ (short ɔ) **ujiɬɔ.**
ɲɮzalɔ.
ukuthi gɔʗɔ.
uku gɔ:ʗa.

o

In Zulu, **o** has a tongue-position not quite as high as that for cardinal vowel No. 7. In this case again the English speaker must carefully avoid the English diphthong **o͡u.** In Zulu **o** is a

pure vowel. It is a case parallel to that of Zulu **e**, in that it is rarely used, always short and probably not phonemically different from **ɔ**. When a word ending in short **ɔ** is immediately followed by one beginning with the vowel **u**, this latter vowel tends to draw the **ɔ** upwards into the position of **o**, and is often itself elided. e.g. **aβantu βaβo uma βɛ sa hamba lowo (u)muntu**, where the influence of the semi-vowel **w** on the vowel before it is felt.

As we have observed in the case of **e**, so **o** is used in the locative formation, when **ɔ** replaces an **u**, which is a contraction from *ulu-*, and becomes the higher vowel, e.g. **uthukɛla** (the Tugela River) becomes **othukɛla** and not **ɔthukɛla**; similarly **oβala**, in the open. In such cases I think that **o** should be distinguished from **ɔ** in writing, though the same remarks hold good here as were made regarding **e**.

o is the first element in the Zulu diphthong **o͡a**, which will be noticed later.

u

The tongue-position for **u** in Zulu is considerably lower than that for cardinal vowel No. 8. It is a pure vowel, unlike the diphthongic vowel heard in the English words *too*, *food*. As with the vowels **i**, **ɛ**, **a**, and **ɔ**, long and short **u** are found according to stress, with the usual exception.

Examples: **u:** (long **u**) **thu:ma.**
indu:ku.
u (short **u**) **ukufu:na.**
ukuthi ɔuɔu.
uku ɔu:ɔuzɛla.

In Zulu, as in most Bantu languages, the vowels constitute the simplest part of the phonology of the language; nevertheless they form a very important part. The root-vowel of every Zulu verb is immutable. Even though that verb be altered to form verbal derivatives or nouns, the root-vowel remains unaltered; e g. **uku thanda**, to love, where the first **a** is the vowel of the root **tand-**; from this are formed **thandɛka** (be lovable), **izithandani** (lovers), **uluthandɔ** (love), and **intandɔ** (love-charm) among many derivatives. If this were done with several roots, it would be noticed that in each case the root-vowel remains the same, while other vowels may alter. In this way it may be shown that each of the vowels **i**, **ɛ**, **a**, **ɔ**, and **u** may be used as root-vowels of

different words, in which case they will be either long or short according to the position of stress in the word. **e** and **o** are never root-vowels.

In the conjugation of the verb, **a** terminates the stem in the indicative affirmative, **ɛ** in the subjunctive, and **i** as a mark of the negative.

I would again point out that in certain cases the vowels **i** and **u** have a persistence above the usual. **i-** as a noun prefix stands for the full form **ili-**, and is a stronger vowel than the initial **i** in the prefixes **in-**, **izin-**, **imi-**, **isi-**, and **izi-**. Similarly, **u-** as a noun prefix stands for the full form **ulu-**, and is a stronger vowel than the initial **u** in the prefixes **umu-**, **uβu**, and **uku**. These strong vowels have influence in the locatives, sufficient to draw up the vowels **ɛ** and **ɔ** to the positions of **e** and **o** respectively.

Further references to vowel changes and vowel influence will be made when dealing with the phonetic changes of the locative.

DIPHTHONGS are found to a limited extent in Zulu, but for the sake of simplification in orthography, the first element is treated as a semi-vowel, e.g., **iɲama jakhɛ** for **i͡akhɛ**; and **umʃo wɛnu** for **u͡ɛnu**.

The diphthong **o͡a**, however, must be specially noticed. The word **aβantwana** should strictly be written **aβanto͡ana**, for the diphthong **wa** in Zulu does not start from the tongue-position of **u**, but from that of **o**, and so the diphthong **o͡a** differs considerably in acoustic effect from **u͡a**. Other instances of this are **uko͡azi**, **ukulo͡a**, **kusiɬo͡a**, **amaso͡azi**; but for the purposes of transcription these may all be written with **wa**, with the understood convention that in Zulu the diphthong **wa** is pronounced **o͡a**. This difference is not noticeable in other instances, thus **mauzwɛ**, **asilwi**, etc.

Notice that either **kwɔɬaŋgɔthi** or **koɬaŋgɔthi** is heard, **kwɔβambɔ** or **koβambɔ**, where the influence of the elided **u** is still felt by a change from **ɔ** to **o**.

Apart from this, diphthongs are not used in Zulu. Grout treats **ai** and **au** as diphthongs, but they invariably form two distinct syllables in Zulu; and A. T. Bryant goes to the opposite extreme of placing a semi-vowel between them, so that he writes **ai-kɛ** as **aji-kɛ** and **umxau** as **umxawu**.

ZULU PLAIN CONSONANTS

	Bi-labial.	Denti-labial.	Alveolar.	Palato-alveolar.	Palatal.	Velar.	Uvular.	Glottal.
Plosive . .	p ph b	...	t th d	...	...	k kh g	..	...
Implosive .	ɓ	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Affricative .	...	...	ts	cʃ ʄʒ	..	...	ʀ	. .
Affricative Lateral	. .	..	tɬ	...	...	..	...	...
Nasal . .	m	[ɱ]	n	...	ɲ	ŋ	[ɴ]	ɦ̃
Lateral . .	...	...	l	.	...	...	...	...
Lateral Fricative	.	...	ɬ ɮ	. .	...	..	...	...
Fricative .	.	f v	s z	ʃ	..	x	...	h ɦ
Semi-vowel	. .	...	...	...	j	w	...	...

PLOSIVES AND ASPIRATION

It will be seen from a glance at the Plain Consonant Chart that there is a regular system with the plosives—the bi-labial, the alveolar and the velar each having an unaspirated and an aspirated form of the unvoiced plosive, and a simple fully-voiced form, which has no aspirated counterpart.

English speakers must take special care with the unaspirated forms of the unvoiced plosives. Being rare in English, and differing only in breath-force from the corresponding voiced forms devocalized, they are liable to appear to the English ear as the voiced forms, i.e. to the English ear **p** (which only differs from **ɓ**, unvoiced **b**, in breath-force) will seem more like **b** than **ph**, **t** more like **d** than **th**, and **k** more like **g** than **kh**. To this can be traced the evolution of the Kitchen Kafir word **gaʃli** (carefully) from the Zulu **kaɬɛ**. Even Bryant does not recognize this, and repeatedly the same word is entered in his Dictionary in two places, having been heard under certain circumstances as though unvoiced, and under other conditions as though voiced; cf. in his work: *pamuza* (**pamuza**) and *bamuza*, *panquza* (**papuza**) and *bangquza*, *toba* (**toɓa**) and *doba*, *tenga* (**tɛŋga**) and *denga*, *kela* (**kɛla**) and *gela*, *koka* (**kɔka**) and *goga*, which obviously are meant for the same word, viz. that shown in brackets.

A clear distinction here is absolutely necessary, for each of these plosives, the unvoiced, the unvoiced aspirate, and the voiced, is a separate phoneme, and therefore may be used to distinguish one word from another, as for instance: **tɔβa** (get softened), **thɔβa** (bow down), and **dɔβa** (catch fish): **ukɔkɔ** (female relation), **ukhɔkhɔ** (ancestor), and **ugɔgɔ** (shrivelled man). In current Zulu orthography, the **b, d,** and **g** are written as such (except in such cases as when **b** is written *bh*, see my remarks on **b** later), the **ph, th,** and **kh** are written *p*, *t*, and *k*, and the unaspirated **p, t,** and **k** are written either *p*, *t*, and *k*, or *b*, *d*, and *g*, according as the writer thinks he hears. This has the result of confusion in many cases.

It will be noticed that, in the ordinary way, the aspirated unvoiced plosives are more used than the unaspirated; but whenever the aspirated plosive at the beginning of a stem is preceded by the nasal appropriate thereto, it is a rule without exception that the aspiration drops, and a simple plosive takes the place of the aspirated plosive. By the term "appropriate nasal" I mean a bi-labial nasal before a bi-labial plosive, an alveolar nasal before an alveolar plosive, or a velar nasal before a velar plosive. Examples of this are as follows:—

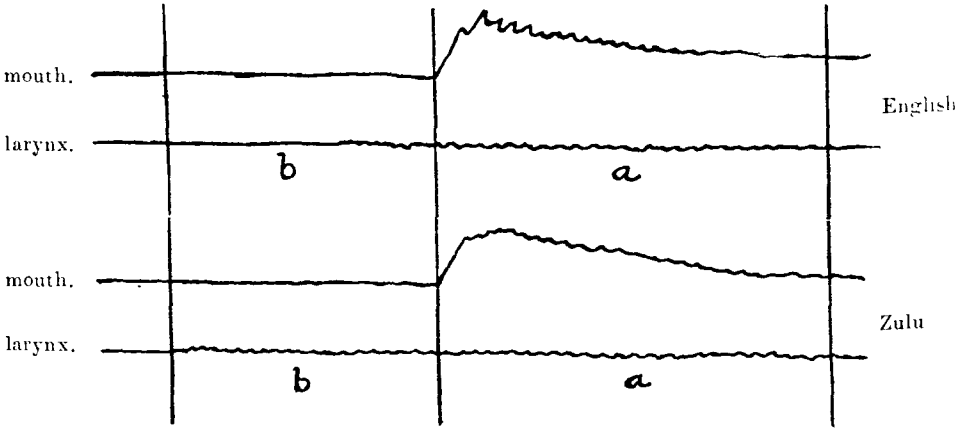
uphɛɬaɻwathi (species of bush).	**izimpɛɬaɻwathi** (plur.).
izithathu (three, Cl. 4, pl.).	**izintathu** (Cl. 3, pl.).
uβukhɔsi (chieftainship).	**iŋkɔsi** (chief).

Further instances of this will be noticed when dealing with the plosives individually. This same phenomenon of deaspiration, when preceded by the appropriate nasal, takes place with the aspirated click consonants, and will be noted thereunder with examples.

p and **ph**. Aspirated **p** (**ph**) closely resembles **p** in English. Unaspirated **p** is not of common occurrence in Zulu. In addition to the examples already quoted, the following may be noted: **paɲaza** (found also as *banyaza* in Bryant), **pɛntsuka** and **pɛntsa** (written as *bentsa* in Bryant, but derived from the same root as that of **pɛntsuka**). When preceded by the nasal **m, ph** drops its aspiration, e.g. **impɛphɔ, isiphɛphɔ, phakamisa, impakama, phaka, impaka, phisa, impisi.** A similar phenomenon takes place, working the reverse way, in Swahili, where words in dialects of the interior, which contain a plosive preceded by a nasal, when introduced into Swahili, drop their nasal and aspirate the plosive, e.g. **impaka** (wild cat) becomes **phaka** in Swahili.

Thus, in current Zulu orthography **p** usually indicates the aspirated variety (**ph**), but in the combination **mp**, the **p** is devoid of aspiration: while all other cases of unaspirated **p** must be learnt individually. Certain apparent exceptions to this rule may be found, thus, **impɛthɔ** (end), but **umphɛthɔ** (border), **umphɛʃɛjɑ, umphuthuluzi,** etc. This is explained when it is remembered that the prefix *um-* in Zulu is a contraction from *umu-*, which is still used with monosyllabic stems, e.g. **umuntu, umuthi**; and the elided **u** before polysyllabic stems still has a certain amount of persistence, causing the **m** to become syllabic, thus, **um̩phɛthɔ** or **um^{u}phɛthɔ** would be a more correct way of writing these words.

b. Zulu **b** is somewhat similar to the English **b**, only it is fully voiced. The kymograph tracing comparing the English with the Zulu **b** shows as follows:—



In the above tracings the voicing of the English **b** commences only just before the explosion, whereas the Zulu **b** is fully voiced. There is no such thing as an aspirated **b** (**bh**) in Zulu, but Zulu grammarians and lexicographers have not recognized that the softer **b** sound in Zulu is Implosive-**b** (**ɓ**), and so they have treated Zulu **ɓ** as though it were the usual English **b**, or a more softly exploded variety thereof, and have considered Zulu **b** as though it were aspirated, mistaking the extra voicing for aspiration. When dealing with **ɓ**, it will be noticed that **b** and **ɓ** are phonemic; and it will further be seen that of the two, **ɓ** is of more common

occurrence in Zulu. Note the following words in **b**: **bina, boβoza, boɮa, bolokoɕa, baʃa,** etc.

t and **th.** The position of Zulu **t** is alveolar, and it is pronounced with tongue-tip articulation as in English. In Zulu **t** is usually aspirated (**th**), but there are numerous instances of unaspirated **t,** and since the difference is a phonemic one, it must be carefully noticed, e.g. **tuβa** (smash up) and **thuβa** (become darkened), **tɛŋga** (wave to and fro) and **thɛŋga** (barter).

When a stem beginning in **th** is preceded by the alveolar nasal, **n,** the aspiration is lost; thus from the verb **thomba** we get **intombi,** and the plural of **uthotho** is **izintotho.**

For help in reading Zulu in its current orthography, the following points may prove useful. **t** usually indicates the aspirate **th,** while in the combination **nt,** the **t** is unaspirated; but all other cases of unaspirated **t** must be learned individually. The very commonly met verb **ukuthi,** in all its tenses and persons, has aspirated **t.**

d. In Zulu, **d** is fully voiced, otherwise it is the same as the English **d.** This must not be confused with unaspirated **t,** which is akin to **d̥** (unvoiced **d**). Note the connexion of **d** with **l.** As in many Bantu languages, **l** when preceded by the alveolar nasal becomes **nd.**

Examples with **d**: **dɛla, amadoda, indoda, isidindi, diŋga,** etc.

k and **kh.** Of the unvoiced velar plosives, the aspirated form, **kh,** more nearly resembles the English **k,** while the unaspirated is rare in English, and difficult for English speakers to acquire at first. Since Zulu **k** differs from **g̊** (unvoiced **g**) in the amount of breath-force only, a confusion of **k** and **g** has arisen in Zulu writing. They are, of course, absolutely distinct.

k and **kh** are phonemic, e.g. **kaka** (encircle) and **khakha** (be acrid), **kɛla** (wear down, also written **gɛla** by Bryant) and **khɛla** (place slantwise), **koka** (obstruct as with an *impi*, also found written **goga**) and **khokha** (draw out of sheath).

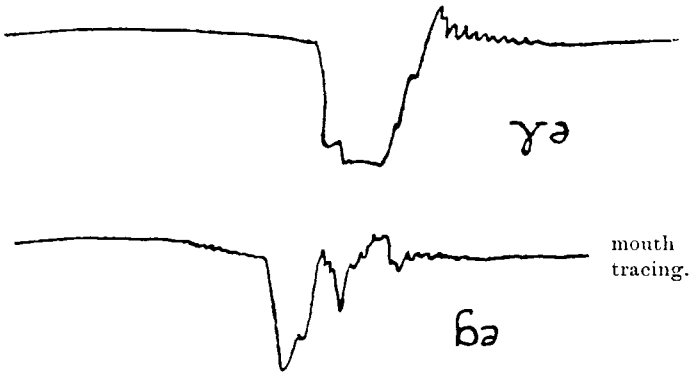
kh, when preceded by **ŋ,** loses its aspiration, e.g. **isikhau** and **iŋkau, isikhathi** and **iŋkathi, iŋkuku,** etc.

kh seems perhaps more commonly found than **k** in Zulu, except of course when influenced by the velar nasal: but there is one very outstanding instance of **k** being used, viz. in the infinitive **uku,** and all the verbal and adverbial forms based thereon; and also in the adverbial prefix **ka-,** e.g. **kakhulu, kaβi, kaɬɛ, kaŋanɛ,** etc.

g. Zulu **g** is more fully voiced than English **g**, e.g. **gula**, **iŋgɔzi**, **igɛɟʒa**, **ugɔgɔ** (shrivelled man), which last must be definitely distinguished from **ukɔkɔ** (female relation, written in Zulu as *ugogo*).

IMPLOSIVE-B (**ɓ**)

It has been found necessary to distinguish definitely this *b*-sound from the ordinary plosives, and furthermore to invent for it a new nomenclature. In pronouncing this sound the glottis is not entirely closed during the articulation, and **ɓ** is in reality a species of click sound. It differs, however, from the other Zulu clicks, in that the tongue does not form a partial vacuum (rarefaction) between the forward and the velar points of articulation, as will be seen later with the clicks: but a rarefaction is formed by the enlargement of the air-passage above the larynx, by moving the larynx down, so that on releasing the lips to pronounce a voiced *b*, the air momentarily rushes in to fill the rarefied space, a kind of inbreathed *b* being the result, followed immediately by the outbreathed vowel. To designate this sound I use the term Implosive. A comparison of the kymograph tracings of a voiced click and of **ɓ**, followed in each case by the neutral vowel, is very instructive.



The nature of this sound has hitherto been unrecognized by Zulu scholars, and it has led them all into a serious error, which has already been noticed when dealing with **b**, viz. that of treating this sound, on account of its softer effect, as almost identical with English **b**, and attributing aspiration to the fully-voiced plosive **b**. As for Xosa, Maclaren however, in his Xosa Grammar, recognizes that in **ɓ** the breath is drawn in, but still attributes aspiration to **b**. From his Table of Consonants it is

evident that he does not properly understand the meaning of aspiration. Kropf too, in his Xosa Dictionary, also notes that one variety of *b* is inspirated.[1]

A good way to acquire the pronunciation of this sound, is to pronounce the English word *tub* **(tʌb)**: then repeat over and over again the latter part **ʌb ʌb ʌb ʌb**; next add on a short syllable **bə**, without exploding the first **b**, thus **ʌbbə ʌbbə**; then elide the first vowel, and the **bbə** remaining will be very similar to the **ɓə** required.

Pairs of words are distinguished in Zulu by the kind of *b*-sound used, e.g. **bɛka** (look) and **ɓɛka** (put), **baba** (catch) and **ɓaɓa** (be acrid), **biza** (have concern) and **ɓiza** (call), **bɔŋga** (roar) and **ɓɔŋga** (praise), and many others. It might be noticed that in many cases this **ɓ** corresponds to the Central Bantu **ʋ** (bi-labial *v*), cf. Lamba, **ʋika** (put) and **ʋaʋa** (be acrid).

ɓ when preceded by the appropriate bi-labial nasal, **m**, becomes **b**, as for instance: **ɓambɛlɛla** and **imbambɛlɛla**, **uɓambɔ** and its plural **izimbambɔ**.

It is well to know that all the prefixes and concords of the personal class contain the implosive-*b*, as **aɓa-**, and similarly with the abstract class in **uɓu-**. In fact **ɓ** is met with more frequently than **b** in Zulu, except when the latter is in the combination **mb**. In many Zulu texts no distinction is made in writing between **b** and **ɓ**, but in others the former is written *bh* and the latter *b*.

The Nasals

Zulu has a large range of nasals, comprising ten sounds, for which the following symbols are used: **m, ɱ, n, ɲ, ŋ, ɳ, h̃, ɳ̊, n̥, ɳ̊**. Of these the last three are click nasals, and will be considered later, when dealing with the click consonants. **h̃** is nasalized *h*, and might equally well have been tabulated among the glottal fricatives. Of the first six it will later be seen that two (**ɱ** and **ɳ**) are non-phonemic, and would not be necessary in broad transcriptions: but, owing to their distinctive character, they must be treated in detail in this dissertation.

As in all Bantu languages, the nasal in Zulu plays a prominent part in causing consonantal changes, and in itself goes

[1] We have, further, recently discovered that **ɓ** is widely used in Swahili, e.g. **maɓɛga, ɓuiɓui, ɓaɓa, ɓalozi, ɓunduki,** etc., **b** being used with some words from Arabic, e.g. **birika.**

through varying permutations, all regular according to the differing phonetic laws of the individual languages.

m. The bi-labial nasal is the "appropriate nasal" to use with the bi-labial plosives, and it has already been observed that it has the effect of unaspirating **ph**, making **mp**. Before **p** and **b** it is used without causing change, **mp** and **mb**; but when placed before the implosive-*b*, **ɓ** becomes ordinary plosive-*b*, making **mb**. Thus in Zulu we have the combinations **mp** and **mb**.

m, when used as **um-** for the prefix **umu-**, and when representing the 3rd person 1st class object-particle, which used to be *mu*, and is still so with monosyllabic verbs, has almost a syllabic significance, and should, in a close transcription, be written as **mᵘ** or **m̩**. Thus **mᵘ** can be combined with every consonant in Zulu, including the nasals, and even **ph** and **ɓ**. We have already noticed this with **ph**, e.g. **umᵘphɛthɔ**. With **ɓ**, while we have **imbambɛzɛla**, the initial **ɓ** of the stem does not change in **wa mᵘɓambɛzɛla**.

mᵘ comes in combination with all the nasals, as follows: **ŋga mᵘminza** (written in current Zulu orthography as *m'm*), **wa mᵘɱfɛfɛzɛla, umᵘnini, umᵘɲaŋgɔ, umᵘŋgaŋɛ, wa mᵘɲɣiɲa, wa mᵘɳiɳizɛla, umᵘɳɔŋgɔ, umᵘɲaka, umᵘɳuma.**

Before all consonants other than bi-labial plosives, **m** has the value **mᵘ**, e.g. **umᵘfana, umᵘlɛnzɛ, umᵘthakathi, umᵘsindisi, umᵘxau**, etc.

Of course, apart from its "appropriate" use, **m** may be used in word formation, e.g. **maŋgala, amanzi, ukuma**, etc.

ɱ. The denti-labial **m**. The mouth and tongue positions are the same as for **f**; the lips do not meet, but the upper teeth touch the lower lip. **ɱ** is only used with the denti-labial fricatives, **f** and **v**. Thus it is of the same phoneme as **m**, and in a broad transcription **mf** and **mv** may be written instead of **ɱf** and **ɱv**. Examples: **imɱfɛ, ɛmɱfɛni, imɱvu, ukumɱfɔma**. But notice that **mᵘ** never becomes **ɱ**, e.g. **umᵘfana** not **uɱfana**. **ɱ** is never used in Zulu apart from its "appropriate" position.

n. Alveolar nasal, used as the appropriate nasal with the alveolar plosives, laterals, and fricatives. When used thus, however, the following phonetic laws come into play:—

(*a*) The aspirated plosive becomes unaspirated, e.g. **izithathu** and **izintathu**.

(*b*) The unvoiced fricatives become affricates, e.g. **ɔmuɬɛ** and **ɛzintɬɛ, usu** and **izintsu**.

(*c*) **l**, when preceded by **n**, becomes **d**. This is of rare occur-

rence in Zulu, and scarcely recognized, but it may be noticed in the cases of **ulimi** (tongue) and the plural form **izindimi**, and **indima** from the verb **lima**.

(*d*) The unvoiced plosive **t** and the voiced plosives and fricatives remain unchanged, e.g. **utalagu** and **izintalagu**, **udiβi** and **izindiβi**, **uɣuβu** and **inɣuβu**, **uluzimɛ** and **izinzimɛ**.

n is used before each of the vowels apart from its "appropriate" use, e.g. **naka**, **nɛmbala**, **nɔma**, etc.

ɲ. The palatal nasal **ɲ** resembles the French in *agneau*: and in pronouncing it the tongue-tip must be kept down against the back of the lower teeth. In Zulu orthography it is written *ny*. This is the appropriate nasal to use with the palatals: nevertheless it is phonemically different from **n**, e.g. **ɲakaza**, **ɲiɲa**, **umuɲu**. As appropriate nasal with **ʃ** it changes **ʃ** into the affricate **cʃ**, e.g. **uʃaŋguʃaŋgu** becomes **iziɲcʃaŋguɲcʃaŋgu** in the plural. Stems beginning with the semi-vowel **j** have that **j** supplanted by **ɲ**, e.g. **ujaβa** and **iziɲaβa**. Note also the following words: **iɲcʃɔβa**, **iɲcʃasa**, **ɲɟzalɔ**, **iɲɟza**.

ŋ. Velar nasal, used as the appropriate nasal with the velars: nevertheless it is a phonemically distinct nasal, inasmuch as both **ŋ** and **n** are used with the semi-vowel **w**, e.g. **unwali**, but **iziŋwalakaɬa** and not **izinwalakaɬa** is the plural of **uwalakaɬa**.

Used as the appropriate nasal, **ŋ** has the effect of unaspirating the aspirated plosive **kh**, e.g. **khathaza** and **iŋkathazɔ**, **amakhɔsi** and **iŋkɔsi**. It is used with **k** and **g** without causing change, e.g. **iziŋkwikwi** (plural of **ukwikwi**), **ŋgi**, **ukuŋgɛna**, etc.

When used before the unvoiced fricative **x**, it is not yet certain whether this **x** does not become an affricate **kx**, as is the case with the fricatives **ɬ**, **s**, and **ʃ**. For instance, if **uxumɛ** has a plural, will it be **iziŋxumɛ** or **iziŋkxumɛ**?

With certain speakers, in rapid speech, **ŋg** is often worn down to **ŋ**, e.g. **ŋa manzi** for **ŋga manzi**; but whenever the same speakers repeat the same words slowly, **ŋg** reappears as such.

ɲ. Uvular nasal. A sound similar to **ŋ**, and of the same phoneme, but pronounced very much further back in the mouth, at the point of articulation for **ɣ**. In a broad transcription this may give place to **ŋ**, as it is only used in conjunction with the uvular affricate **ɣ**. Notice the following: **uɣaŋgaɣaŋga** and **iziɲɣaŋgaɣaŋga**, **ukuthi ɲɣi** and **uku ɲɣiɲa** (to grasp tightly), **uku ɲɣiɲɣiza** (to make a choking noise)

ɦ. This may be described as a glottal nasal, or as a nasalized voiced *h*. It is seldom used, but the following instances may be noted: **ɦi**, an onomatopœic sound of indignation, and **ɦiɦiza**, the verb formed therefrom, meaning to grunt in indignation. Words, the stems of which commence in **h** or **ɦ** (unvoiced or voiced *h*), when used with the plural prefix *izin-*, use **ɦ**, e.g. **uhazane** and **iziɦazane**, **uhɔʗɔlɔ** and **iziɦɔʗɔlɔkazi**, **uɦɔɦɔ** and **iziɦɔɦɔ**. This is adequately written in current Zulu orthography as *nh*.

To summarize the preceding observations, we find the following phonetic rules apparent:—

(*a*) When preceded by the appropriate nasal, plosive aspirates lose their aspiration.

(*b*) When preceded by the appropriate nasal, unvoiced fricatives become affricates (the case of **f** excepted, and ? **x**).

(*c*) Under the influence of the appropriate nasal, the following special cases obtain: **ɓ** becomes **mb**, **l** becomes **nd**, and **h** and **ɦ** become **ɦ**.

Similar and further rules of nasal-influenced change will be noticed when dealing with the click consonants.

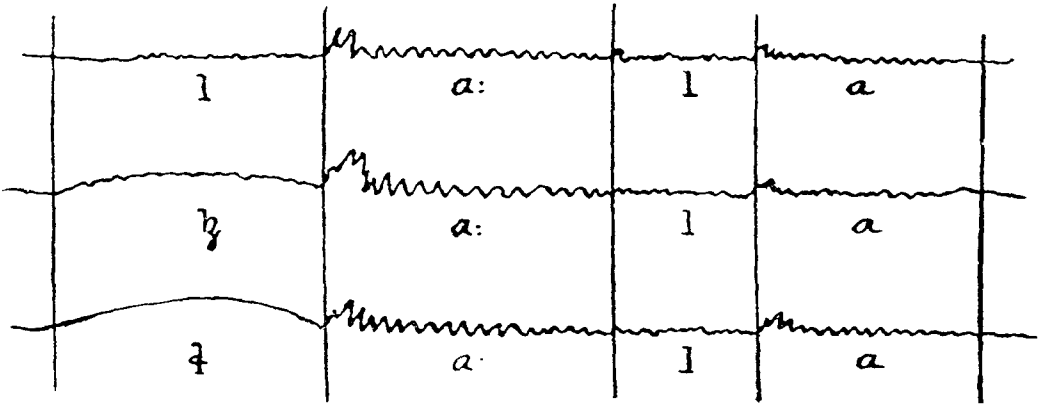
m + p = mp	**m + ph = mp**
m + b = mb	**m + ɓ = mb**
ɱ + f = ɱf	**ɱ + v = ɱv**
n + t = nt	**n + th = nt**
n + d = nd	**n + l = nd**
n + ɬ = ntɬ	**n + ɮ = nɮ**
n + s = nts	**n + z = nz**
ɲ + ʃ = ɲcʃ	**ɲ + cʃ = ɲcʃ**
ɲ + ʒ = ɲʒ	**ɲ + j = ɲ**
ŋ + k = ŋk	**ŋ + kh = ŋk**
ŋ + g = ŋg	**ŋ + x = ŋkx** or **ŋx**
ŋ + w = ŋw	
ɴ + ʁ = ɴʁ	
~ + h = ɦ	**~ + ɦ = ɦ**

The Laterals

Zulu has three lateral sounds, of which two are lateral fricatives. For the production of all three sounds the tongue-tip has the same alveolar point of articulation, which is that of the

English clear l. As is the case with the English lateral, the back and the blade of the tongue are adjusted according to the resonance of the adjacent vowels. In the case of the fricatives, the sides, one or both, are raised sufficiently to cause friction between them and the palate.

A comparison of the following kymograph mouth tracings shows that, since l is not a fricative, the line is scarcely forced up at all. With the fricative ɮ the line bows up, while with the unvoiced fricative ɬ the line is still further bowed and is clear of vibrations, until the tongue is about to be released from the palate. These diagrams show clearly that the addition of voicing is compensated by a diminution of the bowing, i.e. of the friction.



All three of these lateral sounds are phonemic, e.g. **lala** (sleep), **ɬala** (remain), **ɮala** (play).

l. Voiced lateral, made with tongue-tip articulation as in English. Examples: **lamba, lila, lɔβɔla, lukhuni, wa mᵘlandɛla.** There are very few cases of its being influenced by the appropriate nasal **n**; but notice **ulimi** (tongue) and the plural **izindimi,**[1] where **nl** becomes **nd,** as in many Bantu languages.

ɬ. Unvoiced fricative lateral, i.e. unvoiced **ɮ.** This is not the unvoiced form of **l,** which would be a quiet passing of the air, almost a silence. It cannot, therefore, be written with the sign **l̥.** It is similar to the Welsh *ll* but, if anything, has stronger friction, and a quality varying with the adjacent vowels. Examples: **ɬaβɛlɛla, uluɬaŋgɔthi, namᵘɬaɲɟɛ.**

When preceded by the appropriate nasal **n, ɬ** becomes the affricate **tɬ,** e.g. **uluɬaza** and **izintɬaza, intɬizijɔ.** The presence of this **t** is not generally recognized.

[1] **izilimi** is also found.

In current Zulu orthography ɬ is written *hl*.

ɮ. This may be described as the fully voiced form of ɬ, or as the fricative form of l. As has been noticed above, it differs from l in that the sides of the tongue are raised sufficiently to produce friction with the palate. Examples: **ukuɮa, ɮula, amaɮozi.**

ɮ is unaltered when preceded by **n**, e.g. **inɮubunɮubu, isanɮa, amanɮa.** In current orthography it is written *dhl*, and Europeans erroneously think that they hear a **d** in it.

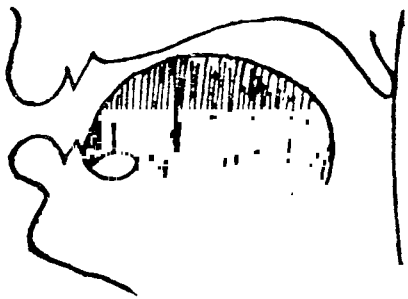
The Fricatives

Apart from the lateral fricatives, Zulu employs five fricatives, four of which have both voiced and unvoiced forms, though the voiced palatal fricative is only used in affricate combination. They are represented by the following symbols: **f, v, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, x, h,** and **ɦ.**

(a) Denti-labial Fricatives.—**f** and **v** are pronounced as in English. The only point to notice is that the appropriate nasal used with them is the denti-labial **ɱ** of the same phoneme as **m.** Examples: **funa, umᵘfokazi, iɱfokɔɱfokɔ, vala, umᵘvuŋgɛ, iɱvuβuɱvuβu.**

(b) Alveolar Fricatives.—**s** and **z** are pronounced as in English. It must be noticed that when the unvoiced form, **s,** is preceded by the appropriate nasal, **n,** it becomes the affricate **ts.** Examples: **suka, umᵘsindisi, usɛndɔ** and **izintsɛndɔ, zala, ɛziɲɛ, amanzi.**

(c) Palato-alveolar Fricatives.—The unvoiced form is **ʃ.** The voiced form **ʒ** is only used in Zulu in the affricate combination **ʤ.** It must be clearly understood that Zulu **ʃ** and **ʒ** are palatals, and that the tongue tip is kept down behind the lower teeth during articulation, and the lips spread. The following diagram shows the tongue-position:—



In parts of Natal, ʃ is replaced by the affricate **cʃ**, e.g. **ʃaja** and **cʃaja, uʃaka** and **ucʃaka.** The appropriate nasal is **ɲ**, and whenever it precedes ʃ, the latter becomes the affricate **cʃ**, e.g. **uʃizanɛ** and **iziɲcʃizanɛ.** Examples of the use of **ʒ** will be given under the affricate combination **ɟʒ**.

(*d*) VELAR FRICATIVE.—**x** in Zulu has a sound similar to the Scottish sound of *ch* in *loch*, though in the southern districts it has much more scrape, more nearly resembling the Cape Dutch *g* in *gaan*. In Xosa, too, there is far more scrape with this velar fricative than in the average Zulu use of it. In fact in Zulu it tends to approximate to **h**, but it never does this entirely. Although Bryant makes no differentiation in writing, **h** and **x** are phonemic, distinguishing words, e.g. **xɔla** (draw out) and **hɔla** (run). In current Zulu orthography **x** is written *r*, Bryant using *h*. When the appropriate nasal **ŋ** is used with **x**, it is not yet certain whether **ŋx** is the result, or an affricate **ŋkx.**

Examples of the velar fricative: **umᵘxau, xamula, ixɔxɔ, ixwaɲa, ukuxaxa.**

(*e*) GLOTTAL FRICATIVES.—Zulu employs both voiced and unvoiced *h*, and these two sounds are used phonemically, e.g. **ukuthi haha** and **umɦaɦa.** Bryant distinguishes the voiced form by writing *hh*, but otherwise in Zulu orthography there is no distinction. As observed above, **h** must be distinguished from the almost scrapeless **x.** When preceded by the nasal, **h** and **ɦ** both become **n̤** (nasalized *h*), which has been dealt with in the section on the Nasals.

Examples: **hamba, iɦaʃi, haza, hɛβɛza**, and **ɦɛβɛza.**

The symbol *h* is used to denote aspiration with unvoiced plosives and clicks, e.g. **ph, th, kh, ʇh, ʗh**, and **ɔh.**

THE AFFRICATES

An affricate sound is a combination of a plosive immediately followed by a fricative of corresponding organic position. Many students of Zulu have not properly recognized the existence of these affricates, but the following remarks will show that they are a very necessary part of Zulu phonology. It is not yet certain whether the affricate **kx** exists in Zulu.

ts. Alveolar affricate unvoiced. Whenever **s** is immediately preceded by **n**, it becomes the affricate **ts**, e.g. **pantsi, intsɛma, ntsala, intsɛntsɛ, intsɛphɛ.** But there are instances of **ts**

occurring uninfluenced by a nasal, e.g. **umᵘtsalɔ, utswaßutswaßu.** Although in some cases **s** and **ts** seem to be interchangeable, e.g. **sɔßɔ** and **tsɔßɔ,** in others they seem to be phonemically different, e.g. **sɛkɛza** (enclose) and **tsɛkɛza** (creak). In some cases **ts** and **cʃ** are interchangeable, e.g. **itsakɔ** and **icʃakɔ, tsaka** and **cʃaka.**

tɬ. Affricative lateral. This represents the sound of a *t* exploded laterally, the lateral part as well as the plosive being unvoiced, so that **tl** does not adequately represent it. **tɬ** is found whenever the unvoiced lateral fricative **ɬ** is immediately preceded by **n,** and is not found in combinations other than that of **ntɬ,** e.g. **ɛzintɬizijwɛni, intɬɛßɔ, intɬantɬana.** Bryant writes this *ntl,* but in current Zulu orthography the presence of the *t* is not recognized and *nhl* is written. *nthl* would be much better than *ntl,* because the lateral is of the unvoiced fricative type, *tl* giving the sound heard in *Watling Street.*

cʃ. Palato-alveolar affricate unvoiced. **c** is the symbol used for the palatal *k,* i.e. a plosive made by the back of the tongue coming into contact with the hard palate instead of the velum. **c,** as a plosive, is used extensively in Central Bantu languages, such as Bemba, Luba, and Lamba, but it is not used alone in Zulu as a plosive, only being found when followed by the fricative **ʃ,** making an affricate. In current Zulu orthography *tsh* or *ty* is used to indicate **cʃ.** This is always used when the nasal **ɲ** immediately precedes **ʃ,** the Zulu never using the combination **ɲʃ** but **ɲcʃ,** e.g. **iɲcʃɔcɔ, ɲcʃiŋga, iɲcʃɛßɛ.** Nevertheless there is a number of well-defined cases of **cʃ** being used unassociated with a nasal, e.g. **cʃɛla** (tell), **cʃɛlɛka** (lend), **ucʃani** (grass), **icʃɛ** (stone). Some natives use **cʃ** very commonly, where it seems that **ʃ** should be used, and it must be noticed that **ʃ** and **cʃ** are phonemically different, e.g. **ʃɛʃa** (hasten) and **cʃɛcʃa** (cut meat into strips).

ɟʒ. The voiced variety of the above. Neither element of this combination is found apart. Examples : **ɲɟʒɛŋgɔkuɓa, ɟʒaßula, umᵘɟʒiɓɛ, ɟʒija.**

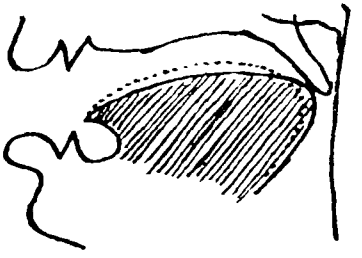
The Ejective Uvular Affricate

ɣ. This is perhaps the most difficult Zulu sound for a foreigner to acquire, and one of the most difficult to describe without practical demonstration. In fact Elliott, in his Tebele Dictionary, writes of it as totally indescribable and impossible for a European to acquire, with the added encouraging remark that it is very seldom

used. Döhne, too, describes it as "a kind of choking, very difficult to describe and more so to utter". But it cannot be passed by in that convenient manner.

ʒ is an affricate sound, but it differs from other affricates in that it is pronounced with simultaneous glottal stop. To designate such glottal stop plosives, I have selected the term "ejective", as being descriptive of the action and the type of sound resulting. Hence ʒ is made up of three elements, the plosive, the fricative, and the glottal stop; and if the special symbol were not adopted, ʒ would have to be indicated by qχʔ.

Now to examine the component parts: the plosive element (q) is the deep Arabic *qaf*, made with the back of the tongue against the extremity of the velum, much further back than k, which is made against the middle of the velum: but that is not all, for the plosive element q ends off in a fricative appropriate to the uvular position, viz. χ, the deep Arabic *kh* in *khalifa*, accompanied by strong vibration of the uvula; and the whole is ejected by glottal action, the larynx being forcibly raised with resulting compression of the air in the pharynx between the vocal chords and the point of contact of the tongue with the velum. As soon as the tongue is removed from that position, the air is ejected. The following diagram will perhaps better describe the tongue-position and movement:—



The back of the tongue touches the lower part of the velum and moves forwards, keeping near to the velum and causing friction to follow the plosion. The sound is, of course, unvoiced, as none of the ejective consonants can be voiced, the closed glottis preventing the vocal chords from coming into play.

This sound has been thought by many to be a click, and Colenso and others wrote it with an italic *x*, Romic *x* signifying the lateral click. Others wrote it *xx*. Bryant describes it as "a certain strong guttural sound, quite unknown in European

languages, and produced by a constricted formation of the lower throat". He therefore uses *rr* to denote it "as befitting a guttural sound", and notes that in Xosa *r* is used to indicate the same sound. Grout comes nearer to a description of this sound, when he writes "a peculiar, hard, rough guttural, which seems to be made by contracting the throat and giving the breath a forcible expulsion, at the same time modifying the sound with a tremulous motion of the epiglottis". He uses the sign *!* to indicate this sound.[1]

There is a uvular nasal corresponding to **ɣ** which I have indicated by the sign **ɲ** and described among the nasals.

Examples of **ɣ**: **ɣwɛba, umᵘɣɛzɔ, iɣwa, umᵘgaɲɣa.**

The Semi-vowels

w and **j** are used to indicate the semi-vowel glides, and it has already been noted, when dealing with the diphthong, that **wa** is used to represent the diphthong **o͡a**, starting from the **o** position and not from that of **u**; thus, with the semi-vowel **w** we see that in Zulu there is more open lip-rounding than in English.

w is used in conjunction with each of the consonants, with the exception of the bi-labials **p, ph, b, ɓ,** and **m,** though in some parts of Natal even such combinations are said to occur. It is for this reason that somewhat peculiar consonantal changes take place in the passives and locatives of words of which the last consonant is a bi-labial. These will be noted later. Some non-European combinations with **w** are found in Zulu, such as **jw** and **ɲw,** e.g. **entɬizijwɛni, luɲwa.**

Examples of **w** compounds: **kɔdwa, gwiɲa, isilwanɛ, ucʃwala;** as well as combinations with the clicks, e.g. **iᵑwadi, ᵖwatha, ɔhwala.** Plosives and clicks may be aspirated or unaspirated when in combination with **w.**

Though **w** really has two positional values, viz. bi-labial and velar, I have chosen to place it in the velar column of the chart, since the appropriate nasal to use with it is **ŋ,** not **m.**

w is also extensively used on its own merits, e.g. **wɔla, wulɛka, wɛɬɛzɛla, iwisa, wawaza.**

Now, on the other hand, **j** is not used in combination with consonants other than **w.** The appropriate nasal to use with **j** is **ɲ,** and this absorbs **j** when so used, e.g. **ujaɬa** and **iziɲaɬa.**

[1] [This sign is used in the revised edition of Grout's *Isizulu* (1893—see p. 13), but not in the original edition of 1859.—A.W.]

Examples: **jaluka, jɛthu, jɔlisa, ukuthi juβu juβu.**

Bryant uses **w** and **j** rather freely to place between two adjacent vowels, e.g. *umhawu* for **umᵘxau**; but this is unnecessary.

ZULU CLICK CONSONANTS

	Dental.	Retroflex.	Lateral.
Unvoiced .	ʇ ʇh	ʗ ʗh	ʖ ʖh
Voiced . .	ɣ	ɻ	ʬ
Nasal . .	ɳ	ɲ	ɺ

From the above chart it is seen that there are three types of click consonants: the dental, the retroflex, and the lateral. In acoustic effect, to the native, these sounds differ one from the other as much as *p*, *t*, and *k* do to our ears. Hence, it is absolutely necessary for the foreigner to acquire their exact pronunciation, as the misuse of a click would be as bad as to say *pat* for *cat*. Before discussing the symbols used, it will be best to describe minutely the formation of each type of click, giving diagrams of the tongue positions.

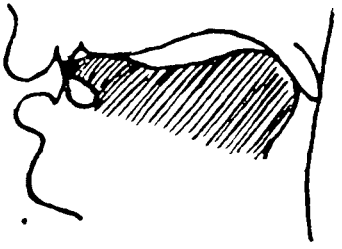
Click consonants are implosive or suction sounds, produced by the formation of a partial vacuum between the tip and the back of the tongue, so that when the tip or the side (as in the case of the lateral click) of the tongue is released from contact with the palate, air rushes momentarily into the rarefaction, and causes the smacking sound. It will be seen that there are two aspects to every click, the forward or tongue-tip aspect, and the velar or tongue-back aspect. This influences the nasals used with the clicks, so that they are not simple nasals, but compounds made up of a dental, retroflex, or alveolar **n**, as the case may be, and the velar **ŋ**.

THE DENTAL CLICK

The back of the tongue is raised against the soft palate in the position for **k**, while the tongue-tip is placed lightly against the upper front teeth and gums, forming a rarefaction between the middle of the tongue and the palate. The tip of the tongue is released and the click ensues. Naturally the click is never used

unaccompanied by a vowel sound, and there must be no pause whatever between the click and the vowel, one straightforward syllable being made. The unvoiced form of this dental click (ʇ, is what is used in the English click of annoyance, written *tut-tut*,

ʇ and ɣ



but really ʇʇʇʇ. The voiced dental click I write ɣ and the nasal ɳ. In each case the tongue-position is the same, but for ɣ the vocal chords are made to vibrate, causing a *g*-sound to be heard, and for the last the uvula is down allowing the air to pass through the nose.

THE RETROFLEX CLICK

ƈ and ɻ



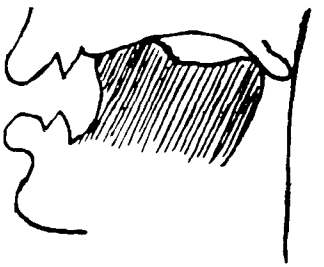
From the diagram it will be seen that the back of the tongue is in the same *k*-position as for the dental click, but the tongue-tip is curled back into the retroflex position, the underside of the tip touching the hard palate, so that a partial vacuum is formed of a different nature from that of the previous one. The click is exploded on the hard palate by the release of the tongue-tip. There is no equivalent European exclamatory sound to this unvoiced retroflex click (ƈ). The voiced form of this click I write with the symbol ɻ and the nasal ɲ.

This click is described by grammarians as palatal or cerebral, but I think the term retroflex is better, since it describes the position in which the underside of the tongue comes into play with the palate. Hottentot has a palatal click, made with the

upper part of the tongue-tip, and the term palatal had better be reserved for that.

The Lateral Click

ɔ and ʚ



The upper part of the tongue-tip is pressed firmly in a post-alveolar position, i.e. against the ridge between the gums and the hard palate; the back of the tongue is held in the *k*-position, and the explosion is made laterally, releasing the side of the tongue where it is pressed against the side-teeth-ridge, the tip being kept firmly in position until the completion of the explosion. Owing to the lateral explosion, there is a strong *l*-element in these clicks. Lateral clicks are exploded uni-laterally, i.e. on one side at a time only, though either left or right side may be used.[1] The unvoiced form of this lateral click (ɔ) is substantially the same as that used by a cab-driver in urging on his horse. The voiced form I write with the symbol ʚ and the nasal ɳ.

The Representation of the Click Consonants

The clicks in Zulu have hitherto been represented by the three symbols *c*, *q*, and *x*, as those letters have not been otherwise used in the language. The voiced forms are written *gc*, *gq*, and *gx*, the nasalized forms *nc*, *nq*, and *nx*; the voiced forms preceded by a nasal have been written *ngc*, *ngq*, and *ngx*; but this method makes no provision for the unvoiced forms preceded by a nasal, which are written *nc*, *nq*, and *nx*, just the same as the nasalized forms. In fact the writing of *nc*, etc., for the unvoiced forms preceded by the nasal has not only caused Europeans to overlook the existence of such forms, but even the natives are beginning to pronounce them both as the nasalized form. Sixty years ago Callaway employed a much saner system of writing the clicks, by using *kc*, *kq*, and *kx* for the unvoiced forms, so that he was

[1] [I find this is disputed—e.g. by the Rev. C. U. Faye, of Zululand, who says that both sides are exploded simultaneously.—A. W.]

able to distinguish *nkc*, *nkq*, and *nkx* from *nc*, *nq*, and *nx*; and it will be greatly regretted if his system is not reintroduced before "spelling pronunciations" destroy the purity of Zulu, and the forms he indicated by *nkc*, *nkq*, and *nkx* be lost to Zulu altogether. McLaren recognizes this same difficulty in Xosa, and advocates the reintroduction of *k* into the unvoiced forms. Further, there are aspirated forms of the unvoiced clicks. Bryant and some others recognize these, but they are not included in ordinary writing. *kch*, *kqh*, and *kxh* could be thus employed.

Now it may be argued from the above that I might have adopted some such system as Callaway's, working from my ground forms of ǂ, ʗ, and ʖ (since **c**, **q**, and **x** are used to represent other sounds by the International Phonetic Association), and using **kǂ**, **gǂ**, **ŋkǂ**, **ŋgǂ**, etc. To this, in a phonetic study of the language, I have three objections.

Firstly, the nasal used with the clicks is neither **n** nor **ŋ**, and with each type of click it is different. With the dental clicks the nasal is **ŋ** + **n** (dental *n*), with the retroflex it is **ŋ** + **ɳ** (retroflex *n*), while with the lateral it is **ŋ** + **n** (post-alveolar *n*). To some ears the click with its nasal appears to be **ngǂ**, while to others it seems more like **ŋgǂ**. It is a combination of both. Hence I consider a special symbol for each nasal click a necessity.

Secondly, this method gives undue prominence to the velar part, which is only one element of the click, the correctness of the tongue-tip position being even more essential. ǂ, ʗ, and ʖ must represent the whole click and not the non-velar part only.

Then thirdly, the unvoiced, voiced, and nasal clicks are as acoustically different to the native as are the unvoiced, voiced, and nasal plosives to the European. In fact they show a striking parallel in their phonetic variations. We should think it absurd to write our plosives **p**, **b**, and **m** as **p̥**, **b**, and **b̥**; or **t**, **d**, and **n** as **d̥**, **d**, and **d̥**; or **k**, **g**, and **ŋ** as **g̊**, **g**, and **g̃**. And so it seems to me that it is equal folly to multiply intricacies, which tend to slow and difficult reading and writing, by using:

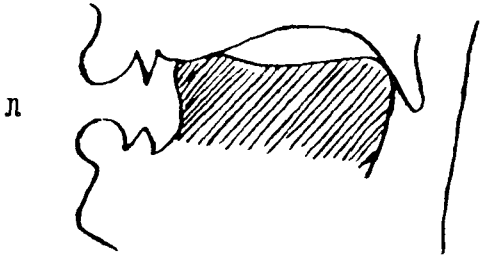
kǂ, **gǂ**, **ŋǂ**, instead of ǂ, ɤ, ɳ.
kʗ, **gʗ**, **ŋʗ**, „ ʗ, ɷ, ɲ.
and **kʖ**, **gʖ**, **ŋʖ**, „ ʖ, ʬ, ɴ.

A little practice with these symbols will make reading and writing fluent and speedy. I discard Sir Harry Johnston's symbols ƃ, ƈ, ʔ, and ƍ (one of them for a fourth click which does not

exist in Zulu or Xosa), because of their great mutual similarity, which causes continual mistakes, and is baffling to quick reading.

The Clicks in Suto

Before passing on to remarks and examples on each of the clicks, it would be interesting to note the Suto clicks, as they present a new type unknown in Zulu. Suto is the only Bantu language, outside the Zulu-Xosa group, that contains clicks; and, owing to the similarity of some of the words containing clicks it was thought that Suto had borrowed her clicks from Zulu. Jacottet in his Grammar, stated that Suto possessed the "palatal" click, written *q*, its aspirated form written *qh*, and its nasalized form written *nǵ*. On investigation, however, I found that *q* and *qh* are true retroflex clicks of the Zulu type, occurring in such words as **ho ᶜala** and **ho ᶜhalana**; but I was astonished to discover that *nǵ* represents a click of an entirely different character, viz. a post-alveolar nasal click.

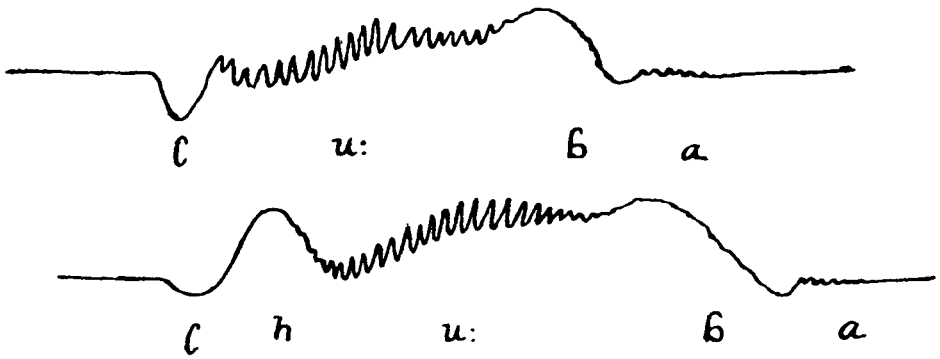


From the diagram it will be seen that the upper part of the tongue-tip is held tightly against the ridge between the alveola and the palate, and then released to form the click. Only the nasal variety of this click is found, in such words as **ɲɲa** (written *nǵa*) and **ɲalo**. In Pedi the latter word is worn down to **ŋalo**. To represent this post-alveolar nasal click I have adopted the symbol **ɲ**. The presence of this click in Suto suggests that the Basuto borrowed their clicks straight from the Hottentots, and not through the medium of Zulu, though isolated words may have come that way.

The Unvoiced Clicks, Aspiration, Voicing, and Nasal Influence

Each of the unvoiced clicks, **ǂ**, **ᶜ**, and **ᵬ**, has its aspirated form: **ǂh**, **ᶜh**, and **ᵬh**. The following kymograph tracings will show both

the nature of the click or suction sound, which causes the stylo to fall sharply below the line instead of jumping above as with the plosives, and also the effect of aspiration with the click.



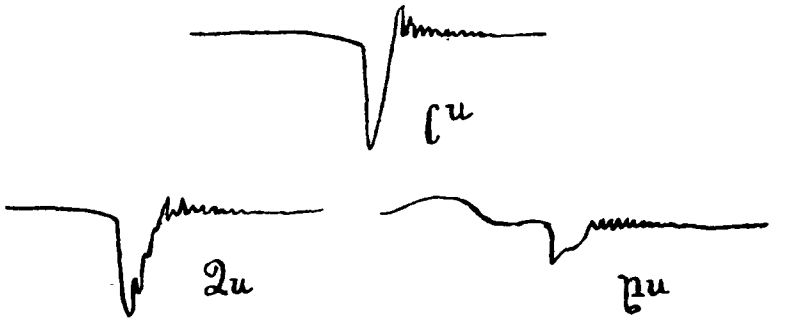
The aspiration causes the stylo to rise much higher after the click, the depth of the fall usually being less by compensation. The distinction between aspirated and unaspirated clicks is very essential, as words differing in meaning are distinguished thereby, e.g. **ɬaɬa** (be plain) and **ɬhaɬha** (cover), **iǂaʃi** (tick) and **iǂhaʃi** (porridge), **ɔcɔa** (tell) and **ɔhɔɔha** (thrust away). Many more such examples are to be found, and they must be carefully distinguished the one from the other.

As with the plosives, so with the clicks, if the appropriate nasal is placed immediately before the aspirated click, that click loses its aspiration, i.e. **ɬh** becomes **ɳɬ**, **ǂh** becomes **ɲǂ**, and **ɔh** becomes **ɳɔ**. Examples: **ɬhwɛpheʃa** and **iɳɬwɛpheʃi, uǂhaǂhawɛzi** and **iziɲǂaǂhawɛzi, iǂhuβu** (bulge) and **iɲǂuβu** (bend in river), **ɔhanta** and **iɳɔantɛla**.

Thus it is manifestly necessary to distinguish the nasalized forms and the voiceless forms preceded by the appropriate nasals. These latter point mostly to a derivation from the corresponding aspirated form with no nasal preceding. Thus the word **iɳɬwaji** (a hut-dancer) is derived from the verb **ɬhwaja** (to perform the hut-dance).

It has already been observed that aspiration and non-aspiration of the clicks indicate phonemic differences between words; so, more obviously, are voiced, unvoiced, and nasal clicks phonemic. On the kymograph, the three tracings present noticeable differ-

ences; voicing is shown in the up-glide of ᵴ, and the shallowness of ᶯ shows the compensation due to nasalization.



Examples: ʇɒɓa (chop down) and ɣaɓa (tattoo), ʇhaja (spread out) and ɣaja (cover the breasts), and ɳaja (cloud over), ᵴaɓa (mark the face) and ᶯaɓa (forbid), ƈhuma (pop) and ᵴuma (moan), and ᶯuma (become firm), ɷaɳa (mix milk) and ᶯaɳa (coax).

The following examples show how the different types of clicks differentiate between words otherwise alike in sound: ʇɔʃa (pick up), ƈhɔʃa (be conceited), and ɔɔʃa (drive away).

If the appropriate nasal is placed immediately before the unaspirated voiceless click, the corresponding voiced form results, i.e. ʇ becomes ɳɣ, ƈ becomes ᶯᵴ, and ɔ becomes ᶯɷ, e.g. uʇɛzu (slice) pl. **iziɳɣɛzu**, uʇiŋgɔ (wire) pl. **iziɳɣiŋgɔ**, uʇu (row of beads) pl. **iziɳɣu**, uƈumbu (queen ant) pl. **iziᶯᵴumbu**, uƈuŋga (stalk of grass) pl. **iziᶯᵴuŋga**, uƈɔndɔ (seam of headring) pl. **iziᶯᵴɔndɔ**, uɔa (digging stick) pl. **iziᶯɷa**.

It will have been noticed that I use the same symbol for the nasal form of the click as for the appropriate nasal to be used with the click, viz. ɳ, ᶯ, ᶯ. I do this with the convention that when ɳ, ᶯ, or ᶯ are used with a voiced or unvoiced click following, they are unexploded, but when standing alone they are fully exploded clicks. The same kind of thing is done without apology in the case of the plosives, e.g. **na** has an "exploded" **n**, while **nta** and **nda** have the nasal "unexploded".

Just as with the plain consonants, so the clicks may be followed by the semi-vowel *w*. Examples of this may be seen above. Similarly **mᵘ** is used before clicks, unvoiced, voiced, aspirated, or nasal, e.g. **umᵘᶯantula**, **umᵘɔwɛbɛsi**, **umᵘɣula**, **umᵘʇhajɔ**.

From the foregoing notes the following rules for the nasal influence are substantiated:—

(1) The appropriate nasal deaspirates the unvoiced aspirated click.

(2) The appropriate nasal voices the unvoiced unaspirated click.

Phonetic Changes

I. *The Passive*

The general rule for the formation of the Passive is to suffix **-wa** to the verb stem, in other words, to substitute **-wa** for the final **-a** of the Active, e.g. **ɓona - ɓonwa.** There are, however, many subsidiary phonetic rules, which cause remarkable and unexpected changes.

(*a*) Monosyllabic verbs, and duosyllabic verbs beginning in a vowel, substitute **-iwa** for the final **-a,** e.g. **pha - phiwa, ɛnza - ɛnziwa.**

(*b*) Irregular verbs, such as **azi** and **thi,** add **-wa** to the active. **aziwa** and **thiwa**; while **ʃɔ** becomes **ʃiwɔ.**

(*c*) Stems ending in **-la** usually form their passives according to the general rule, e.g. **thandɛla - thandɛlwa**; but words ending in the suffix **-ala** change that suffix to **-awa,** e.g. **ɓulala-ɓulawa.**

(*d*) Verbs, the final syllable of the stem of which begins with a bi-labial consonant, form their passives with the following phonetic changes, the bi-labials giving place to palatals (fricative, affricative, and nasal) followed by **-wa**: this change takes place because in Zulu **w** never combines with the bi-labials. As I have been unable to find verb actives ending in **fa** or **va,** I cannot say whether any such rule would apply in the case of the denti-labials. Examples:—

ph	becomes	**ʃ**	**ɬupha**	**ɬuʃwa.**
			ɓopha	**ɓeʃwa.**
			ɓophɛla	**ɓoʃɛlwa.**
b	,,	**ɟʒ**	**buba**	**buɟʒwa.**
			bubisa	**buɟʒiswa.**
ɓ	,,	**ʃ**	**thaɓa**	**thaʃwa** (or **thaɕwa**).
			loɓa	**loʃwa.**
			thaɓatha	**thaʃathwa.**
			ɬaɓɛlɛla	**ɬaʃɛlɛlwa.**
			ɓaɓaza	**ɓaʃazwa.**
m	,,	**ɲ**	**thuma**	**thuɲwa.**
			ɬoma	**ɬoɲwa.**
			ʃumajɛla	**ʃuɲajɛlwa.**

mp becomes **pcʃ**	**mpampa**	**mpapcʃwa.**
mb „ **pɟʒ**	**hamba**	**hapɟʒwa.**
	ɓamba	**ɓapɟʒwa.**
	ɬambulula	**ɬapɟʒululwa.**

From the above examples, it will be seen that the influence of the bi-labial in the stem persists even in the derived forms, even though a **w** would not be next to the bi-labial were it retained.

II. *The Locative*

The Locative Case of Nouns is formed by prefixing **ɛ-** and suffixing **-ɛni** or **-ini**. Since all nouns, because of their class prefixes, begin in vowels, **ɛ-** is substituted for the initial vowel; but in the case of words in Class 2, commencing with the durable **i-**, originally *ili-*, **ɛ** becomes **e**, as was observed when treating of vowels in the first part of this dissertation; and in the case of nouns of Class 6, commencing with the durable **u-**, originally *ulu-*, **o** is substituted for **ɛ**, e.g. **inɠɛla** becomes **ɛnɠɛlɛni, igama** becomes **egamɛni, udaka** becomes **odakɛni.**

The suffixal part of the locative is varied according to the final vowel of the noun, as follows:—

a becomes **ɛni**	**umᵘfula**	**ɛmᵘfulɛni.**
ɛ „ **ɛni**	**izwɛ**	**ezwɛni.**
i „ **ini**	**ipɔni**	**ɛpɔnini.**
ɔ „ **wɛni**	**isaŋgɔ**	**esaŋgwɛni.**
u „ **wini**	**izulu**	**ezulwini.**

This rule, however, has its exceptions; **ɛnɠini** is more often used as the locative of **inɠu**, than is **ɛnɠwini.**

When the final syllable of a word is made up of a bi-labial followed by an **ɔ** or an **u**, the following phonetic changes are usual:—

ɓ becomes **cʃ**	**iziŋguɓɔ**	**ɛziŋgucʃɛni.**
	isiɬɔɓɔ	**ɛsiɬɔcʃɛni.**
ph „ **cʃ**	**isiɓɔphɔ**	**ɛsiɓɔcʃɛni.**
	iɬhɔphɔ	**eɬhɔcʃɛni.**
m „ **p**	**umᵘlɔmɔ**	**emᵘlɔpɛni.**
mb „ **pɟʒ**	**isiɓambɔ**	**ɛsiɓapɟʒɛni.**
	umᵘthɔmbɔ	**ɛmᵘthɔpɟʒɛni.**

When the bi-labial is followed by any other vowel, the general rules hold good, e.g. **isikɛbɛ ɛsikɛbɛni, impi ɛmpini, iŋkaɓi ɛŋkaɓini, igama ɛgamɛni.**

These rules, however, cannot be insisted upon, as they are replete with exceptions. **impɛphɔ** is said to become **ɛmpɛphwɛni**, **iziŋkɔmɔ** becomes **ɛziŋkɔmɛni** or even **ɛziŋkɔmwɛni**, **iŋgwɛβu** becomes **ɛŋgwɛβini** or even **ɛŋgwɛβwini**, and **intsimu** becomes **ɛntsimini**, these examples showing the unusual combination of **w** with bi-labials; but how far this is dialectal and not "classical" it is impossible to ascertain at present. **impuphu** is said to have two forms, viz. **ɛmpuphwini** and **ɛmpuʃini**, which clearly demonstrates the rule of compensation, that if the bi-labial is changed for a palatal the **w** is not used, but that if the bi-labial is unchanged the **w** should remain. **indɛβɛ**, although ending in **ɛ**, forms its locative as **ɛndɛcʃɛni**.

From the above it is apparent how difficult it is to formulate any hard and fast rule for the phonetic changes in the locatives.

Insufficient investigation at the moment makes it impossible for me to say what happens in the case of the denti-labials. I should imagine that the locative of **isifɔ** would be **ɛsifɛni** rather than **ɛsifwɛni**.

III. *The Diminutive*

In the formation of the Diminutives, changes seem even more arbitrary than in the case of the Locatives, though even here a certain number of definite rules show their working.

(*a*) If the final vowel of the nouns be **-a**, **-ɛ**, or **i**, the suffix **-ana** is substituted for that final vowel, e.g. **umᵘfula** becomes **umᵘfulana**, **umᵘsɛlɛ** becomes **umᵘsɛlana**, **imbuzi** becomes **imbuzana**.

(*b*) If the final vowel of the noun be **-ɔ** or **-u**, the suffix **-wana** (**o͡ana**) is substituted for that final vowel, e.g. **intɔ** becomes **intwana**, **umuntu** becomes **umᵘntwana**.

(*c*) If the final vowel of the noun be **-a**, **-ɛ**, or **-i** and is preceded by **n**, the suffix **-ɲana** is substituted for the final syllable, e.g. **intsɔna** becomes **intsɔɲana**, **iŋfɛnɛ** becomes **iŋfɛɲana**, **iɲɔni** becomes **iɲɔɲana**.

(*d*) If the consonant of the last syllable be bi-labial, the following changes take place:—

β	becomes	**cʃ**	and suffixes **-ana**,	**iŋkaβi**	- **iŋkacʃana**.
m	„	**ɲ**	„ „	**iŋkɔmɔ**	- **iŋkɔɲana**.
mb	„	**ɲʒ**	„ „	**isivimbɔ**	- **isiviɲʒana**

But this rule does not hold consistently; for instance, **iŋkaβa** (the navel) forms its diminutive as **iŋkaβana**, evidently so as not to be confused with the diminutive of **iŋkaβi** (ox) given above.

(*e*) Nouns ending in the vowels **-ɔ** or **-u** preceded by a dentilabial fricative, substitute the suffix **-ana** for the final vowel, e.g. **umᵘfɔ - umᵘfana, iɱvu - iɱvana**; though **iɱvwana** (lamb) is also heard.

(*f*) Nouns, the last syllable of which contains an alveolar plosive, form their diminutive as follows:—

th becomes **ʃ** and suffixes **ana, isikhathi - isikhaʃana.**
nd „ **ɲɟʒ** „ „ **iɕanda - iɕaɲɟʒana.**

Here, again, many irregularities are to be found. The noun **isikhatha** (hair ball) becomes **isikhathana** to distinguish it from the diminutive of **isikhathi** (time) as given above. **ikanda** (head) becomes **ikaɲɟʒana,** while **ikanda** (penis) becomes **ikandana. indɔda** (man) has two diminutives, **indɔdana** (son) and **indɔɟʒɛjana** or **indɔɟʒɛlana** (a mannikin).

(*g*) Double diminutives may be formed by changing the final syllable (**na**) of the diminutive into **ɲana,** e.g. **intɔ, intwana, intwaɲana.**

(*h*) Feminine diminutives have the suffix formation of **-azana** or **-azanɛ**, e.g. **iŋkɔsazana** (chief's daughter), **intɔmbazana** or **intɔmbazanɛ** (girl).

IV. *Verbal Derivatives*

A study of these forms hardly comes within the province of this phonetic review: a brief notice is all that is necessary.

The *Relative* is formed by suffixing **-ɛla** to the verb stem, e.g. **sɛβɛnza - sɛβɛnzɛla**; exception, **ʃɔ** becomes **ʃɔlɔ.**

The *Causative* is formed by the suffix **-isa,** e.g. **βɔna - βɔnisa.**

Some words of neuter formation, ending in **-ka,** change that **ka** to **sa,** e.g. **vuka - vusa**; while other words ending in **-ɔza, -aza, -uza,** or **-ɛza**, e.g. **bɔβɔka - bɔβɔza, khathala - khathaza, phumula - phumuza, vɛla - vɛza.**

The *Intensive* is formed by the suffix **-isa** or **-isisa,** e.g. **βamba - βambisa, thanda - thandisisa.**

The *Reciprocal* is formed by the suffix **-ana,** e.g. **thanda-thandana.** Exception, **ʃɔ** becomes **ʃɔnɔ.**

The *Neuter* has two forms, that of the suffix **-ɛka,** and that of **-akala,** e.g. **thandɛka, βɔnakala.**

Contraction: Elision and Coalescence of Vowels

I give here but a few brief notes that will show the trend of Zulu vowel contractions. In Zulu these contractions are not

nearly so fully developed as in other Bantu dialects, which also have initial vowels to their noun prefixes, e.g. in Bemba and Lamba; but they follow the same principle. Broadly, it may be stated that (*a*) like vowels coalesce, (*b*) **a** + **i** forms **ɛ**, and **a** + **u** forms **ɔ**, and (*c*) that the strong vowels **ɛ** and **ɔ** cause the weaker ones to be elided.

Coalescence takes place with **na** (also **ŋga**, **ɲɟɛŋga**, and **kwa**), e.g. **nɔmuntu (na umuntu)**, **nɛŋkɔmɔ (na iŋkɔmɔ)**, **namazwi (na amazwi)**; also with the genitive, e.g. **amadɔda ɛŋkɔsi (a-iŋkɔsi)**, **amazwi ɔmᵘlɔmɔ (a-umᵘlɔmɔ)**; and similarly in the relative formation.[1]

This coalescence is carried further in certain verb constructions, where the **k** of the infinitive **ku**, used in future tenses, may be dropped, and the coalescence of vowels then takes place, e.g. **uzɔhamba** for **uzakuhamba**.

Elision of the final vowel of a word or the initial vowel of the next, when they come into juxtaposition, takes place depending on which is the stronger vowel. **ɛ** and **ɔ** are usually strong, e.g. **ɓajɛnza** (for **ɓa ja ɛnza**), **lɛlɔ ɦiaʃi** (for **lɛlɔ iɦiaʃi**). Other similar contractions take place, e.g. **lɛthiɦiaʃi** (for **lɛtha iɦiaʃi**), and frequent coalescences of like vowels, e.g. **thina ɓantu** (for **thina aɓantu**), **lɔluthi** (for **lɔlu uthi**), **lɛsisiciʃa** (for **lɛsi isiciʃa**).

Harmony

It is worthy of brief notice that Zulu, again like most other Bantu languages, shows a strong tendency to consonantal and vowel harmony. For instance, it is seldom one finds in any one word more than one variety of click sound, e.g. **uᶜhɔᶜhɔᶜhɔ**, **ᵬhɔǁa** (both lateral clicks), **ᵬathuᵬɔlɔ**, **ɬhaɬhamba**; and similarly with other consonantal sounds, e.g. **uɦiɔɦiɔ**, **uɓuɣwiɣwiɣwi**, **ɟɀakaɟɀa**, **umᵘɠuɠu**, **isiɬaɬa**, etc. From the above examples, the tendency towards vowel harmony is also evident, though it is not nearly so developed as among the Central Bantu dialects, where it controls the verbal derivatives, etc.

Syllabification

The general rule for Bantu languages is that every syllable should end in a vowel, and with the following seeming exceptions this holds good for Zulu. In Zulu, **m**, when followed by another

[1] [But after *ka*, *kwa* (in some cases), and *ku*, and after *na* when following a negative, the initial vowel is elided.—A.W.]

m, may become syllabic, e.g. **uku m̩ɛmɑ** (to call him, **uku m mɛmɑ**); but this can hardly be treated as any exception, because there is but an indefinable distinction between a vowel and syllabic **m**.

The other seeming exception is in the case of the devocalization of the final vowels of words, which have a low-level tone on the last syllable, e.g. **umᵘfundisi̥**, **wɑmi̥**, which may be heard almost as **umᵘfundis**, **wam**; but the final vowel is never actually lost, and becomes more distinctly heard in slower speech, or when followed by another word. Further examples of this final vowel devocalization will be given when dealing with Tone.

This same tendency is to be noticed in other Bantu languages. For instance, in Lamba, we find **iŋfumu̥**, **umukɑʃi̥**, where there is a low-level tone; in the Kaonde question enclitic **ɑ:mi̥** (written *ɑam*); in Chwana, where the Locative suffix is worn down from **ŋi** to **ŋi̥** and now to syllabic **ŋ**. This tendency is much more liable to become complete with the nasals than with any of the other consonants, as they may so easily become syllabic.

Thus the Zulu syllable is usually made up of a vowel or a consonant followed by a vowel. Compound consonants are only found in one of the following forms, (*a*) a combination with a nasal, (*b*) an affricate combination, (*c*) an affricate combined with a nasal, or (*d*) a combination with the semi-vowel *w*.

Tone in Zulu

Investigations into the tones of the Zulu language are only in their initial stages, and the following remarks must be taken to be merely tentative, and no final conclusions can be come to on the scanty information as yet gathered.

Apart from sentence intonation, which is found in almost every language, and on which I am not yet in a position to make any observations, Zulu possesses word intonation, which is significant in its character, and which is often used to distinguish words, different in meaning, but otherwise phonetically similar.

Every word in Zulu has its own distinctive tones on the vowels or syllables, and if these tones are not used, when a foreigner pronounces the words, foreign "accent" is at once detected, and in many instances absolute misunderstanding ensues. The natural tones of a word standing detached, used in its "absolute" sense, may at times be over-ruled by the general sentence intonation, and probably all low-level tones become mid-level in a sentence, when not in the final position.

At present I am in a position to examine the isolated word intonation only, and in order to examine these varieties of tone, I now set forth a list of common Zulu words, with their characteristic natural tones marked above.

umu : ntu	umᵘlu : ŋgu̯	umᵘfa : zi̯
u : mᵘfɔ	umᵘfa : na̯	umᵘntwa : na̯
umᵘnumᵘza : na̯	umᵘthaka : thi̯	umᵘfɔkaza : na̯
umᵘfɛlɔka : zi̯	umᵘfundi : si̯	umᵘŋga : nɛ̯
umᵘjɛ : ni̯	umᵘzukulwa : na̯	umakhɔ : thi̯
umᵘla : mu̯	u : mᵘkwɛ	umᵘsu : thu̯
umᵘza : la̯	umᵘzaɲa : na̯	ufaka : zi̯
umbaba : zi̯	umᵘza : li̯	umᵘni : ni̯

It is to be regretted that, as yet, I have examples of nouns only, and of those only members of the first class. The examples given above show the existence of three distinct tones, high-level, mid-level, and low-level. It is noteworthy that the low-level tone on the final syllable of the word causes devocalization of the final vowel; this devocalization, however, is obviated when the word takes a place in the sentence other than that before a pause, and the low-level tone becomes a mid-level, as already observed. There may be a run up the scale between the mid-level

and high-level tones in a polysyllabic word, such as **umᵘfɔkaza : na** above. The glides between the high and low tones give the impression of falling and rising tones, which it is not necessary to mark.

As I have already remarked, word tone is phonemic in Zulu, and pairs of words of different meaning are distinguished by their differing tones only. The following pairs give a few instances of a very widespread occurrence :—

iɲaŋga (doctor)	**iɲaŋga** (moon)
iwa (cliff)	**iwa** (fall)
ɻɛɓa (report)	**ɻɛɓa** (be wealthy)
isikhɔva (owl)	**isikhɔva** (banana plantation)
iɻala (blame)	**iɻala** (side)
ɓɔna (them)	**ɓɔna** (see)
thanda (like)	**thanda** (wind round)
sinda (escape)	**sinda** (smear)
ŋgi sindilɛ (I have escaped)	**ŋgi sindilɛ** (I have smeared)

umᵘɬaβa (earth)	**umᵘɬaβa** (aloe)
imbandɛ (flute)	**imbandɛ** (strip of wood)
inɣala (famine)	**inɣala** (gland of the body)

In practically every case the tones used to distinguish these pairs are those on the last two syllables of the words, i.e. on the syllable that takes the word stress, and the one following it: and it is further noticeable that if the stress becomes shifted forward, as in verbal derivatives, so does the characteristic tone, cf. **sinda** and **ŋgi sindilɛ** above.

In the pairs of words set out above, it is at once seen that two species of tone change are used to distinguish words, viz. a high-level followed by a low-level, and a low-level followed by a mid-level.

The same results will in all probability be obtained with many other pairs of words, such as **iβɛlɛ** (breast and corn), **isisila** (disfavour and tail), **iɬɔβɔ** (ornament and summer), **ɲuma** (solidify and cut), **fɛla** (die for and spit), etc.

There is one other case of tone distinction that must be mentioned, viz. that distinguishing the 2nd and the 3rd person singular of the subject pronominal particles with the verb, e.g.

uhamba (thou goest)	**uhamba** (he goes)
wafika (thou didst arrive)	**wafika** (he arrived)

The 2nd person takes the mid-level tone, and the 3rd person the high-level in all tenses. But it must here be noticed that when **uhamba** (2nd pers.) is followed by other words in a sentence, it will be made up of three mid-level tones, and similarly **uhamba**

(3rd pers.) will be made up of a high-level followed by two mid-levels instead of low-level tones.

With these brief observations, the question of tone in Zulu must be left until further investigation is possible.

Length

As has already been noticed when treating of the vowels, in stressed positions the vowels are long, and in unstressed positions they are short. There seems to be no phonemic length distinction in Zulu as there is in Bemba, Lamba, etc., e.g. **lɛla** (nurse) and **lɛːla** (fade); in Zulu the place of this is taken by phonemic tone; though Bryant has not recognized phonemic tone, marking it as phonemic length.

There is one peculiarity of Zulu length, however, worthy of notice. Many onomatopœic words, used with the verb **ukuthi,** have the stressed vowel short, e.g. **ukuthi gáɔa, ukuthi ŋgámbu, ukuthi thúntsu**; and when these same roots are used in regular verbs or nouns, the short vowels become long, e.g. **gáːɔa, ŋga·mbuza,** and **thu·ntsuka.**

Stress

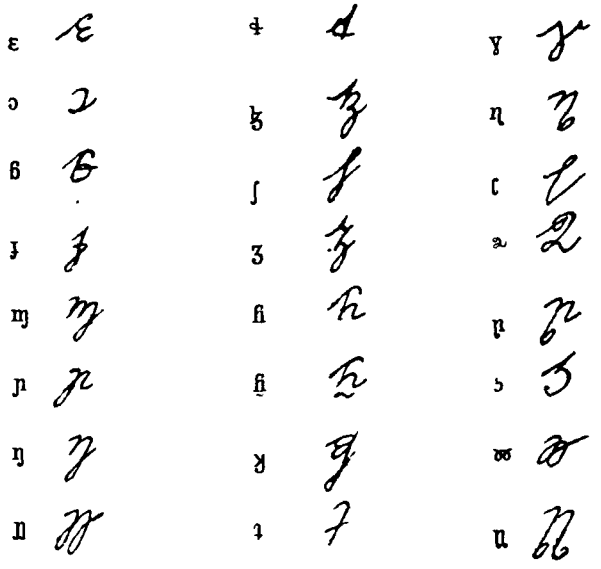
The general Zulu rule is that the stress falls on the penultimate syllable of each word, e.g. **fúna, ɓulála, thandisísa,** etc.

There is a number of monosyllabic enclitics, which, when placed after a word, draw forward the stress on to the ultimate syllable of that word. Such enclitics become so closely associated with the word that they should be joined to it in ordinary orthography, by a hyphen at least. Such particles are: **kɛ** (then), **phi** (where)? **zɛ** (empty), and **ni** (what)? e.g. **thɛmbá-kɛ, funá-ni? wahambá-zɛ, uphumilé-phi?**

Other monosyllables, such as **ŋɟɜɛ** (thus), **na?** etc., do not influence the stress on the preceding word, except in **namᵘɬáŋɟɜɛ** (to-day).

The question of stress must be taken into consideration when deciding on word-division, but not, I think, to the extent to which Bryant goes, when he writes: "Thus, *leyo'nkomo* (that ox) is not a compound word because there are two penultimate or full accents, showing that, in the native mind, each particle of speech stands alone; but *leyo'ndhlu* (that house) is a compound word, and must be united in writing, since both the particles of speech are united under a common penultimate."

SCRIPT FORMS OF NON-ROMAN LETTERS



PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS

The paucity of the following transcriptions is regrettable, and the absence of tone-marking detracts from their value; but, such as they are, in the absence of anything more definite and useful, I offer them for perusal.

ukukanqanqaza	**ukukhaɒaɒaza.**
usekohliwe	**usɛkɔɬiwɛ.**
kwa qina kwati nqi (nkqi)	**kwa ɕina kwathi ɒɕi.**
amadhlozi	**amaɮɔzi.**
kancinyane	**kaɳiɲanɛ.**
falakahlwe	**falakaɬwɛ.**
izicubi	**iziɕuɓi.**
baxokozele	**ɓaɔɔkɔzɛlɛ.**
ukuvinjwa	**ukuviɲʒwa.**
njengokungati	**ɲʒɛŋgɔkuŋgathi.**

Nembala u qinisile. Uma ku buza umfana nje, ngi be ngi nga yi kutsho luto nakanye.

nɛmbala u qinisilɛ. uma ku ɓuza umfana ɲʒzɛ, ŋgi ɓɛ ŋgi ŋga ji kuʃɔ luthɔ nakaɲɛ.

u thi wena, uma ngi sindile njgalo, ngi nga zifila kanjgani na? amanga; ka bezwa; a ku phumele inyozana entabeni esobala, uza

uɓuja u ʃɔnɛ kulɛ ntaɓa ɛsɛsitha. ukukhuluma kwazɔ ukuɓa kuthi uma ku ɓuzwa ukufa lapha ku ɓambɛ khɔna, zi ɔumɛ masiɲanɛ. impɛphɔ kakhulu i lɔkɔ kuʇɒʇamba ɔku sɛɲaŋgɛni; i ŋgaɬuleki; intɔ ɛɲaɓilɛjɔ i i ɓɔna masiɲanɛ.

INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC SYMBOLS COMPARED WITH THE CURRENT ZULU ORTHOGRAPHY

(A) The plain consonants:—

Current Zulu	*Bryant*	*I. P. A.*
r	h	**x.**
x	rr	**ɣ.**
h	hh, h	**h, ɦ.**
hl	hl, tl	**ɬ, tɬ.**
dhl	dhl	**ɮ.**
b (bh)	bh	**b.**
b	b	**ɓ.**
m	m	**m, ɱ.**
n	n	**n, ŋ, ɲ.**
ny	ny	**ɲ.**
(t) sh	sh	**ʃ.**
s	s, ts	**s, ts.**
nh	nh	**n̥.**
tsh	tsh	**cʃ.**
j	j	**ʄʒ.**
y	y	**j.**
p	p, ph	**p, ph.**
t	t, th	**t, th.**
k	k, kh	**k, kh.**

(B) The click consonants:—

Current Zulu	*Bryant*	*Callaway*	*I. P. A.*
c	c, ch	kc	**ʇ, ʇh**
gc	gc	gc	**ɣ**
nc	nc	nc	**ɳ**
nc	nc	nkc	**ɳʇ**
ngc	ngc	ngc	**ɳɣ**
q	q, qh	kq	**ʗ, ʗh**
gq	gq	gq	**ɢ**
nq	nq	nq	**ɴ**
nq	nq	nkq	**ɴʗ**
ngq	ngq	ngq	**ɴɢ**
x	x, xh	kx	**ɔ, ɔh**

Current Zulu	*Bryant*	*Callaway*	*I. P. A.*
gx	gx	gx	ɠ
nx	nx	nx	ɳ
nx	nx	nkx	ɳʖ
ngx	ngx	ngx	ɳɠ

In order to represent the eighteen forms of clicks and click combinations, current Zulu only uses twelve combinations of symbols, leaving a possibility of confusion in no less than six instances: Bryant recognizes aspiration, and so reduces the possibility of confusion by three instances; Callaway, by using the *k*-combination for the unvoiced forms, recognized and differentiated the forms *nkc*, *nkq*, and *nkx*, but unfortunately did not mark the aspirated clicks as such.

An Improved Orthography for Current Zulu

In the previous section, I have compared the current Zulu orthography and Bryant's improvements with the symbols I have adopted in this dissertation. I feel that such a series of symbols as I have used is absolutely necessary *for the teaching of Zulu and its phonetics*, but I fully realize the difficulty of introducing such an exact, and somewhat elaborate, scheme into the everyday Zulu of correspondence, newspapers, Bible translations and helps, and the growing literature of the people.

It is a great pity that, in the early days, the letters *c*, *q*, *x*, and *r* were requisitioned for sounds for which there were no symbols, since, in other languages and in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association, those letters indicate definite sounds: thus a satisfactory basis for unification of the orthographies of Bantu languages is extremely difficult.

Now the ramifications of the present Zulu orthography are so great that, for ordinary use, that orthography will have to be accepted as a basis upon which to work. But there are many improvements and corrections absolutely necessary, and I propose to outline these briefly.

Firstly, regarding the clicks, taking *c*, *q*, and *x* as our basis, Callaway's system must be re-adopted, and the unvoiced forms must be written *kc*, *kq*, and *kx*; but further, the aspiration must also be marked, *kch*, *kqh*, and *kxh*. In that way the whole range of eighteen forms may be separately indicated. In the nasal forms it would be better to use the symbol ŋ, which will have to be introduced in other connexions: for though that is not the full form of the nasals used with the clicks, it represents the

invariable velar part, and is certainly nearer in acoustic effect than n.

Secondly, dealing with the plain consonants, in the case of the plosives, aspiration must be marked; hence, *p ph b, t th d,* and *k kh g*. *b* must never be written as *bh*. On the other hand, a new symbol must be used to indicate definitely the widely-used implosive-*b*, and I suggest the symbol used in this dissertation, viz. ɓ.

The affricative sounds must also be marked definitely, the alveolar as *ts*, the palato-alveolar as *tsh* and *j*, with the strict convention that the tongue-tip is kept down. For the ejective uvular affricate, none of the symbols hitherto used is in any way satisfactory. The nature of the sound has not been properly understood; and I suggest the employment of an entirely new symbol, viz. ɣ.

The lateral affricate may be well written as *thl*, and the forms *hl* and *dhl* retained for the lateral fricatives, so long as a clear understanding exists that there is no *d*-sound in the last. Lateral *l* will stand as before.

Regarding the nasals, *m* may still represent both m and ɱ; *n* for the alveolar and *ny* for the palatal may still stand, with the convention that *ny* always has the tongue-tip down. It will be necessary to introduce ŋ, as it is phonemically different from n before w: hence ŋ may be used before *k, g,* and *w*, as well as with the clicks, as already suggested. ŋ may also be used for ɲ before the uvular affricate. *nh* may still represent n̥.

Of the fricatives, *f, v, s,* and *z* will be the same: *sh* may still be used for ʃ. I do not like the use of *r* for the velar fricative (I. P. A. x), because of its wide use in the surrounding languages, especially Chwana, for the rolled lingual; but since the I. P. A. symbol x is already used for the lateral click, I do not see what else can be done at the moment, unless some form of *g* were used, ? *gh*. This would approximate to the Dutch *g*.

Unvoiced and voiced *h* must be distinguished, and so I would suggest the introduction of the symbol ɦ for the voiced variety.

The semi-vowels may still be represented by *y* and *w*.

Lastly, there is no real need to alter any of the vowels, so long as *e* and *o* are understood to represent phonetic ɛ and ɔ.

Some method will also have to be devised for the marking of word tone: but on this at present I am not in a position to make any suggestions.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE "LIVRO DA SEITA DOS INDIOS ORIENTAIS" (BRIT. MUS. MS. SLOANE, 1820)

By Jarl Charpentier

THE learned Father *Paulinus a S. Bartholomæo* (1749–1806), a discalceate Carmelite and a missionary of Malabar, in his *Examen Historico-criticum Codicum Indicorum Bibliothecæ Sacræ Congregationis de Propaganda fide* (Rome, 1792), p. 72, seq., records in the following way the work of one of his fellow-brethren of the Order of Carmelites, Father *Ildephonsus a Præsentatione* (d. 1789): "Num. XXXI. *Collectio omnium dogmatum & arcanorum ex Purânis seu libris Canonicis paganorum Indianorum, seu tractatus de falsa secta paganorum Asiæ maioris seu Indiæ Orientalis, & præsertim de superstitionibus Gentilium Malabarium.* Codex manuscriptus compositus a R.P. Ildephonso a Præsentatione Carmelita Discalceato Malabariæ Missionario, qui cum ultra duodecim annos in Malabaria sacris Missionibus diligenter operam navasset, in Europam redux, anno 1789, in Polonia obiit. Permolestum mihi accidit vel solum huius operis tractatuum & capitum elenchum exhibere, adeo asperum, barbarum, & voluminosum est. Stilus vilis & asper, repetitiones infinitæ, exclamationes frequentes, verba aspera in Brahmanes, longissimæ digressiones me ab hoc opere integro evolvendo deterruerunt. Verum hæc omnia non obsunt, quo minus operi suum eximium pretium maneat, quia plurima vera, lucida, sincera ex Indicis libris mythologiæ capita profert, quæ in aliis libris Europæis frustra quæsieris, & quæ lectu dignissima sunt. Lib. 1 and 2, agit de creatione mundi ex opinione, fabulis, & mythologia Indica, de origine deorum Brahma, Vishnu, & Shiva, de Shakti uxore dei Ishvare, de forma & systemate mundi, de formatione terræ & marium, de numero cælorum, de locis inferorum, de ætatibus mundi, de deo Ishvara, de Cailasa sede illius, de diis infernalibus, de rixa dei Brahmæ cum fratre suo deo Ishvara, de filiis huius dei, de Gannavadi, de dea Bhadra-Káli, etc. Lib. 3, agit de deo Vishnu, & sic consequenter de reliquis dogmatibus Indicis. Hunc codicem P. Ildephonsi nos sæpe citavimus in *Grammatica Samscrdamica* & in *Systemate Brachmanico* [1]

[1] The *Grammatica Samscrdamica*, better known as the *Siddharûbam*, appeared in Rome in 1790, the *Systema Brachmanicum liturgicum mythologicum civile*, etc., in 1791. I have collected all the quite frequent quotations from Ildephonsus from these and all the other works of Paulinus; obviously they cannot be given here.

sub *num.* 20, quem tamen numerum immutavimus, præsentem numerum 31, ei assignando."

This uncommonly valuable manuscript, which was apparently in 1792 in the Library of the Propaganda, does not seem to exist nowadays; this, at least, is the outcome of the researches made on the representations of Dr. A. J. De Jong by the Dutch Minister at the Holy See.[1] It seems hardly credible that a bulky manuscript which must have contained at least some 300–350 pages, should have gone astray either in the archives of the Propaganda or in the Vatican Library, whither part of those archives were transferred in 1902; but as the present writer has found until now no possibilities for going further into the matter, he must rely upon the results won by Dr. De Jong. Consequently, we are referred for all information concerning this important work to the numerous quotations from it scattered throughout the works of Father Paulinus, which are fortunately of a nature to reveal to us the main outlines of the *Collectio omnium dogmatum*. The most extensive of these quotations have been given by Dr. De Jong, loc. cit., p. 211, seq.; it should only be remarked here that a comparison between all the quotations that I have been able to collect leads to the conclusion that there were in the work at least eight books, as in one passage[2] Paulinus gives an extract from lib. 8, cap. 5. This will prove to be of a certain importance in connexion with some facts that will be disclosed presently.

Father Paulinus in his works generally shows himself to be a shrewd observer, and many critics who have accused him of ignorance and lack of discernment would perhaps have done better to consider their own shortcomings before pronouncing their judgment upon him. However, he was apparently never aware that the book of Ildephonsus was not an original work, but simply a verbal translation of a far older work that had until then, and has until now, never been edited. It will appear quite clearly that Ildephonsus himself never acknowledged his indebtedness to the man whose literary labours he thus made use of; for if he had done so Paulinus would most certainly have noticed it. Whether Ildephonsus ever knew the name of the author whose manuscript he thus unscrupulously availed himself of, is a somewhat futile question, and is, moreover, irrelevant. Here we may simply emphasize the fact that his work was nothing but a verbal translation

[1] Cf. Dr. De Jong's edition of Baldæus, Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen (1917), p. lxxi.

[2] *Musei Borgiani Velitris Codices Manuscripti* (1793), p. 97, seq.

of a Portuguese text into a barbarous Latin, and in a very garrulous sort of style: one may even doubt whether he was always able to fulfil the duties of a faithful translator, seeing that in one passage he has rendered the Portuguese "gotteira" by "guttur", instead of "gutta".[1] As his work is, at the present moment at least, not available, we shall not, however, try to expatiate further upon its possible merits or demerits, but only hope that the manuscript may not prove to have been definitely lost. It would certainly not now be worth the while to edit it, but it might prove of high value as providing material for research, the nature of which will henceforth be made clear.

In an admirable review, which displays a vast amount of learning, of some works of Professor Caland (printed in the *Goettingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1916, pp. 561-615) Professor Zachariæ has dealt with older European works on Hindu religion. On p. 597, n. 4, he has, first of all, drawn attention to the fact that some passages from Ildephonsus quoted by Paulinus betray a great degree of similarity with certain passages in the work of Baldæus, mentioned above. As that book was published already in 1672—more than a century before the death of Ildephonsus—the conclusion seems to present itself that the later author had borrowed from the older one. This would not tally with what has been said above concerning the work of Ildephonsus; and Professor Zachariæ also quite correctly proved that that was not the case.

Professor Zachariæ had already, on p. 563 of that same review, drawn attention to the fact that parts of the work of Baldæus seem to be merely coincident with passages in the well-known *Asia Portugueza* of the Spanish-writing Portuguese, Manuel de Faria y Sousa (d. 1649), which was edited at Lisbon in 1666–75, after the death of its author. In that book, tomo ii, parte 4, capp. 1–6, he deals with the gods and religious ceremonies of the Hindus of Malabar, and a closer inspection of that division undertaken by Dr. De Jong, in connexion with his edition of Baldæus, has proved beyond any possibility of doubt that both authors have to a great extent availed themselves of the same source for their descriptions of South Indian Hinduism.[2]

[1] Cf. *Systema Brachmanicum*, p. 165.

[2] It should be expressly understood that any use of the work of Faria y Sousa on the part of Baldæus is wholly excluded. The second tome of the *Asia Portugueza*, the manuscript of which was finished about 1640, did not appear until 1674, two years after the work of Baldæus. B., who did not return to Europe until 1666 (he died in 1671), collected the materials for his book in India. For further details I refer the

And as Ildephonsus did not quote from different authors, but simply translated, without mentioning it, the work of another man, the conclusion is imperative that his source must have been the same one that was known to and used by the two authors of the seventeenth century, Faria y Sousa and Baldæus.[1] To put it somewhat otherwise: the actual work translated by Ildephonsus was a copy of the manuscript used by the two older authors; and had he known or cared to transmit to us (through Paulinus) the exact title of the work and the name of its author, there would have been no riddle at all, and justice would have been done long since to the memory of a strenuous and intelligent author, whose very name has long been forgotten.

Of the three authors now enumerated, every one, in dealing with his source, has followed his own method. Of Ildephonsus nothing more need be said here. Baldæus tells quite vaguely that he possessed and made use of manuscripts of Portuguese priests[2]; he in no way discloses the fact that large parts of his work are simply a verbal translation of one single manuscript. In one passage he even goes thus far actually to give his simple translation the tint of being only a vague reminiscence from some half-forgotten source, when, in reality, it is taken from a work of which he incorporated at least a hundred pages into his own book. Altogether, even taking into consideration the somewhat bewildering ideas concerning copyright prevalent during the seventeenth century, his attitude is not that of a strictly conscientious man; besides, in translating the Portuguese text, he has made several unnecessary and ridiculous mistakes.[3] The praise bestowed upon him by Dr. De Jong, that his relation is far more detailed and careful than that of Faria y Sousa,[4] is scarcely well merited; it simply means that Baldæus translated verbatim—as he does not mention his source, we should rightly say plagiarized—while Faria y Sousa only gives a compendious relation of his source, which, by the way, he possessed in an abbreviated shape, as will be proved presently.

Faria y Sousa, however, does not make any attempt to conceal the source from which he drew his information on Hindu religion. In the

reader to the valuable introduction of Dr. De Jong to his edition of B. (this must be read together with the highly important review of the book by Professor Zachariæ in *Goett. gel. Anzeigen*, 1919, pp. 50–67).

[1] The main parallels from Ildephonsus have been given by Dr. De Jong in his notes on Baldæus.

[2] Cf. De Jong, loc. cit., p. lxviii seq.

[3] All these facts will be dealt with in some detail below.

[4] Cf. e.g. p. 57, n. 2.

prologue of his tomo i, he gives under the heading "Manuscritos de lo tocante a la Asia, Africa, y America" the following entry: "11. Traducion de lo que los Malabares Indicos tienen en la opinion que nosotros la Biblia sacra. Trata de sus dioses, y Ritos; libro muy parecido a los Transformaciones de Ovidio,[1] y admirable; de que vâ el resumen en esta nuestra Asia Tomo 2, Part 4, Capitulo 1, y los dos siguientes." And a little further on he tells us from where he got this valuable manuscript when he says, under No. 13: "Una copia de otras varias Relaciones que con zelosa liberalidad me comunico el Chantre Manuel Severim de que ya diximos, como tambien *el libro de los Malabares*," etc. This simply means that Faria y Sousa got this manuscript, together with other ones, from Manoel Severim de Faria (d. 1640), canon of Evora, and in his time the most famous man of letters in Portugal. We shall at once learn from where he got the work, and it is only to be wondered that Faria y Sousa does not give the name of its author as that must still have been on record when he obtained the manuscript.

Amongst the correspondents of M. S. de Faria was a Portuguese Jesuit, Father Manoel Barradas (1572–1646), who is well known because of his extensive work on Abyssinia.[2] This Father Barradas left India for Abyssinia in 1623, and did not return until some ten years later, but before he left he had apparently sent to Portugal, with orders to have it delivered to M. S. de Faria, a manuscript, which, in a letter dated 12th December, 1634, he refers to as *Tratado dos Deoses e Leis dos Gentios*.[3] He complains in this letter that he had never got to know whether that manuscript had been delivered to the addressee or not: it apparently had, as this was certainly the work afterwards used by Faria y Sousa.[4] And in a letter of a somewhat later date (10th February, 1635) he states that he should have now sent what he calls the *Livro das Seitas dos gentios* if another Father, who was writing against the fallacies of the Hindu religion, had not borrowed it from him—apparently the original, as he states that he was only possessed of that.[5]

Let us now for a moment leave aside the somewhat intricate

[1] This expression probably points to some words in the introduction of the original.

[2] Printed in Beccari *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti*, vol. iv. A letter of Barradas is translated in Sewell, *Vijayanagar, A Forgotten Empire*, p. 222, seq. On his life and works cf. Barbosa Machado *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, iii (1752), 192, seq.: De Backer-Sommervogel *Bibliothèque*, s v.

[3] Cf. Beccari, loc. cit. iv, p. xxv, seq.

[4] This will be made clear later on.

[5] Cf. Beccari, loc. cit. iv, p. xxi.

question concerning the two different manuscripts of which Father Barradas speaks, and simply try to sum up the main contents of his words. These seem to be that he had before 1623 sent to M. S. de Faria a manuscript on the gods and doctrines of the Hindus, the fate of which was unknown to him; that in December, 1634, he sent some additions to this manuscript, or, rather, some advices for the use of it, and that somewhat later on he tells that there was still left a book on the religions of the Hindus, which he would have sent if he had not lent the one single copy in his possession to another Father. It may be remarked already here that Barradas nowhere says that he was himself the author of these works on Hindu religion. But the present writer is fully aware that this observation would never have suggested itself to him had it not been for the discovery of other materials. To Barbosa Machado [1] in 1752, as well as to Beccari in our own days, it seemed perfectly obvious that Barradas referred to works of his own: and it was certainly both a natural and an ingenious inference of Professor Zachariæ when he concluded that the common source of Faria y Sousa, Baldæus, and Ildephonsus was a work—or, perhaps, even two different works—of Barradas.[2] This suggestion seemed to offer the solution of an interesting problem, and it is owing to a mere chance that it did not prove to be the correct one.

The present writer in the autumn of 1921 began to try to make a research into the Portuguese manuscripts concerning Hindu religion, etc., that might be found in the British Museum. As far as the Marsden MSS. go, they have been admirably treated by Father H. Hosten, S.J., in *J.A.S.B.*, 1910, p. 437, seq., and afterwards the Marsden collection now in the library of the School of Oriental Studies has been made known by Sir E. Denison Ross in this *Bulletin*, Vol. II, p. 513, seq. For other manuscripts the chief source is the Catalogue of La Figanière, which, however, dates from 1853, and is, besides, not very good, as stress has been laid only on State papers, while others have been dealt with in a very superficial way, or sometimes perhaps not at all. The impression given by this work is, anyhow, that manuscripts of this sort are by no means plentiful in the Museum.

On p. 162 of that catalogue I found, however, an entry that seemed promising, viz. a *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientaes. E principalmente os Malavares.* This is the manuscript which bears the number *Sloane* 1820, and was, according to an annotation on the fly-leaf,

[1] Cf. *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, iii. p. 193.

[2] Cf. *Gœtt. gel. Anzeigen*, 1919, p. 67 (cf. ibid. 1916, p. 563).

formerly *Sloane* 2747. The manuscript, which is in 4to, contains 339 leaves and as many written pages; but it has been patched together from two original manuscripts, both in the handwriting of the seventeenth century. The pp. 1–163 (comprising the first four books of the work) are in one handwriting and with the original pagination preserved; but the pp. 164–339 have been taken from another manuscript, with a totally different, and probably somewhat older handwriting. Here the original pagination, which ran from 276 to 453, has been crossed and altered into 164–339; but even the older pagination can by no means have been the original one, as it does not take any account of a blank that covers the greater part of the last chapter of book v and practically all of the six first chapters of book vi, a blank which may, in consideration of the subjects originally dealt with in the missing part, well extend over some forty pages. The whole manuscript, which is in Portuguese prose with thirty-two shorter or longer quotations from poetical works in Tamil (in transcription), is beautifully clear and well preserved; it shows the singularities in style and orthography that seem to be common to Portuguese handwritings of the seventeenth century.

Even the very first perfunctory perusal of this manuscript showed it to be of the utmost importance, as it revealed at once the fact that this was the hitherto missing source common to Faria y Sousa, Baldæus, and Ildephonsus. It is in eight books—which was, as we have seen, the probable number of books in the work of Ildephonsus—and deals with the whole of Hindu mythology as conceived in the south of India, or more strictly in Malabar.[1] Interspersed with the purely descriptive parts are large passages—sometimes whole chapters—of a polemical character, intended to refute and ridicule the doctrines and myths of the Brahmins; these are, in fact, the "verba aspera in Brahmanes" which Paulinus noticed in the text of Ildephonsus. The main contents of the eight books of the work are as follows:—

Book I (pp. 1–36) counts eleven chapters with the following headings: 1, On the Creation of the World; 2, Refutation of Brahmin Cosmogony; 3, The origin of the Gods Brahma, Viṣṇu, and Īśvara (Śiva); 4, Śakti, the wife of Īśvara: the origin of Sun, Moon, and

[1] There is no general title of the manuscript; the first book has the superscription: *Livro primeiro da seita dos Indios Orientais, a principalmente dos Malavares*; the second one: *Livro segundo da Ley dos Indios Orientais*, etc.; Books III–VII are simply called: *Livro* 3° (etc.) *da Ley dos Indios*; while the last one is called: *Do culto dos falsos deozes dos Indios Orientais, Livro* 8°.

Stars ; 5, The Form and Position of the World ; 6, The Earth and the Oceans ; 7–8, Outlines of European Cosmology ; 9, The Elements and their Ruling Deities ; 10, The Subterranean Worlds (*Pātālas*) ; 11, The Ages of the World (*Yugas*).

Book II (pp. 37–103) contains twenty-four chapters, dealing with the god Īśvara (Śiva), the principal deity of South India, and his family, viz. 1–3, Īśvara (together with polemical digressions) ; 4, Kailāsa ; 5, Good and evil spirits (*devas* and *rākṣasas*) ; 6–9, Īśvara cuts off the head of Brahma and does penance ; 10–18, The sons of Īśvara, Gaṇapati, Hanumān, and Subrahmaṇya ; 19–22, Bhadrakālī, the daughter of Īśvara (with a digression on smallpox) ; 23–4, The sacrifice of Dakṣa (origin of Vīrabhadra).

Books III–VI (pp. 104–259) [1] deal with Viṣṇu and his avatāras, principally those of Rāmacandra [2] and Kṛṣṇa. III, 1, deals with the general characteristics of Viṣṇu ; III, 2, enumerates the ten avatāras, viz. fish,[3] tortoise, boar, man-lion, Brahmin (= *vāmana*), Paraśu-Rāma, Śrī-Rāma, Balabhadra-Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, and Kalkin. The other chapters (3–11) of Book III deal with the six first avatāras, the last chapter relating the well-known story how Paraśu-Rāma transformed the fishermen of Keraladeśa into Brahmins. Books IV (chapter 1–12) and V (chapters 1–15, the latter part of the last chapter missing) are wholly devoted to the history of Rāma,[4] which is told at great length. The introductory chapters of Book IV (1–3) deal with the birth of the national hero, his marriage with Sītā, and his exile and resort to the south ; then in chapter 4 is introduced " Rāvaṇa, the king of Ceylon ", and then the central part of the Rāmāyaṇa, the war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, is told with a great amount of detail, some of which seem to be peculiar to the south of India.[5] The author begins with the episode of Śūrpanakhā, proceeds to relate the rape of Sītā, the alliance with the monkeys, and the fight of Sugrīva and Vālin, the mission of Hanumān to Laṅkā, the building of the bridge (*setubandha*), the first battle with the Rākṣasas, the battles with Kumbhakarṇa and

[1] This is the continuous pagination of the manuscript in which no regard is paid to the blank spoken of above.

[2] Here always called Siri Rama (= Śrī-Rāma).

[3] The fish is here said to have been a shark (Port. *tubarão*).

[4] The introductory words of IV, chap. i, point to the immense popularity of the tales of Rāma, said to form the book *Ramana* (= *Rāmāyana*). There can be no doubt that the author has drawn largely upon some South Indian version of the *Rāmāyana* (probably the Bodhāyana), but no details can be given here.

[5] If found at all in the common versions of the *Rāmāyana* they may be looked for in the first (and last) book.

Indrajit, and finally the concluding stages of the great war and the fall of Rāvaṇa. The last chapter of Book V relates the return to Ayodhyā, and the repudiation of Sītā by Rāma; the missing part would have told of the final proof of her innocence.

The sixth book deals with Kṛṣṇa. Practically the whole of the first six chapters is wanting in the manuscript, but a general idea of the contents can be got from Faria y Sousa and other sources, which show us that they dealt with the history of the youth of Kṛṣṇa up to the slaughter of Kaṃsa. The chapters 7–9 are also devoted to the earlier period of Kṛṣṇa's life; the following chapters (10–13) tell of the origin of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, the great war between them, and the later fortunes of Arjuna. VI, 14, deals with the death of Kṛṣṇa and the destruction of his family; 15 with the beginning of the Kaliyuga; and 17 with the ultimate fate of Dharmaputra (Yudhiṣṭhira). The short sixteenth chapter gives some notices on Kalkin, and the eighteenth and last one contains a refutation of the doctrine of transmigration.

The very short Book VII (pp. 260-71) deals in four chapters with Brahma and his "son", the specifically South Indian deity Aiyappan.

The eighth and last book (pp. 272–339) deals in thirteen chapters with "The cult of the false deities amongst the Hindus", giving first of all a description of temples and sacrifices (chaps. 1–3), then of ceremonial ablutions (chap. 4), of the sacred ashes used by the Śaivas (chap. 5), and other means of purification (chap. 6): then follows a description of the various feasts, Ekādaśī, Śivarātri, etc. (chaps. 7–11). The last two chapters deal briefly with marriage ceremonies and ordeals, of which are mentioned the dipping of the fingers in burning oil, the swimming of a river infested by crocodiles, and the fetching out of a lemon from a basket full of cobras.[1]

Nothing can be said in this connexion of the various sources used by the author, which were apparently all of South Indian origin. It has already been mentioned that the manuscript gives numerous quotations in Tamil from one or different poems: these are generally introduced simply by the words: "como diz o seu Poeta" ("as their poet says"), but sometimes this poet is mentioned by name as Paccanar or Pacunar. Of this author—whose date is unknown to me—I have so far only been able to find some slight notices which do not throw much light upon him[2]; only so much

[1] The last sort of ordeal is said to be especially in use in Canara.

[2] Cf. Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, i, 72 seq., 82. According to what is said there, tradition seems inclined to look upon him as belonging to a very remote age.

seems obvious that he composed his poems in a decidedly anti-Brahminical spirit. I have found no indications that his compositions are at the present time to be found in any other source.

Even a perfunctory perusal of this manuscript betrays the high importance of its contents, and such an impression can only be enhanced by a somewhat more careful study of it. We have here a voluminous description of Hinduism in Malabar as it appeared to an accurate observer apparently well acquainted with native sources, which is by far the oldest of such works that have hitherto become known, being written about fifty years before the well-known book of Abraham Roger [1] was published in 1651, and also previous to the short work published by Henry Lord in 1630.[2] Works of the same sort may have been written already during the sixteenth century, but nothing of that sort has been preserved until our days—at least, as far as is hitherto known—and the little that is still to be gathered from early Jesuit letters (about the time 1550–1600) available in print has been partly collected by Dr. De Jong in the introduction to his edition of Baldæus (pp. vi–xxiii).

The author of the manuscript *Sloane* 1820 nowhere mentions his name or his position. Still, there could not be the slightest doubt that he was to be found amongst the members of the Society of Jesus, which has given since its very formation the most prominent missionaries and some of the foremost scholars to the world. It can be asserted with absolute certainty that at the time when this work was written no European except a Jesuit father would have been able to compose a work like this: and every page of the manuscript bears witness that it was written in order to furnish its readers with an adequate knowledge of Hindu mythology as being the only means for refuting its doctrines, that it was intended to be a sort of guide-book to missionaries, a work of the sort which seems to have been frequently used by the Jesuit fathers.

Now, the author tells us that he was living at Calicut, and, moreover, alludes to rather frequent discussions with the Zamorin and the Brahmins of his court. In one passage (p. 247) it is further implied that the work—or at least that part of it—was written in the year

[1] *De Open-deure tot het verborgen Heydendom* (new ed. by Professor Caland in 1915); German translation in 1663, French in 1670.

[2] Lord's work can neither be compared with the book of Roger, nor with this manuscript for importance: still, it has not received from its countrymen the interest which it may well deserve.

1609,[1] though the bulk of it may be some years older still. The main problem consequently was to find out a Jesuit father who dwelt in 1609 at Calicut, which could, however, scarcely be done by a person not very well acquainted with the history of the Order—at least, not without extremely troublesome and difficult researches. I, therefore, applied to my friend, the Rev. Father G. Schurhammer, S.J. (of Bonn a. Rh.), asking for his help in solving the problem, and I beg to acknowledge here my great indebtedness and gratitude to him for having from the beginning guided me in the right direction. Father Schurhammer (in a letter of 16th January, 1922) at once mentioned the name of a certain Father Fenicio or Finicio, who during the first decade of the seventeenth century led the mission at Calicut, and furnished me with several facts that pointed to the very high degree of probability of his suggestion. I am only too glad to say that the following up of those clues almost immediately put it beyond doubt that his suggestion was the correct one.

In the great *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, by De Backer and Sommervogel, nothing is to be found of this Father Fenicio. But in the supplement to that work by Father E. M. Rivière, S.J.,[2] there is a short biography of him, though nothing there indicates his authorship of a work on Hindu mythology. According to this, Father Jacobo Fenicio[3] was a Neapolitan, born at Capua about 1558: he entered the Society in 1580, went out to India in 1583, and dwelt at the court of the Zamorin from 1600 on. In 1606 he founded the mission-station at Tanor, and later on other missions on the Malabar coast: he died at Cochin in 1632. According to Rivière, his writings consisted in a report on his mission to the Todas (published in Anthropos II (1907), p. 972, seq.) and a letter published in Guerreiro's *Relaçam Annual*, 1606-7, fol. 118v. This short notice can now be made somewhat more complete with the help of other sources.

First of all, some dates from extracts of Jesuit archives given me by Father Schurhammer: according to these, Fenicio was stationed as

[1] The corresponding year of the Kaliyuga (4713) would point to 1611, but there is either a slight miscalculation or a slip in the expression of the writer.

[2] *Corrections et additions a la Bibliotheque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Fasc. iii (Toulouse, 1913), p. 453.

[3] The exact form of his name cannot now be ascertained: the authors of the Society generally call him Fenicio, but the letters in his hand, preserved in the British Museum Add. MSS. 9853, give Jacome Finicio. As, however, Fenicio has become the usual form, it will forthwith be used here.

missionary in Cochin in 1584, was made vicar of St. Andrew in Porca (belonging to Cochin) in 1587, and still kept that position in 1594–1604 and in 1619.[1] In the years 1605–6 and 1608–9 he was in Calicut. A notice from 1595 tells us that he had then worked for well nigh eleven years amongst the people of Malabar with very good results, and that he used to preach in the Malabar language (= Malayālam). His great energy and vast experience are repeatedly praised.

The most important documents, however, are some of the annual relations of the Jesuits, in which are incorporated two letters of Fenicio himself and his relation of his missionary journey to the Todas. Abstracts of these are found in Guerreiro's *Relaçam Annual*, 1604–5 (Lisboa, 1607), fol. 117v, and 1606–7 (Lisboa, 1609), fol. 118v; but the documents are given in full in the British Museum Add. MS. 9853, fol. 477v–482v, together with which should also be consulted the part of the Annual Letter of 1602, to be found in the same MS. fol. 462v–463v.[2] A notice on Fenicio's missionary labours is also to be found in Guerreiro's *Relaçam Annual*, 1607–8, fol. 63, seq. (Lisboa, 1611). From materials available in the annual relations and letters—and possibly also from other sources—are drawn the reports on Fenicio to be found in Du Jarric *Thesaurus rerum Indicarum*, iii, 2, 43, seq., in Juvencius *Historiæ Societatis Jesu*, Pars. v, tom. ii, p. 473, seq. (l. xviii, 30), and in Müllbauer, loc. cit., pp. 112 seq., 288. They all describe him as an extremely zealous missionary and a vigorous controversialist in his frequent disputations with the Brahmins; according to Du Jarric (and Juvencius) he was also politically active, as he is represented to have once made peace between the Zamorin and the Rājā of Cranganor, and to have, by his repeated warnings, prevented the Zamorin from entering into any political or commercial undertakings with the Dutch. Altogether, it cannot be doubted that he was a man of uncommon gifts, and of great influence with the natives and their rulers. Du Jarric and Juvencius also tell us of his great knowledge of the native language and of his literary achievements; of these we shall now proceed to give some information, with the help of his own letters.

The most extensive of these letters deals with his missionary tour to the Todas in the Nīlgiris in March, 1603, but as this does not concern

[1] He probably stayed there until his death, as Mullbauer, *Geschichte der Katholischen Missionen in Ostindien* (1851), p. 288, tells us that at his death in 1632 he had worked forty-two years in the kingdom of Muterte.

[2] Abstract in Guerreiro's *Relaçam Annual*, 1602–3 (Lisboa, 1605), fol. 84v.

our present purpose we shall not dwell further upon it here.[1] Instead of that we shall try to give in translation some abstracts which give in all essentials the story of how he came to write his extensive work on Hindu mythology, and which afford the final and incontrovertible proof of the correctness of the suggestion made by Father Schurhammer.

In the Annua do Sul de (1)602 (Add. MSS. 9853, fol. 462v), we read as follows: "Many a time the Father [2] went out in the square, where numbers of Hindus met and surrounded him with great curiosity. The Father, discoursing on the Faith, refuted their doctrines, proving to them the unity of God and the truth of the Gospels; they answered to the arguments of the Father whatever they knew, but he soon convinced them in such a way that they admitted that this was the truth and that they would willingly accept this Faith were it not that they feared that the king (the Zamorin) might fall out with the Portuguese, and they themselves fare badly, as the Fathers would then leave. However, there was one fellow who pretended to know better, and contended that his faith was a good one, and that he possessed the books on the creation of the world: the Father made him fetch them, for then, by discussing and giving reasons, the truth would be found out. The ignorant wiseacre [3] fetched the books and began to recite in a singing voice (as is their habit): *the book dealt with the origin of the cosmos, how originally when nothing existed God turned himself into an egg, which burst, and one half became the earth and sea, with rivers, mountains, and living beings, while the upper half became the heavens*; *and how God placed this universe on the horn of an ox, and as the ox moved and the universe was on the verge of falling down, he put a huge rock in the way of it.* The Father easily refuted these nonsensical stories of his, asking him whence God got hold of that rock with which he supported the universe and on what the ox as well as the rock could lean themselves?" The words in italics are of first-rate importance, for in the first chapter of book 1 of the MS. Sloane 1820,

[1] A Latin abstract of this report was published (from the Annuæ Litteræ S.J. 1603) by Father L. Besse in *Anthropos*, ii (1907), p. 972, seq. As was pointed out in that same periodical (iii, p. 294, seq.), a complete English translation of the original letter (from the Add. MSS. 9853) had been published already in 1906 in the well-known work of Rivers on the Todas (p. 720, seq.). I have compared that translation with the original and found it excellent. For further information on this question cf. Father Hosten, in *J.A.S.B.*, 1910, p. 446, seq.

[2] Viz. Fenicio.

[3] The Portuguese *letrado*, as it is used here, would correspond exactly to Sanskrit *panditammanya*.

it is told to great length how the Ixoretta (= Īśvaratā), the "essentia divina", turned itself into an egg, and how out of this the whole universe developed. The story of the ox is dwelt upon in the fifth chapter of that same book. As for the work from which the Hindu produced these fairy tales, there is scarcely any doubt that it was a book to which Fenicio alludes, calling it *Prapañcasṛṣṭi*, supposed to be a work of the great *ṛṣi* Agastya.[1]

In the same Annual Letter (1602) there is another abstract of a letter from Fenicio, where he refers at length to a disputation he had with the chief Brahmin of the Zamorin. They first expatiated on astronomical matters, where the Father was astonished to find that the names of the mansions of the Zodiac and of the week-days were essentially the same in the "Samoscrada" language as in Latin: after this, theological matters were looked into. The Father found no great difficulty in ridiculing the elephant-headed and pot-bellied Gaṇeśa, and he tells us that his arguments against the idols (*pagodes*) were so convincing that nobody had an answer to give; they simply exclaimed: "True, true!" In this and other discourses the Father always had at his side a native convert, whom he calls "o nosso Herary (Errary)", and who was a nephew of the Zamorin [2]; this young man also accompanied him on his journey to the Nīlgiris.[3]

The Annua do Sul de (1)603 contains, as has already been remarked, two letters from Fenicio, together with his report on the tour to the Nīlgiris. The first of these letters [4]—both of them, of course, addressed to the Vice-Provincial—is all-important, as it tells us in plain words how he had begun writing his work on Hindu mythology. Says he: "This winter [5] I have occupied myself with studying the religion of the Malabars with a Hindu who has every day visited my house; and I have already written some two books of paper about the creation of the world, about their gods, and their children, three boys and a girl. Truly, they are very fine fellows: one has the head and face and feet of an elephant, another has six faces and twelve hands, the third is an ape, and the lady is as black as coal and has eight faces and sixteen hands. I have written how many times one of their gods came down to earth, sometimes in the shape of a fish, sometimes in that of a tortoise,

[1] Thus, in Book I, chap. 9 (and cf. Paulinus *Systema Brachimanicum*, p. 196, seq.).

[2] Like the Zamorin himself, he was a member of the *Erāḍi*, or cow-herd caste (cf. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, ii, 210; Iyer, *Cochin Castes*, ii, 146, seq.).

[3] Cf. Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 721; Anthropos, ii, 972.

[4] Dated 8th August, 1603.

[5] As is usual with old authors, "winter" probably stands for the rainy season.

or a bird, a boar, a man-lion, a woman, etc. : and (I have written) of the idols, the devils, the transmigration of the souls, the heavens, the earth, the oceans, the hells, the paradise, their ceremonies, omens, fasts, etc. And I am very pleased to know it, because it will serve me very well in refuting these Hindus." Here Fenicio tells us that he had already in 1603 drafted the main contents of his work, as what he here tells that he has written down corresponds to Books I (The Creation, etc.), II (Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Skanda, Hanumān, Bhadrakālī), III (Viṣṇu, the earlier avatāras), and VIII (Idols, cult, etc.) of the present manuscript. The date 1609, of which I have already spoken, seems to show that the book (VI) where it occurs is a later addition ; and it seems probable either that Fenicio got to know the stories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa (Books IV–VI) later on and from other sources than those available to him at the beginning of his researches, or that he enlarged and finally revised his work later on.[1]

A little further on in the same letter he tells about the works of the Malabar poet that he has quoted at great length, and that apparently formed one of his chief sources and gave him the most vivid satisfaction: "I have taken down more than 300 quatrains out of 900 that a Malabar heathen of great antiquity has composed : all of them are no more to be found, but I am on the search for them. They are all against the idols and the ceremonies of the Hindus. They deal with the divine providence, with paradise and hell, and they are such that it is quite enough to recite them or read them to shut the mouth of the Hindus. He scoffs at the idols, and at every moment he cries out against the Brahmins : paradise, he says, consists in the vision of God, and of hell he says that a man has to stay there in blazing fire for 400 millions of years, alive all the time. Of divine providence, he says that God gives to everyone what he wants according to his merit, and that necessaries will be in reach of everybody, as is the fellow who holds the rope to the fisher of pearls." Fenicio went out into the bazaar and began to recite these blasphemous poems in a loud voice, which he assures us was very pleasant to the Mohammadans who were there : but some Hindus retorted that the Christians adored the image of the Holy Virgin and of Jesus Christ. This flung the good Father into a passion, and he burst into a vehement peroration against

[1] This conclusion seems perfectly admissible as Fenicio clearly points to some version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as one of his sources, and, moreover, because in Books IV–VI there does not occur one single quotation from the Malabar poet Pākkanar that was apparently, from the origin, one of his main sources. But he knew the main features of the myths of Kṛṣṇa already in 1603, as will be seen presently.

the idols, especially the poor Gaṇeśa : " You," he said, " take a stone and contend that it is a god and give it to eat ; and you paint the son of God with the face of an elephant riding on a rat, and give him oil-cakes to eat, and you say that he is very gluttonous and has a big belly and never gets satisfied, and that once upon a time he went for dinner at a certain house and when taking leave took some cakes under his arm ; then he fell down in the road and dropped the cakes and sunshade and book, and before he rose he turned to munch at the cakes ; and that the moon, seeing it, laughed at him."[1] This, at least, made the Hindus turn away from the questions concerning their own religion, and they now asked the Father what was his opinion of that of the Mohammadans. It goes without saying that he did not approve of that either. His descriptions of these disputes are indeed very vivid and full of interest.

In the second letter (dated November, 1603) the Father first of all tells how he had an audience of the Zamorin, who was very curious about his terrestrial and celestial globes. Fenicio fully explained these to him and then had a discussion on astronomy and cosmology with the Brahmins, who told him about their extraordinary notions of the universe, the seven oceans, etc.[2] After this, he continues : " When the king had seen the globe I brought forth the book with the carols against the idols, and when the king saw the book and that I began to speak against the false gods, he broke into a vehement laughter, saying : ' The Father does all this in order to speak against the idols ' ; and, turning to me, he said : ' Father, do not you people say that your God was gibbeted on a cross and killed by the Jews ? ' I answered him : ' That was because man had sinned, and could not atone for it ; for that reason God became a man and gave atonement for the sins of man by dying on the cross, and he did not die in the quality of being God but of man. And does not Your Highness know that it is a custom amongst the Malabars that if a vassal of his cannot pay the king pays for him ? And if a vassal of Your Highness were in straits would not Your Highness have to help him ? Your Highness blames this,[3] but you do not blame your own Viṣṇu [4] for becoming a man

[1] The same story of Gaṇeśa is told at length in the MS. Sloane 1820, p. 73, seq. (Book II, chap. 15).

[2] Fenicio says that they took this from a book, the title of which is badly corrupted in the MS. ; but one can read something like *pramūcha*, and it undoubtedly means the above-mentioned work *Prapañcasṛṣṭi*, as he translates it " universi creatio ".

[3] Viz. the death of Jesus on the cross.

[4] Fenicio gives the name as Vistnu, but Hindu words will forthwith be given in the modern transcription as far as possible.

called Kṛṣṇa, who, while a youngster, went to the houses of the Brahmin ladies (during their absence) and stole and drank all the milk, oil, and ghee he could come upon, and afterwards broke their pots and pans of copper and threw all the crockery into wells and ponds and violated the young ladies. For this the Brahmin ladies lodged complaints with his mother, who tied him up and thrashed him with a churn-staff.' When the king heard this he looked down and laughed. 'And after this, when this Kṛṣṇa was sitting in the top of a tree near the bank of a pond playing the flute and watching the buffaloes (for he was a buffalo-herd), 300 ladies who had been to the bazaar to sell milk came there and bathed in the pond. Those were the ones that had complained to his mother. So Kṛṣṇa slid down and took away their clothes: the ladies, when they could not find them, looked up into the tree, and at once understood that Kṛṣṇa had taken them away. Then they repeatedly asked him, with profound salutations, that he should return their dresses, but he scoffed at them, and said: "Ah, you are the ones who got me a thrashing; and when my mother thrashed me you were very pleased and applauded her. And now I am very pleased to see you stripped." Finally, he made them take an oath that they would never more complain of him, and returned their dresses.' And then I said to the king: 'That is the one the Malabars adore! That one is a god! Besides, they will tell you that he married 16,000 ladies, and behold the wonder: everyone of the ladies lived separately in her own house, and still Kṛṣṇa was always with everyone of them.' Said one of the Brahmins: 'Does he know thus far?' But a Christian who was with me[1] answered him: 'This is nothing—you will hear many other things.' Whereupon I told them also how their god Īśvara created (or, to put it better, procreated) the grass, plants, and trees, and how he made eighteen pieces of arms, e.g. sword, lance, etc., all of which is very shameful, and the way he made the sun, moon, and stars, which is still more dirty, so that it seems as if even Asmodeus, the devil of lust, could not himself invent anything worse."[2]

Thus Father Fenicio went on, and at this and following occasions the Brahmins had to admit that they had found their match. They were greatly astonished at his intimate knowledge of the Malabar language and religion, and so was also the Rājā of Cranganore—himself a Brahmin—who according to the Annua da Provincia do

[1] Apparently the nephew of the Zamorin (cf. above, p. 744).

[2] These myths are told in full in the MS. Sloane 1820, Book I, chap. 3-4.

Malabar do anno de 1604 e 1605 (Add. MS. 9853, fol. 504v) was present at another disputation in the presence of the Zamorin.

These extracts from the letters of Father Fenicio prove beyond any shadow of doubt that he is the author of the manuscript on the religion of Malabar; they also prove that he had begun his work already in 1603—soon after his arrival in Calicut—and that he probably drew up the main contents in that year, though he may have given his work the final revision in 1609. They also reveal to us a man of no mean gifts; an indomitable energy, a fiery zeal for the promotion of Christianity, and that courage which does not shrink from any opposition, and which has always been one of the essential characteristics belonging to the missionaries of the Society of Jesus, breathe from every line of his dispatches; besides, he must have had a remarkable gift for learning languages, as he was apparently in quite a short time perfectly at home in the native tongue of Malabar. And the way in which he deals with the sources of Hindu mythology betray that scholarly spirit which is not always to be found, even in later centuries. Altogether, Father Fenicio well deserves a place amongst the many eminent forerunners of the present European knowledge of India.

However, his work was never published, and his name has long ago fallen into oblivion. It has already been pointed out above that neither Faria y Sousa nor Baldæus seem to have been acquainted with the name of the author whose work they made such an extensive use of; this, at any rate, is quite obvious in the case of the first-mentioned of these two writers. There are, however, some slight indications that the name of Fenicio was known to some authors of the seventeenth century, though none of them had apparently seen anything of his actual work.

Purchas, who wrote while Fenicio was still alive, was remarkably well-read in the Annual Letters and other records of the Jesuits, though he does not always explicitly tell us from where he drew his information. In *His Pilgrimage* (1626), the fifth book, chap. 9, § iii, extr. (p. 549), we read the following passage that was apparently put together by Purchas with the help of abstracts from the letters quoted above:[1] "Fenicius, another Jesuite, learned of one of their Doctors, other their mysteries contained in their Bookes, that God produced all this world out of an Egge: out of one part thereof the

[1] Purchas may have read them in Guerreiro's annual relations; of course, Du Jarric was also amongst his sources.

Land, Sea, and inferior creatures: out of another the Heavens for habitation to the Gods: that their world was founded on the end of a Buffalo horne, and because this beast leaned on one side ready to fall, a huge Rocke was placed under him to support him. But as before, so here also followed some notice of better things. For there was a Malabar Poet which wrote 900 epigrams against their Pagodes, each consisting of eight verses, wherein he speakes many things elegantly of the Divine Providence, of Heaven, and the torments of Hell, and other things agreeing to the Christian Faith; that God is present everywhere, and gives to everyone according to his estate, that Celestiall blessednesse consists in the vision of God, that the damned in Hell shall be tormented 400 millions of years in flames, and shall never die. The bramenes he calls fools and blockes. By this booke, and by Mathematicall doctrine of the Sphere, which they had scarcely ever heard of, he made way for converting the people."

In the second edition of Antonio de Leon Pinelo *Epitome de la Bibliotheca Oriental, y Occidental*, etc. (Madrid, 1737), we find on p. 445 the following entry: "P. Diego, ò Jacobo Fenicio, de los Dioses de Malabar segun el mismo D. Nicolàs Antonio."[1] The reference is, as shown by an entry above, to handwritten annotations by D. Nicolàs Antonio (d. 1684) in the first edition of his *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*;[2] consequently, we find in the second edition of this work (Madrid, 1783), in vol. i, p. 614, seq., the following words: "Jacobus Fenicius (an Didacus?) Lusitanus, auctore Cardoso Jesuitarum sodalis, dicitur edidisse librum: Dos Deoses de Malabar, hoc est de diis falsis incolarum Malabaris. Deest in *Bibliotheca Societatis*." These are, unfortunately, the only bibliographical references to Fenicio that I have hitherto been able to come across; it seems peculiarly noteworthy that the industrious and learned Barbosa Machado has in his *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (Lisboa, 1741–58) not a single line on our author.

We must now try to put together what can be gathered concerning the fate of Father Fenicio's work and the copies of it; the notices on which to base some conclusions are, unfortunately, exceedingly scanty.

Something has already been said above about Father Manoel Barradas and his dealings with a work on the religion of Malabar, which must undoubtedly have been that of Fenicio. To take things in order, it seems probable that Fenicio, having finished his work, sent it to the Vice-Provincial, to whom for some time Barradas acted

[1] The first edition of Pinelo was issued in 1629; in it there is nothing about Fenicio.

[2] This edition does not seem to exist in the British Museum.

as an assistant, and that Barradas became acquainted with it in that way. This, of course, cannot now be definitely proved, but seems highly probable, the following development being duly taken into consideration. We know from the letter of Barradas to M. S. de Faria (dated 12th December, 1634)[1] that he had long before that time sent to Portugal a manuscript which he calls *Tratado dos Deosese Leys dos gentios*, and this manuscript fortunately seems still to be preserved.

In *O Oriente Portuguez II* (1905), p. 228, seq., Gonçalvez has published some notices on a manuscript kept in the library of the Visconde da Esperança which is ascribed to Barradas, and has a preface by him dated 1st December, 1618. This manuscript contains only five books, but there cannot be the slightest doubt that its contents are practically absolutely identical with those of the MS. Sloane 1820, which contains the original work of Father Fenicio. There are, however, two marked differences: the one is that in this manuscript all the chapters of merely polemical contents have been carefully excluded; the other is that while Books I–II correspond to Books I–II and Books IV–V to Books VII–VIII of the Sloane MS., the Books III–VI of the latter one—dealing with Viṣṇu and his avatāras, chiefly Rāma and Kṛṣṇa—have all been united so as to form here one single book, viz. III. A minute comparison between the table of contents of this manuscript and the chapters 1–6 of Tomo II, Parte IV, of Faria y Sousa, the details of which cannot for obvious reasons be given here, put it beyond doubt that this is just the manuscript used by that author and mentioned by him in his introductory bibliographical remarks.[2] As we further know that Faria y Sousa got the manuscript from M. S. de Faria, and it seems fairly incredible that he should have possessed more than one copy of it, there can be little room for doubt that this manuscript is the identical one that Barradas had sent to Portugal before he left for Abyssinia in 1623. As the preface is dated 1st December, 1618, it seems fairly safe to assume that it was dispatched shortly afterwards, and that it reached Lisbon some time during 1619. As it was, according to Gonçalvez, addressed to the then King of Spain and Portugal, it seems probable that it may have been sent on to Madrid, from where it was then forwarded to M. S. de Faria, at Evora. He afterwards left

[1] Cf. Beccari *Scriptores rerum Ethiopicarum*, iv, p. xxv, seq.
[2] Cf. above, p. 735.

it in the hands of Faria y Sousa, who made a compendium of it for his *Asia Portugueza*, probably some time between 1630–40.

It seems pretty obvious, from the table of contents, in what way Barradas dealt with the manuscript of Fenicio. First of all he abridged it by carefully excluding all the polemical matters which were, of course, quite useful for the Jesuit missionaries in India, but could scarcely be of any interest to scholars in Spain and Portugal; then he abridged the stories of Viṣṇu and his avatāras, and compressed the contents of four books (III–VI) of the original into one (III). Finally, he no doubt added some material of his own, especially in the last book, where he deals with some famous temples belonging to Canara and Konkan that were not known to Fenicio, who worked during his whole lifetime in Cochin and Calicut, but which must have been familiar to Barradas, who was chiefly employed at Goa. That he has made some slight alterations and additions also in other passages seems highly probable; there is, e.g. in Faria y Sousa ii, p. 689, seq., an allusion to an incident that seems to have happened in 1608, and as this is nowhere to be found in the Sloane MS. it seems only fair to assume that we have here an addition originating from Barradas.

The original—apparently the manuscript of Father Fenicio himself—was however, still in the hands of Barradas at the time when he had returned from Abyssinia to India, as in the letter of 10th February, 1635,[1] to M. S. de Faria, he states that he had lent it to another Father. It would be absolutely futile to try to recover the fate of that original copy, as there seem to be no means whatsoever for ascertaining what became of it. Only this can be said, that a copy of the complete work—not of the abridged version of Barradas—was certainly in the hands of Baldæus at some time about, or shortly after, 1660. We know that Baldæus, who had formerly been working in Jaffnapatnam and Negapatam, spent the greater part of the years 1661–4 in Malabar;[2] as in 1662 Cranganore, and in the following year Cochin, fell into the hands of the Dutch, and as we know that in the second place important archives were delivered up to them,[3] it seems highly probable that a copy of Fenicio's work—if not the very original—came into the possession of Baldæus about that time. For Cochin, the missionary station to which Fenicio had belonged for more than forty years, would undoubtedly be the very place where his work might be found.

[1] Quoted above (p. 735) from Beccari, loc. cit. iv, p. xxi.

[2] Cf. Dr. De Jong's edition of Baldæus, p. li.

[3] Cf. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, ii, 328.

As the work of Baldæus has been since the time of its appearance (1672) considered a very valuable one, and as its importance has up to our own time been highly overrated, it seems only fair to give here some slight information concerning the way in which he availed himself of the work of Fenicio. It has already been observed that he never mentions this particular source, but only in a rather vague way refers to certain papers written by Portuguese priests. The fact is, however, that of the text of Baldæus in the new edition of Dr. De Jong, the pp. 3–82 are, in general, nothing but a verbal translation of the Books I–III of the work of Fenicio,[1] that pp. 185–200 are a fairly faithful translation of Book VIII, chap. 1–11, and that there are in other passages pieces of smaller extent taken over almost verbally from that same work. And thus faithfully did Baldæus keep to his source that he translated also great parts of the Jesuit Father's theological arguments; it creates a somewhat peculiar impression to find a Protestant preacher quote in places St. Thomas Aquinas as his authority, but this is simply a rather too far-going clinging to the original. Considering this, it seems rather peculiar when on p. 56 (ed. De Jong), he says: "I think I have read it in a manuscript of a certain Roman Catholic priest," etc., when the following is simply a translation from Fenicio, Book III, chap. 5. Nor was he always able to translate his original correctly: thus he has nearly everywhere translated the Portuguese *buzio* "conch-shell" as if it were *bugio* "monkey", which has also led to the two ridiculous passages on pp. 32–3, where he tells how Bhadrakālī, while passing over the sea, met some "monkey-hunters",[2] who could clearly have no business there: he very often renders the Portuguese *mar de leite* "milk-ocean" with *Zuyker-see* "sugar-ocean" On p. 39 he has tried to translate the Portuguese expression *deo com a su cabeleira no chão* "he flung (part of) his hair on the earth",[3] as if it meant "he flung him down, grasping him by the hair", etc.

Seeing how slavishly Baldæus has followed this source of his, one may well ask how he dealt with other sources that have not yet been identified. Altogether his work is of very little original value.

A manuscript of Fenicio's work was apparently available during the latter part of the eighteenth century to Ildephonsus, who spent

[1] There is an insertion of greater length from another source in the story of Paraśurāma and minor additions in some other passages.

[2] The Portuguese text has *pescadores de buzios* "shell-fishers".

[3] Ildephonsus (in Paulinus *Systema Brachmanicum*, p. 173) correctly translates it with "capillitio . . . terram percutit".

thirteen years as a missionary in Malabar. It is, however, unknown to me where he was stationed, and it is consequently impossible to ascertain where he might possibly have got hold of his copy. That this was a copy of the original work, and not of the abridged version of Barradas, is put beyond doubt by a detailed comparison of the more extensive quotations in the works of Paulinus, with the corresponding passages of the original. On the whole, it is fairly improbable that there ever existed more than one copy of the abridged version, the one sent by Barradas to Europe. In India, where the work was to be used as a guide-book by the Jesuit missionaries, the polemical passages were of far too great importance to be excised.

Finally the Sloane MS. 1820 is, as has been already mentioned, made up from two different copies. At what time, from what place, and by what ways these two copies came to Europe and ultimately found their way into the collection of Sir Hans Sloane is absolutely unknown and will perhaps never be made clear. This only is certain, that they must have come there before 1753, the year of his death; and it consequently seems improbable that they should have come from the archives at Goa, the dispersion of which, under the tyrannical orders of Pombal and his creatures, did not begin until some years later.

Altogether, this seems to account for at least four—or possibly five—different copies of the work of Fenicio on the mythology of the Hindus in Malabar: the original one kept by Barradas and lent by him to another Father, which may or may not have been identical with the one used by Baldæus about thirty years later, the copy translated by Ildephonsus more than a century after the time of Baldæus, and the two copies, parts of which now form the Sloane MS. 1820, and which must have found their way to England some time at least before 1753. Whether there were once still more copies of the work, which was certainly, and that quite correctly, considered a very important contribution to the missionary literature, the present writer is, of course, not at all prepared to assert. But by itself such a suggestion does not seem wholly improbable.

The work of Father Fenicio has long been wholly buried, and even his name has fallen into almost total oblivion. He certainly does not seem to have deserved that fate. It seems to the present writer to be about time that we should try to obtain a somewhat fuller knowledge of the achievements of a great number of what we may well call the pioneers of the present Indological science. And amongst such pioneers Father Fenicio would certainly be

entitled to a position of no inconspicuous rank. A hope is cherished by the present writer that he may be able within a not too distant future to edit the text of his work (excluding, of course, the purely theological and polemical portions), together with an English translation and an exhaustive commentary. Whether this hope can be realized remains to be seen. Before anything like that can be achieved it will, however, be absolutely necessary to try to obtain a copy of the Barradas MS. still existing in Portugal, as well as further information concerning the work of Ildephonsus, which may, after all, not be irretrievably lost.

ARABIC LITERATURE SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By Shaykh M. H. 'Abd al-Raziq

(*Continued from p.* 265.)

(4) علي باشا مبارك (1823–93).

The biography of this great Egyptian scholar and organizer was published in one volume in 1894 by Dr. Durry Pasha (1841–1900). It was mainly taken from the ninth volume of الخطط التوفيقية in which 'Alī Pāsha had described his early studies at village schools and higher education at government institutions. Finally he was sent to Paris in company with the sons of Mohammed Ali Pasha to complete his education. This life-story reveals to the reader the social and political conditions of Egypt and the introduction of the reforms.

The reputation of علي باشا مبارك ('Alī Pāsha Mubārak), who rose to be Minister of Education, rests more on his organization of educational institutions and the introduction of secular ideals, than on his literary productions. It was due to his efforts that the Viceregal Library came into being in 1870, and also the great training college called دار العلوم (Dār al-'Ulūm), which produced most of the modern Egyptian teachers and scholars.

His great literary work, called الخطط التوفيقية, comprising twenty volumes and completing the classic work of Maqurizi (1365–1442), is a mine of information, not only on the topography of the towns and villages of Egypt, on the history of mosques and churches, but also on the biographies of the great men of Egypt.

His other works are :—

(*a*) كتاب علم الدين

(*b*) الميزان فى الأقيسة والأوزان

(*c*) نخبة الفكر فى تدبير نيل مصر

(*d*) خلاصة تاريخ العرب

This last book was translated from the French under his direction.

(5) ابو السعود أفندى عبد الله (1828–78).

This author was a native of a village near Cairo, and a high government official. He is worthy of mention among Arabic poets and historians for his following works.

(*a*) منحة اهل العصر بمنتقى تاريخ مصر

(A versified form of Jaberti's history).

(*b*) تاريخ ولاة مصر

(*c*) الدرس التام فى التاريخ العام

His poetical works, the longest of which, comprising ten thousand verses, describes the achievements of Mohammed Ali Pasha, were collected in a Dīwān.

(6) عبد الله باشا فكرى (1834–91).

He received his early education at Al Azhar and later studied Turkish to enable him to enter government service. His ability soon brought him to the notice of Ismail Pasha, who entrusted him with the education of his sons. He was a worker contemporary with 'Alī Pāsha Mubārak, and co-operated with him in collecting Arabic manuscripts, in founding the great Government Library, and in promoting public instruction. After rising to the office of Minister of Education, he became involved in the Arabi rebellion, but eventually proved his innocence. In the year 1889 he was elected by the Egyptian Government as the head of its delegation to the Stockholm Congress of Orientalists. During his journey he visited many European cities, which he described in one of his books called ارشاد الألبا الى محاسن أوربا. This work was completed and published in 1892 by his son, who accompanied him to the Stockholm Congress. His other works are :

(*a*) الرحلة المكية

(*b*) المقامة الفكرية فى المملكة الباطية

(*c*) نبذة فى آثار المغفورله محمد على باشا

امين باشا فكرى (1856–99), his son, who was a high government official, wrote an exhaustive work on the geography of Egypt and the Sudan.

(7) محمد مختار باشا المصرى (1835–97).

A native of Būlāq, near Cairo, this author had a military education which enabled him to rise to the rank of brigadier-general. There are attributed to him works on history, geography, mathematics, and astronomy. His geographical works are :—

(*a*) المجموعة الشافيه فى علم الجغرافية

(*b*) رسالة فى السودان الشرق

(*c*) رأس هافون „ „

(*d*) بلا دزيلع „ „

These are only the most prominent Egyptian authors. We now approach a subject which, although least known in Europe, is after all of the first importance– namely, Arabic religious literature.

Religious and Miscellaneous Literature

Religious literature of this period may be dealt with under the following headings :—

(*a*) Orthodox Literature.
(*b*) Modernist Literature.
(*c*) Controversial Literature.

Orthodox Literature

Ever since the overthrow of Fāṭimid rule in Egypt by Saladin in the year 1171, Al Azhar University of Cairo, founded in 970 by Al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, has been one of the greatest orthodox educational centres of the whole Moslem world. Many grammatical, theological, and historical works produced during the Mamluke and

Turkish rule in Egypt were by authors who were educated and became professors in that University. Contact with modern thought and Western culture has created a great demand for secular education. This is in reality an appeal to the rationalist spirit which, never really dormant, is now able to confine the cherished old religious education to a much more limited sphere.

The course of study prescribed for students who wish to become theologians takes twelve years, and comprises most of the texts collected in one volume under the title of مجموع المتون, consisting of about 622 pages. The writing and study of commentaries and super-commentaries on these standard texts had been a long-cherished tradition of that institution, kept up mostly by its successive rectors. To the present day, those who have had no access to modern thought and to the study of comparative religion confine their literary activities to the writing of commentaries in the same conservative and uncritical spirit.

The word commentary is the accepted translation of the word شرح, but as there are two similar Arabic words, حاشية and تقرير, it seems not out of place to give a technical definition of each of these words. A text is called متن and a commentary is called شرح. As a rule, a شرح contains quotations and examples from other sources which need more expounding. When this is done it is called حاشية. But this latter may be open to criticism by a greater authority who would deem it worth his labour to write what is called تقرير. From the verbs شرح, حَشَّى, and قرَّر are derived the three active participles شارح, مُحشّى, and مُقرِّر, each denoting a particular author.

Every one of these commentators before writing on the Moslem subjects must study what are called the instrumental sciences such as logic and grammar. In most cases commentaries are written even on these subjects. They are the true representatives of the old conservative schools of theology that superseded the rationalist spirit of the first three centuries of Arabic literature. Here and there were some representatives of this rational spirit, but as their works were in

most cases destroyed by fanatical rulers under the influence of dogmatic theologians, their teachings survived mainly through tradition. The object of the reform movement in Islam is to revive and develop that rational spirit and by this means overthrow the influence of the dominant orthodox party.

The following works are typical of their authors :—

(1) الشيخ محمد الدسوقى المالكى (died 1815).

This teacher was a native of Dosoq, in Lower Egypt, and came to Cairo to receive the usual religious training at the only great religious centre that provided free education. Having qualified for the title of عالم, he lectured for many years, gaining the reputation of being one of the greatest orators of his time. He wrote commentaries on the following standard works :—

(*a*) حاشية على شرح الدردير على متن خليل, comprising four volumes, which have been translated into French and Italian.

(*b*) The well-known text called السنوسية, written by محمد بن يوسف السنوسى (M. b. Yūsuf As-Sanūsī) (died 892 H.), on theology, which was translated into German in 1848 and French in 1846.

(*c*) The poem of the Mantle, a panegyric of the prophet Mohammed, written by البوصيرى (Al-Buṣīrī) (A.D. 1212–91), and translated into English by Mr. J. W. Redhouse. He also wrote a commentary of two volumes on the standard work of rhetoric in the Arabic language by سعد الدين التفتازانى (Sa'd ad-Dīn at-Taftāzānī) (died 791 H.), and another on مغنى اللبيب by ابن هشام المصرى (Ibn Hishām al-Miṣrī) (died 761 H.).

(2) الشيخ حسن العطار (1766–1834).

His parents came from North Africa and settled in Cairo. Here he was born, and later was educated at Al Azhar. In his early life he travelled to the East, and finally devoted his activities to teaching at that University. In the year 1246 H.

he became its rector, and his wide experience of the outside world enabled him to introduce many reforms into it. His interest was not confined to religious subjects. In addition to his great two-volume commentary on جمع الجوامع, by تاج الدين السبكى (Tāj ad-Dīn as-Sibkī) (683 H.), concerning constitutional theories, he wrote treatises on metaphysics, astronomy, and many commentaries on grammatical texts and logic.

(3) الشيخ ابراهيم الباجورى (1784–1859).

This great theologian, logician, and jurist, who was born at Bajore, in Lower Egypt, and was educated at Al Azhar, eventually became its rector. He wrote more than fourteen works on most of the subjects included in the curriculum of that University. On theology he wrote a commentary on جوهرة التوحيد, written by الشيخ احمد الدردير (Aḥmad Dardīr) (1127–1201 H.), and another on the سنوسية, as well as a third on a text by his teacher, الفضالى (Al-Fuḍālī).

His works on jurisprudence are :—

(*a*) A commentary on ابن قاسم in Shāfi'ite doctrine, comprising two volumes.

(*b*) Another on الشنشورى text in the law of inheritance.

(*c*) A treatise on marriage.

He also wrote one commentary on the poem called بانت سعاد by كعب بن زهير (Ka'b ibn Zuhayr) (died 24 H.), another on بردة البوصيرى, and a third on the work of الترمذى (At-Tirmidhī) (279 H.), called الشمائل.

(4) الشيخ محمد عليش (1802–81).

This great Maliki scholar was born in Cairo and educated at Al Azhar. He became the head of the Maliki school, and during his busy career as a professor he wrote many works and commentaries on various Moslem sciences, among which are the following :—

(*a*) *Maliki Jurisprudence*

(*a*) A commentary of four volumes on the text of الشيخ خليل (Khalīl) (died 767 H.), called منح الجليل على مختصر الشيخ خليل.

(*b*) Another of equal length on the work of الشيخ محمد الأمير (Muḥammad Al-Amīr) (died 1232 H.), called مواهب القدير على مجموع الامير.

(*c*) A two-volume commentary on the work of الشيخ احمد الدردير (Aḥmad ad-Dardīr) (1127–1201 H.), called هداية السالك على اقرب المسالك.

(*b*) *Theology*

Commentaries on :—

(*a*) السنوسية called القول الوافى السديد فى عقيدة اهل التوحيد.

(*b*) A second on the same, called هداية المريد لعقيدة أهل التوحيد.

(*c*) A commentary called الفتوحات الوهبيه, or a text in metrical form of 500 verses, by المقَرى (Al-Maqqarī), the great historian (died 1041 H.).

His grammatical works are a commentary on a treatise by ابن هشام (Ibn Hishām) (died 761 H.), called قطر الندى, which was translated into French ; another on شرح ابن عقيل (died 769). He also left a work of two large volumes on the famous الفية of ابن مالك (Ibn Mālik) (672 H.), translated into French and German in 1852.

(5) الشيخ عبد الهادى نجا الابيارى (1821–88).

More than forty different works are attributed to this scholar, who came to Al Azhar from Abyār, in Lower Egypt, and rose to be a great ʿālim. He was entrusted with the education of Ismail's sons, and later became chaplain to Tewfik Pasha. He

was noted among other students for his literary ability and critical faculty.

His literary works are :—

(*a*) الوسائل الادبيه فى الرسائل الاحدبية

(*b*) سعود الطالع

(*c*) نفح الاكمام فى مثلثات الكلام

On Tradition he wrote :—

(*a*) An introduction to شرح القسطلانى (died 923 H.) on البخارى (Al-Bukhārī) (died 260 H.).

(*b*) A commentary on the Traditions of النووى An-Nawawī (631–76 H.).

(*c*) A treatise called رشف الرضاب فى علم المصطلح.

(*d*) A commentary on منظومة البيبانى called صحبح المعانى.

On grammar and rhetoric he wrote :—

(*a*) طرفة الربيع فى انواع البديع

(*b*) الحديقة فى البيان

(*c*) القصر المبنى على حواشي المغنى

together with two commentaries on (*b*) and (*c*).

A work on jurisprudence, which is called الثغر الباسم فى مختصر حاشية الباجورى على ابن قاسم, is also attributed to him.

(6) الشيخ محمد بن محمد الانبابى (1824–96).

This great scholar, who was twice the rector of Al Azhar, devoted his activities during his long career as a teacher, not to the writing of commentaries on former texts, but to criticism of such commentaries. Twelve works are attributed to him. Five are on the five standard grammars, three on rhetoric, one on Moslem constitutional theories, another on traditions, and yet another on logic. All have been mentioned before.

(To be continued.)

AN "ABYSSINIAN" VOCABULARY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

By M. B. Gover

CONSIDERABLE interest attaches to the list in transcript of "Abyssinian" words prefixed to Almeida's *History of Ethiopia*[1] as making a contribution to the material available for the study of the relation subsisting between Ethiopic and Amharic.

Vocabulary.—As a consideration of the subject matter would lead us to expect, the percentage of words is small which are independent of the known vocabulary of Ethiopic.

Accidence.—The case endings are Ethiopic. The pronominal suffixes agree in general with the forms given in Wemmer, *Lexicon Aethiopica*, Rome, 1638. Amharic forms occur, but sparingly. One instance only is found of the Amharic plural termination, but the persistence of the Ethiopic plural in proper names may not indicate contemporary usage.

Identification.—Some of the "originals" given as those of Almeida are put forward but tentatively. Choice between alternative forms is rendered difficult by a wider interchange of letters than that, *inter se*, of the vowels and gutturals and of the sibilants, respectively; also by suggested variance between the spoken and the written language.

The Transliteration and the Translation.—The transcript is almost uniformly consistent. The Portuguese, where it translates, is sometimes inexact.

Notes.—The indications "Eth." and "Amh." refer to the component parts of composite names and are appended only where words first occur in the list. Where two forms exist the earlier is placed first, except in cases in which the later better fits the transcript.

[1] Fols. 1*a*–4*a* of the Marsden Library (King's Coll.) MS. of the *Historia de Ethiopia* by Manoel d'Almeida. See "The Manuscripts collected by William Marsden with special reference to two copies of Almeida's *History of Ethiopia*", by Sir E. Denison Ross, in the preceding issue of the *Bulletin*.

The Notes added to the identifications relate mainly to sequent changes; in general alternative forms seemingly of the same period have not been noted.

My thanks for help are due to the Director and several members of the Staff of the School of Oriental Studies. I am especially indebted to Dr. J. M. Harden for suggestions.

[N.B.—To avoid the necessity for casting special type the apostrophe is replaced by the *tilde*.]

Indice de alguãs palavras Abexins que vaõ espalhadas nesta Historia com a significaçaõ que tem.

AB **Pay.**

አብ Eth. **አ·ብ** in the sense of God is retained in Amharic, in which the common word for "father" is **አባት** (pr. pl.).

BA SEMA AB, ÙÀ OLD, ÙÀ MANIFAS KEDUS HADU AMLAC;

በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : አሐዱ : አምላክ :

en nome do Padre, e do filho e do spiritu santo hũ sô Deos.

ABÂ **Pay. Vulgarmente por este nome chamaõ aos frades. Assy como nos dizemos frei fulano ett.** (etc.?).

አባ Eth. Amh.

ABÂUY **Nilo.** i.e. the Blue Nile.

——— **አባያ**[A], **አባዊ**[A]: "Abawi (corrupte plerisque scriptoribus . . . Abauhi)" Ludolf. "Abauhi pro Abahui" id. *Comm. in Hist. Aeth.* Moirié, *Histoire de l'Éthiopie*, ii, 8, gives transliterations of 14 forms. Of these Abanhi seems to be a reading of the same Roman transcript.

ABETACHUN **He como entre nos Dom.**

Cf. Guidi. Vocabolario, 455.

አቤቱሁን[A1]

ABETÔ **Quasi o mesmo, mas dasse a Principes.**

አቤቱ[A1]

ABEZÂ **Cozinheira mor.**

አበዛ[A], **ንባዝያት**[E]

[1] Eth. root.

ABOLÂ **Hum monte em Gojam, que tem hũ pico muito alto.**

Marked in Roman script on map accompanying MS. of Almeida's *History*. The sites of Abola and that of Debra Libanos on this map agree with those given in maps: (1) by Almeida, Mendez, Pays, and Lobo in Cramoisy, *Relations de divers voyages curieux*, Paris, 1672; (2) in *Voyage historique d'Abyssinie du R. P. Jerome Lobo*, Paris, 1728; (3) by Tellez in Ludolf, *Historia Aethiopica*, 1683, as against those marked in Almeida 1640 and 1645 appearing in Beccari, *La Storia d'Etiopia*, Rome, 1903.

ACÊ **ou** ACEGUÊ **He como entre nos alteza ou magestade.**

See Moirié, *Histoire de l'Éthiopie*, ii, pp. 13–15.

ሐዲ E or ——ጊ E, ኣጤ A

ADAMÂS **Diamante.**

ኣድማስ E, A 1

ADAMÂS SEGUED [2] **Diamante adora. nome do Emperador.**

ኣድማስ : ሰገድ A, E **Menas, ou Minàs.**

ADARÂ CHRISTÔS **Penhor de Christo.**

ou ADARÔ

ኣደራ A 3 : ክርስቶስ [4] or ኣደሮ

AF **Boca.**

ኣፍ E, A

AFA CHRISTÔS **Boca de Christo.**

ኣፈ : ክርስቶስ

AMÂTA **ou** AMÊTA CHRISTÔS **Serva de Christo.**

ኣመተ E : (or ?) ክርስቶስ

AMÂTA SEON **Serva de Siaõ.**

ኣመተ : ጽዮን [5]

AMÂTA OANGUEL **Serva do Evangelho.**

ኣመተ : ወንጌል E, A 6

[1] ἀδάμας.

[2] See Lud. *Hist.* ii. 1. 35.

[3] Eth. root ደደረ.

[4] Χριστός.

[5] Σιών from Heb.

[6] εὐαγγέλιον.

AMD **Coluna.**
ዐምድ E, A

AMDA SEON **Coluna de Siaõ.**
ዐምደ : ጽዮን

AMDA HAYMANOT **Coluna da fee.**
ዐምደ : ሃይማኖት E, A

AMA GUERGUÎS **May de S. George.**
እመ E 1 **: ገዮርጊስ** 2

AMLAC **Deus.**
አምላክ E, A

AMELMAL **Verdura.**
ሐመልማልE, **አ- - - ሎ** A

AMELMALA ORC **Verdura do Ouro.**
ሐመልማለ : ወርቅ E, A

AMORÂ **Passaros grandes.**
አሞሪ. A

AMÇÂLÂ CHRISTÔS **semelhante a Christo.**
አምሳለ E, A **: ክርስቶስ**

ARAYÂ ÇAGAHÛ **figura de seu corpo.**
አርአያ E 3 **: ሥጋሁ** E, A

ASCA **Ramo.**
ዐጽቅ E 4 **አጽቅ** Amh. ling. litt. **አጥቅ** vulg.

ASCA GUERGUÎS **Ramo de S. Jorge.**
ዐጽቅ : ገዮርጊስ

ASCAL **Cacho.**
አስካል E, A

ASCALA CHRISTÔS **Cacho de Christo, por que elle he vide.**
አስካለ : ክርስቶስ

ASB **Premio.**
ዐስብE, **አ- -** A

[1] Retained in Amh. in the vocative **እማማ.**

[2] Γεώργιος.

[3] The verb is not found in Amh. but one of the derived substantives **ሪ.አያ** survives.

[4] Acc. or from the construct state in name following.

ASBA CHRISTÔS **Premio de Christo.**
ዐስበ : ክርስቶስ

ASBÔ **O mesmo.**
ዐስቦ[1]

ASF **Capa.**
ዐጽፍ[E], **ኣ – –**[A]

ASFA CHRISTÔS **Vestido de Christo.**
ዐጽፈ : ክርስቶስ

ASGNEDER **Os Turcos dizẽ Escander, quer dizer**
ኣስክንድር **Alexandre doude chamaõ Escandria a Alexandria.**

ASMACHE **Capitaõ.** Here a general term for the dage—, granhe—, kanhe—, q.v., and cf. Massaja, *Lectiones Grammaticales*, p. 255.

ኣዝማች[A] From **ዘመተ**[A] to raid. For Arab. *zmṭ* décamper, see Dozy, i, 603, whence the name of the military caste which deserted from Psammeticus (Ἀσμάχ), Herod. ii, 30. Cf. also Rawlinson in loco, note 2.

ASNAF **Confins.**
ኣጽናፍ[E, A.I.I.]

ASNAF SEGUED **os confins adorẽ. nome do Emperador**
ኣጽናፍ : ሰገድ **Gladios, ou Claudio.**

ASSARÂ CHRISTÔS **Pegada de Christo.**
ኣሠረ[E] **: ክርስቶስ**

ATHANATEUS **Athanasio.**
ኣትናቴዎስ[2]

ATRONÇ **Estante.**
ኣትሮንስ[E, A3]

ATRONÇA MARIÂM **Estante de Maria.**
ኣትሮንሰ : ማርያም[4]

AZÂGE **Dezembargador.**
ኣዛዝ[A 5]

[1] Pronom. suff. 3rd pers. m. s.
[2] Ἀθανάσιος. [3] θρόνος.
[4] Μαριάμ from Heb.
[5] From **ኣዘዘ**[E, A]

AKÂBY **Guarda.**
ዐቃቢ E, A

AKABY ESSAT **Guarda do fogo. E dignidade, e officio grande na Corte, significa guarda do Emperador ao qual entendẽ pello fogo; por que ha de alumiar a todos; aquentar, e fomentar os bons, queimar, ou castigar aos maos.**
ዐቃቢ : እሳት E, A

ANDÂKÊ **a Rainhà que nos chamamos Candace.**

Here used apparently of a queen of Axum; in origin a proper name and subsequently the title of the queens of Meroe.

ሐንደኬ[1]

BAHAR, ou BAR **Mar.**
ባሕር E, A **ባር** A, V

BAR SEGUED **O Mar adore. he nome de algũs homes.**
ባር : ሰገደ

BAR -NAGAES **Gouvernador do Mar, ou das terras maritimas.**
ባር : ነገሠ E, A

BARRO **Entrada, Porto, Porta.**
በር A 2 3

BARACAT **Offerta.** Cf. Guidi, 325.
በረከት E, A

BARACATA EGZIHBEHER **Offerta de Deos.**
በረከተ : እግዚአብሔር E, A

BARACATÔ **omesmo.**
በረከቱ [3]

BAGEROANDA **dignidade.** Cf. Guidi, 350.
ብግር A 4 **: ወንደ** A

BAHARY **natureza.**
ባሕርይ E, A.1.1

[1] Καvδάκη (Gr. transcript).
[2] Cf. Galla, "Barri" (E. C. Foot).
[3] Pronom. suff. 3rd. pers. m. s. (Eth.).
[4] (**በገረ** A measure for the foundation of a house.)

BARCENÂ **Chamaõ a sua Alagoa de Dambeà; por ter huã**
ባር : ስንኣ E **ilha chamada Senà; e por ser taõ grande**
lhe chamaõ Bar id est Mar.

BEL **riqueza.**
ባዕል E 1

BELÂ CHRISTÔS **riqueza de Christo.**
ባዕለ : ክርስቶስ

BELÂTINA **Menino, moço.**
ብላቴና A

BELÂTINA ou BELATINOCHE GOITÂ **Dignidade na Corte**
ብላቴንጌታ A : or **ብላቴኖች : ጌታ** 2 **a mayor que hâ**
abaixo de Ras. quer dizer senhor dos criados do
Emperador.

BEGA **Carneiro.**
በግዐ E 3 **በግ** A

BEGAMEDER **Terra de Carneiros. ha hũ reino que tem**
በጌምድር E **este nome.**

BERR **Prata.**
ብር A, **ብረር** E

BERR **Hum rio deste nome em Gojam.**
——— Marked "Barra" on accompanying map.

BET **Caza.**
ቤት E. A

BETANGÛS **Caza grande como de Rey.**
A round as opposed to a rectangular house. Guidi, 337.
ቤተ : ንጉስ

BETHUADET **Caza do amor. id est o privado por**
anthomazia. Also title of a Privy Councillor.
ቤተ : ወዲድ ውድ A (Eth. **ተዋደደ**, agree).

BETER **Bordaõ.**
በተር E. A

BETRA SELÁSSÊ **bordaõ da Trindade. he nome que tem**
በተረ : ሥላሴ **alguš Abexins.**

1 **ባል** A represents — in its meaning "lord".
2 Cf. Galla. "Goita" (Viterbo). 3 Acc.

BIRINDÔ **Carne de Vaca crua que he Igoaria muita**
ብርንዲ A **prezada dos Abexins.**

BUCÔ **Maça de armas. he nome dos Galas. Este nome**
? **ቡቖ** **por alcunha, teve hũ Viz Rey grande Catholico, do qual nesta historia se fala muitas veses.**

Galla "Bokù" (Viterbo's transcript) "sceptre".

? Eth. **ቡቖ**, litmus.

Eth. script is used for N. Galla, but I have not been able to trace Bokù in this.

CAFL **Parte, ou quinhaõ.**
ክፍል E, A

CAFLA CHRISTÔS **quinhaõ de Christo.**
ክፍለ : ክርስቶስ

CAFLA MARIÂM **quinhaõ de Maria.**
ክፍለ : ማርያም

CAFLÔ **omesmo por syncope.**
ክፍሎ[1]

ÇAFELAÕ **Xumo, ou governador de alguãs terras como ou dos Damotes.**

ጻፈላም A i.e. **ጸሐፈ** E **: ላህም** E

CANTIBA **Xumo, ou governador de terras como o de**
ከንቲባ A **Dambeá, e outros.**

CATAMÂ **Arrayal.** Primary meaning in Eth. "summit"; commonly used of the King's camp.
ከተማ E, A

CANÂFRA CHRISTÔS **Beiços de Christo. He nome de algũs Abexins.**

ከናፍረ E **: ክርስቶስ** E. pl. of **ከንፈር** E, A. The Eth. word connotes more than the Amh., in which the meaning "lip" only is retained.

CEL **Imagẽ.**
ሥዕል E, A, also **ሠዕል** A, **ሠል** A (Isenberg, 1841), **ስል** A (Guidi).

CELÂ CHRISTÔS **Imagẽ de Christo.**
ሥዕለ : ክርስቶስ

CEBELA **Verde como das Searas tenrras.**
ሰብለ E[2]

[1] Pronom. suff. 3rd pers. m. s. [2] Acc.

CEBELA OANGUEL **Verde do Evangelho.**
ሰበለ : ወንጌል E, A

CEBELÔ **Omesmo por syncop.**
ሰ·በሎ [1]

COLÂ **terra quente.** i.e. land below 1,800 metres above sea-level.
ቆላ A (**ቀለወ** E to parch).

CORBAN **Offerta. Kedus Corban, chamaõ ao santissimo**
ቀርባን E, A 2 **sacramẽto da Eucharistia.**

DABER **Monte ou Mosteiro.**
ደ·በር E, A

DEBRA ALELÔ **monte ou Mosteiro da Alleluia.**
ደ·በረ : ሃሌ A **ሉ** [3]

DEBRA LIBANOS **monte e Mosteiro de Libano.** See note
ደ·በረ : ሊባኖስ on Abola.

DEBRA ZEITE **Monte Olivete.**
ደ·በረ : ዘይት E, A

DEBRA NEGUEDGUAT **Monte de Rayos.**
ደ·በረ : ነ·ጕ·ደ·ጓ·ድ E, A. The Eth. nominal prefix (**ነ** before a labial instead of **መ**) is incorporated in the verb in Amharic.

DEBRA ORC **mõte douro.**
ደ·በረ : ወርቅ E, A

DAGE **Porta da Caza.**
ደጅ A, **ደጂ** E

DAGE ASMACHE **Capitaõ da Porta. He titulo de honra**
ደጅ·ዘማች· **como o de Vis Rey.** "Autrefois général des frontières." Morié.

DAM **Sangue.**
ደም E, A

DAMÂ CHRISTÔS **Sangue de Christo.**
ደመ : ክርስ·ቶስ

[1] Pronom. suff 3rd pers. m. s. [2] *κορβᾶν* from Heb.
[3] Apparently transcribed from Heb. with pronom. suff. 3rd pers. m. s. The usual Eth. form is **ሃሌ·ሉ·ያ** from *ἀλληλούϊα*.

DAMÔ **omesmo por syncop.**
ደሞ [1]

DAMBEÂ **Hũ reino deste nome.**
ደምብያ

DÂRAGOT **Dadiva graciosa.** See Guidi, 659.
ደረጎት [A]

DEGÂ **Terra fria.** i.e. land *c.* 2,400 m. above sea-level.
ደጋ [A], **ደግዓ** [A old orth.] (Cf. **አደገ** [A] to grow.)

DEL **Vitoria.**
ድል [A] from (?) **ደሐለ** [E] III.

DELÂ CHRISTÔS **Vitoria de Christo.**
ድለ : ክርስቶስ

DELÔ **omesmo por syncop.**
ድሎ [1]

DEBTERÂ **O tabernaculo de Moyses. o mesmo nome** **ደብተራ.** [E, A] **daõ aos Prebendados, e Cantores das Igrejas.**

DEBTERÂ GOITÂ **Xumo, ou Governador dos prebẽdados,** **ደብተራ : ጊታ** **e Cantores.**

DERAGANDAR **Retaguarda.**
ደረ [A] **ግንደ** [A] (**ድኅር** [E]) Lit. "frontier of Gondar".

EDA MARIAM **maõ de Maria.**
እደ [E] **: ማርያም, እጅ** [A]

EGZIABEHER **Deos.**
እግዚአብሔር

ELÇÂ **Elias.** Elisha not Elijah. The Eth. is here nearer to the Heb.
ኤልሳዕ than to the LXX. Dillman points out that places of agreement with the Heb. rather than the Gr. suggest use of the Hexapla. Dr. Charles suggests survivals of an earlier text made in many cases direct from the Heb. Littmann follows Guidi, who conjectures that the Abyssinian revisers used an Arabic version of the Jew Saadia Gaon, to account for accords between the Eth. and Heb. O.T. Unlike **ኤልሳዕ, ኤልያስ** is a transliteration of *Ἠλίας*.

[1] Pronom. suff. 3rd pers. m. s.

ELÔS ou ELIÔS **omesmō que Julios ou Julio.** "Julius
ኤልያስ[1] chamase tam bem Elos," Almeida, Index.

EMANÂ CHRISTÔS **maō dereita de Christo.**
የማነ[E 2] **: ክርስቶስ**

EMANÂ DELEOS **maō dereita de Vitoria.**
የማነ[2] **: ድሎስ** (?) **ድል** + pronom. suff. 3rd pers. m. s. and —?

EOHA CHRISTÔS **Irmaō de Christo.**
ኦኀወ[E 3] **: ክርስቶስ**

ESCANDER **Alexandre.**
አስክንድር Also **አለ——**. Ἀλέξανδρος and Ἀλεξάνδρεια came into Eth. direct from Gr. The abbreviated forms are due to their introduction through Arabic.

ESCANDRIA **Alexandria.**
አስክንድርያ

ESCANAFER **Berço.**
አስክናፍር Traced only as a proper name.

EUSTATIOS **Estacio.**
ኤዎስጣቴዎስ[4]

EUSTÔS e JUSTÔS **Justo, nome tomado deste S^to^ Martir.**
ዮስጦስ[5]

FACILADÂS **Basilides santo.**
ፋሲላደስ[6]

FACIL **Deminotino de faciladas, como de francisco chico.**
ፋሲል

FANTÂ CHRISTÔS **quinhaō de Christo.**
ፈንታ[A] **: ክርስቶስ**

FANTÔ **o mesmo por syncope.**
ፈንቶ[7]

FARTATÂ **Nome dos Agaus significa covas, ou lapas em**
ፈርጣጣ[A] **quese escōdē.**

[1] Αἴλιος.
[2] Analogous cases of transliteration of short vowels occur in this list.
[3] Or **ኦኀ**.
[4] Εὐστάθιος. [5] Ἰοῦστος.
[6] ? Βασιλείδης, see Dillman, Lex. Nom. Prop.
[7] Pronom. suff. 3rd pers. m. s.

FEÇÂ SEON **Alegria de Siaõ.**
ፋሥሓ E : ጽዮን, ፋስሐ A

FECUR EGZY **Amado de Deos.**
ፋቁር E 1 : እግዚኦ

FETELÊ SELASSÊ **fio da Trindade.**
? ፈጥለ E : ሠላሴ E, A *é* may represent another form or case ending or merely a phonetic variant or corrupt transliteration. The general accuracy of the transcript and the occurrence of a like ending in Haylê Christôs (q.v.) make the last named improbable.

FIRIDÂ **Vagua destinada ao talho; como victima em latim.**
ፋሪያ A

GLADIOS **Claudio.**
ገላውዴዎስ 2 also ዎ″.

GRANHE **Maõ esquerda. E esquerdo.**
ግራኝ A For transcripts of sixteen forms of the proper name see Moiré, ii, 238.

GRANHE ASMACHE **Capitaõ da maõ, ou ala esquerda.**
ግራኝ : አዝማች

GOITÂ **Senhor.**
ኮዲታ A, ኔታ A ? from ኮሶት E, A (Guidi).

GOJAM **Hum reino aqui o Nilo rodea, e onde nace.**
ጎጃም or ጐዛም

GOJAMA NAGAES **Xumo, ou Governador de huã Comarca do Reino Gojam.**
ጎጃመ : ንጉሠ E, A

GUEBRA CHRISTÔS **Servo de Christo.**
ገብረ E, A : ክርስቶስ

GUEBRA MASCAL **servo da Crus.**
ገብረ : መስቀል E, A

GUEBRA MARIAM **servo de Maria.**
ገብረ : ማርያም

GUEDEON **Gedeaõ.**
ጌዴዎን 3

[1] E and A verb. [2] Κλαύδιος [3] Γεδεών from Heb.

GUETA ÇEMANI **Getsamany.**
ጌቴሴማኔ[1]

HAYMANOT **fee.**
ሃይማኖት E. A

HAILĂ **força, ou fortaleza.**
ኀይለ E 2

HAYLÊ CHRISTÔS **fortaleza de Christo.**
?**ኀይለ : ክርስቶስ**

HAYLOU **omesmo por syncope.**
ሓይሎው[3]

ICHEGUÊ **o geraldos dos frades de Tecla Haimanod.**
ኢጌኔ A

IMRA CHRISTÔS **guie Christo.**
ያምራሕ E **: ክርስቶስ** The verb is not found in Amh., but a derived substantive and adverb occur.

JULIÔS **Julio.**
ዩልዮስ[4]

KANHE **maõ dereita.**
ቀኝ A

KANHE ASMACHE **Capitaõ da maõ, ou ala dereita.**
ቀኝ : አዝማች A

KEBÂ CHRISTÔS **Unçaõ de Christo.**
ቅብአ E **: ክርስቶስ ቅባ** A

KERILOS **Cyrilo.**
ቂርሎስ[5] or **ጊ''**

KEZAR **Cezar.**
ቄሳር[6]

LAMALMOU **Hũ monte muito alto, e nomeado.** Referring to
ለመለሙው A[7] the Pass 9490′ (Portal) or to an adjacent height?

[1] Γεθσημανῆ from Heb.

[2] Acc. ——A Or a form in *ā*? a vowel ending being implied in the word with the pronom. suffix.

[3] Pron. suff. 3rd pers. m. s. (Amh.). [4] Ἰούλιος.

[5] Κύριλλος [6] Καῖσαρ.

[7] From Eth. and Amh. verbal root.

LEBS **Vestido.**
ልብስ [E, A]

LEBSÂ CHRISTÔS **Vestido de Christo.**
ልብሰ : ክርስቶስ

LEBASSŸ **O mesmo.**
ልብስዩ [1]

LEBNA **Incenço.** i.e. styrax, frankincense. The usual word for "incense" is ዕጣን [E], ዕ—— [A].
ልብነ [E 2] ልግንጌ [A]

LEBNA DANGUIL **Incenço da Virgem ; nome do bautismo do Emperador David.**
ልብነ : ዳንግል [E, A]

LIB **Coraçaõ, sizo, prudencia.**
ልብ [E, A] rad. ለበበ

LIBOUÂ **sezudo, prudente.**
ልቡወ [E 3]

MÂCABÔ **guarda.**
ሠዓቦዮ [E 4] ዐቦ, is retained in Amh

MAI **Agoa.**
ማይ [E] Retained in Amh. lng. litt. in ማየ : ኣይኅ the Deluge.

MAI BEZÔ **muito agoa.**
ማይ : በዘ·ፆ [E 4] በዘ· [A]

MAI OINÔ **Agoa das Vas.** (? uvas.) Cf. Guidi, 587.
ማይ : ወይኖ [A] (from ——ን [E, A], i.e. *οἶνος*).

MAI JAGRÂ **Agoa das galinhas do Mato.** Cf. Guidi, 638.
ማይ : ጃግሬ. [A]

MAI GUAGÂ **Agoa que vai fazendo estrondo.**
ማይ : ——

MAHADERÂ MARIAM **morada de Maria.**
ማሓደሬ. [E, A 5] : ማርያም

[1] Pronom. suff. 1st pers. s. (Amh.).
[2] Acc. *λίβανος*.
[3] Acc.
[4] Pron. suff. 3rd pers. m. s.
[5] Eth. "dwelling-place"; in Amh. the word receives the meaning of a "book-cover". ? Pron. suff. 3rd pers. f. s.

MALAC **senhorio, ou poderes.**
መለኽ This form has not been traced. Eth. root **መለከ**. Here evidently as in names following.

MALAC SEGUED **o senhorio adore.**
መለኽ : ሰገደ

MALAC DEB **sogeitador do Usso.**
መለኽ : ደ·ብ E, A

MALACOT **Divindade.**
መለኮ·ት E, A

MALACOTAUIT **Divina.**
መለኮ·ታዊ·ት E

MANGUESTA **Reino.**
መ·ንግሥ·ት E, A 1

MANGUESTA SAMAYAT **Reino do Ceo.**
መ·ንግሥ·ት : ሰማያ·ት E, A 2

MARIÂM **Maria.**
ማርያም

MARIAM CENÂ **fermosura de Maria.**
ማርያም : ሥነ· E 3

MARIAM CINQUÊ **matalotagẽ de Maria.**
ማርያም : ሥንቅ A

MANIFAS **Vento e spirito.**
መ·ንፈስ E Retained in Amh. in ———— : **ቅዱስ** only, although the verb survives.

MANIFAS KEDÛS **Spirito santo.**
መ·ንፈስ : ቅዱስ E, A

MASCAL **Crus.**
መስቀል E, A

MASCALA CHRISTÔS **Crus de Christo.**
መስቀለ : ክርስ·ቶስ

[1] But in Eth. acc.
[2] But in Eth. pl.
[3] Pronom. suff. 3rd pers. f. s. Connected by Dillmann with rad. inus. **ሠነ** not with ——**ዐ**.

MASCALÔ **omesmo.**
መስቀሎ[1]

MANQUER **milagre.**
መንክር E 2 **መንክር** = *τέρας*; **ትእምርት** = *σημεῖον*; **ኀይል** = *δύναμις*; but the Eth. words are used almost indifferently by the translators of the N.T. The use of the first is, however, more restricted than that of the second, **መንክር** never being used to translate *σημεῖον*, whereas *τέρας* is sometimes represented by **ትእምርት**

MECANA SELASSE **Lugar da Trindade.**
መካነ E : **ሠላሴ** E, A

MELCA **fermosura.** Or "likeness".
መልክ A **አ** E 3

MELCÂ CHRISTÔS **fermosura de Christo.**
መልክአ : ክርስቶስ

MINASSÊ **Menas ou Minás, meu.**
ምናሴ[4]

MISERATA CHRISTÔS **Braço de Christo.**
መዘራዕተ E : **ክርስቶስ**

MOGAÇA **honra ou dilicias.** à **Raynha chamaõ por este**
ሞገሰ E 5 **nome ajuntadoo cõ o do Emperador, como Malac Mogaça molher do Emperador Malac Segued.**

NESSAHÂ CHRISTÔS **Penitencia de Christo.**
ንስሓ E, A : **ክርስቶስ**

NESSÔ **o mesmo por syncope.**
? **ንስሖ**

NEBRED **Governador das terras de Accum.**
ነብርድ A i.e. **ንቡረ : ኤድ** E (—**ዩ** A, but in the composite word the Eth. form is retained).

[1] Pron. suff. 3rd m. s. [2] The verb remains in Amh.
[3] Acc. [4] *Μανασσῆς* but according better with the Heb.
[5] Acc. Amh. **ሙገሳ** praise.

NEFAS **Vento.**
ነፈስ E, A

NEFAS MANCHÂ **serto lugar muito ventozo.**
ነፈስ : (?) ምሹነጇ In Roman script on map accompanying Almeida's *History*.

OAÇ **fiador.**
ዋስ A From **ወሐሰ**

OANGUEL **evangelho.**
ወንጌል E, A

OANGUELAUIT **evangelica.**
ወንጌላዊ·ት E 1

OCENAMBÂ **monte que está nos confins.**
ወሰነ E, A : **አምባ** A

OYNADEGÂ **Terra temperada, nem muito fria, nẽ muito**
ወይነ E, A : **ደጋ** A **quente.** i.e. land 1,800–2,400 m. above sea-level.

OLD **Filho.**
ወልድ· E, A

OLDA CHRISTÔS **filho de Christo.**
ወልደ : ክርስ·ቶስ

OLDA DAVID **filho de David.**
ወልደ : ዳዊ·ት 2

OLDA HAIMANOT **filho da fee.**
ወልደ : ሃይማኖ·ት

OLDA GUERGUÎS **filho de S. Jorge.**
ወልደ : ጊዮ·ርጊስ

OLDABÂ **Lugar no deserto do tacazė em que moravaõ**
ዋልድባ **muitos Ermitaẽs.** Alluding to the austerity of these anchorites the Amharic proverb says that "there is dancing at times even in the province of Waldeba".

OGARÂ **Provincia que comfine com Dambeà.**
ወገረ.

ONAG SAGUED **serta terra; foi nome do Emperador**
ወናግ A : **ሰገድ** **David.**

[1] Fem. [2] Ααβίδ from Heb.

ORACY CHRISTÔS **herdeiro de Christo.**
ወራሲ [E 1] : **ክርስቶስ**

OLETA GUERGUÎS **filha de S. Jorge.**
ወለተ [E, A] : **ጊዮርጊስ**

OLETA SEON **filha de seaõ.**
ወለተ : ጾዮን

ORCAMBÂ **Monte de Ouro.**
ወርቅ : ኤምባ

OZIERÔ **Desendente de algũ Emperador.** Cf. Guidi, 588.
ወደዘር[A] or **ዊ——**[A]

PHANÂ **Tocha.**
ፋና [A] ? *φανή*. **ፋኑስ** is *φανός*. Cf. also Dozy, ii, 284.

PHANÂÊ **Minha tocha.**
ፋናዬ [A 2]

RAS **Cabeça—entre as dignidades do Imperio Abexỹ a mayor chamaõ Ras ; abaixo do Emperador tũdo-mãda e governa.**
ራስ [A 3]

ROMANA HORC **Romam de ouro.**
ሮማነ [E, A] : **ወርቅ**

SACALÂ **Sala do Emperador.**
ሰቀላ [E, A] Lit. a tent. A rectangular house. Guidi. An Amharic proverb says that "the saqala is the worst of houses . . ."

SENÂ CHRISTOS **fermosura de Christo.**
ሠነ [E] : **ክርስቶስ**

SEBAHAT LAB **honnores ao Pay.**
ስብሐተ [E 4] : **ለአብ**

SELTAN SEGUED **o poder adore.**
ሥልጣነ [E, A] : **ሰገደ**

SERÇA DANGUIL **germen Virginis.**
ሠርጸ [E] : **ድንግል**

SERÇA CHRISTÔS **germen Christi.**
ሠርጸ : ክርስቶስ

[1] ? *i* remaining constant instead of declining to *ĕ*. ——**ኪ**[A]
[2] Pronom. suff. 1st pers. s. (Amh.).
[3] From Eth.
[4] Retained in Amh. in the name of the feast ———— : **ንግሀ**.

SERÇÂ **Lugar de Gojam, noqual Ras Cela Christôs tinha seu Arayal.** Marked in Roman script on map accompanying Almeida's *History*. Perhaps ፅርሕ (acc.). Cf. ወሻ : ጥርሕ, or as above.

TABOT **Arca do Testamento.** The corresponding Heb. word is ታቦት E, A used of Noah's Ark, but not in the O.T. of the Ark of the Covenant. Gr. κιβωτός for both.

TECLA HAIMANOD **Planta da fee.**
ተክለ E, A : ሃይማኖት

TECLA : EMANUEL **Planta de Manoel.**
ተክለ : አማኑኤል [1]

TECLA SELUS **Planta de Trindade.**
ተክለ : ሠሉስ E, A

TENÇA CHRISTÔS **Resurreicaõ de Christo.**
ትንሣኤ E : ክርስቶስ ትንሣኤ = *ἀνάστασις*, and ኢ..ያመወት = ? or ትንሠኣ E *ἀθανασία*. These Eth. words are used indifferently to translate *ἀνάστασις* in the N.T. ትንሣኤ is not used to translate *ἀθανασία* in the three places where the latter occurs.

TIGRÊMAHÔN **Principe governador do Reino de Tigrè.**
ትግሬ : መኮንን E, A

UXÂ **Caõ.**
ወሻ A

UXÂTERS **serto lugar que assy chama quer dizer dente de Caõ.**
ወሻ : ጥርሕ E, A

XUMET **mando ou governo.**
ሸሙት A

XUMO **governador.**
ሸሙ A [2]

ZÄ *de* ZÄ CHRISTOS **de Christo.**
ዘ E ዘክርስቶስ

ZÄ MARIAM **de Maria.**
ዘማርያም

[1] Ἐμμανουήλ from Heb.

[2] Pronom. suff. 3rd pers. m. s.

ZÃ GUERGUIS **de S. Jorge.**
ዘጊዮ·ርጊስ

ZÃ AUREAT **dos Apostolos.**
ዘሐዋርያ·ት E, A

ZÃ DANGUIL **de Virgẽ.**
ዘድንግል E, A

ZÃ SELASSE **de Trindade.**
ዘሥላሴ

ZÃ BAESRAEL **de Israel.**
ዘበእስራ·ኤል [1]

ZÃ MANIFAS KEDÛS **do spirito santo.**
ዘመንፈስ : ቅዱስ

ZÃ MINÂS **de saõ Menas.**
ዘሚናስ [2]

ZÃRA JACOB **semente de Jacob.**
ዘር A **አ** E **: ያዕ·ቆ** [3]

ZÃRA JOANNES **semente do Joaõ.**
ዘርአ : ዮ·ሐንስ [4]

ZÃN(*or* U)ÃN(*or* U)A **Costas.**

ZÃN(*or*U)AN(*or* U)Ã CHRISTÔS **Costas de Christo.**

ZICRÔ **lembrança.**
ዝክሮ E, A [5]

[1] Ἰσραήλ from Heb. [2] Μηνᾶς. [3] Ἰακώβ from Heb.
[4] Ἰωάννης from Heb. [5] Pronom. suff. 3rd pers. m. s.

ALMEIDA'S "HISTORY OF ETHIOPIA": RECOVERY OF THE PRELIMINARY MATTER

By E. Denison Ross

SINCE the appearance of the last number of this *Bulletin* I have had the good fortune to find the outer cover of the King's College manuscript of Almeida's *History of Ethiopia*, which had hitherto been missing. The discovery is important, for attached to this cover there was not only the original title page, but also the "Preliminary Matter" referred to by Marsden in his Catalogue, occupying in all eleven folios.[1] The contents are as follows :—

(1) Fol. I*a* contains the title page as it was presumably intended for publication. We now see that the original was somewhat longer than the version given in the British Museum manuscript; my conjecture that the latter had been copied exactly from the King's College manuscript was therefore incorrect.

(2) Fols. II*a*–III*a* contain Almeida's dedication to King John IV of Portugal. It begins thus :—

"To His Majesty the King Dom John IV our Lord. My Lord.—The History of Ethiopia is fitting for your Majesty on every ground: for apart from reasons more remote, the King Dom John III, of blessed memory, restored the Abyssinian Empire," etc.

This dedication was written after the accession of King John IV, and refers to the temporary inclusion of Portugal in the Spanish Empire.

(3) Fols. III*b*–V*a* contain Almeida's Prologue addressed to the curious and pious reader; which gives much interesting information regarding the genesis and composition of his History and a summary of the contents of the ten books. This Prologue is referred to once by Almeida in the course of his History, at the beginning of chapter 8 of Book II.[2]

(4) Fols. VII*a*–XI*a* contain a list of the Martyrs of Ethiopia. This list deals first with the Europeans who suffered martyrdom in Ethiopia, twelve in number; and secondly, with those natives of the country who gave their lives in the cause of the Holy Faith. As will be seen, references are given in each case to the chapters of the History

[1] The numbering of the folios which I adopted when the Preliminary Matter was still missing, and to which I have referred in my previous article, necessitates the numbering of these first eleven folios in Roman numerals.

[2] Signor Beccari had already called attention to this reference on page xlix of his *Introductio*.

in which these martyrdoms are mentioned. Seeing that the whole of the Preliminary part is wanting in Signor Beccari's admirable edition, I have felt it only due to the author to print the whole of this additional Portuguese text, and in doing so I have adhered as closely as possible to the peculiarities of the manuscript. For the sake of those who do not read Portuguese, I have attempted a translation of Almeida's Prologue. The style is careless and at times obscure, and I take this opportunity of thanking Professor Charpentier, of Upsala, for several valuable suggestions.

The list of Abyssinian words mentioned in my previous article, which occupy fols. 1*a*–4*a*, have now been dealt with carefully by Miss Gover, a student of this school, and appear in another part of the present number of the *Bulletin*. I regret that in my former article I omitted to refer to the valuable work done by Father Hosten in connexion with the Marsden manuscripts in the British Museum, which appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for the year 1910, pp. 437–61 (cf. 1914, p. 67).

Translation of Almeida's Prologue

With this wise and graceful simile,[1] the author and master of the Poetic Art [Horace] reproves the writer who is not consistent in the work he undertakes, varying so much in style, method, and diction that the work appears to be more like a bundle of rags than a garment in one piece. If this rule does not allow of or admit any exception, then I give judgment against myself, and declare that this book which I am writing ought never to see the light. Still, this (following) reason persuades me that I must undertake it and must go on with it.

A painting should conform to the figure which is being painted, so that it would be no less wrong to paint a *chimera* simply than to paint an object in various forms which it does not possess. The painter who represented the Devil with a lion's head, goat's horns, tiger's claws, and a monkey's tail was not less praised than he who painted an angel with the graces and beauty of the most delightful youth ever seen in the world.

Therefore, a painting, like a garment, should adapt itself to the object painted and clothed, and if an object has variety in itself one cannot criticize variety of style and language: particularly [when we realize] (as a modern scholar has remarked) that the Scriptures are that clothing of gold with which the Holy Church has adorned herself,

[1] i.e. the quotation from Horace beginning: *Humano capiti* (see below, p. 806)

pleasing and beautiful with the variety which always charms. Now, if in the world there exists an inconsistent and variable people, it is, as is well-known, the Abyssinians. Fame has indeed always made them known as such: but it will be evident from this History that what is told (about them) is a trifle in comparison with the real truth. Jeremy says *Si mutare potest Æthiops pellem suam*, which means that neither can the Ethiopian be made white, nor the pard or leopard be made of one colour. Many times I pondered over the Prophet's comparison of the variegation of the leopard with the colour of the Ethiopian: and it seems to me that he set out this parable because of that which the Ethiopians carry in their bodies and souls. For one should know that just as they do not change the black colour of their bodies (and it would be waste of time to whitewash an Ethiopian), in the same way they have a worse disfiguration in their soul, viz. they never remain of one colour. This really means that they are just as variable in that which concerns the soul as they are constant to that which pertains to the body: black in this (the body), so that there is not any water which would wash them clean: variable in the other (the soul), so that nothing which is good abides in them.

It will be seen, therefore, how greatly he [Urreta] erred who, in Valencia, wished to prove that the Abyssinians were always constant in the Catholic Faith, the truth being, on the contrary, that the Ethiopians are a people who, from the time of Queen Saba up to the time when the eunuch of Queen Candace(s) taught them the faith of Christ, were always half Jew, half Gentile: and from then onwards up to Frumentius or Abba Salama added that little they had of Christianity to their Paganism and Judaism. Thereafter -that is, after the year of Christ our Lord three hundred and twenty-seven up to the entry of the heresies of Dioscoros—quite apart from Paganism (though many of them were good Christians), the majority never gave up the ceremonies of the Mosaic Law. From the time when those heresies penetrated among them, which was (as I shall prove below) about 630 or 650 up to our time, they, although engulfed in heresies, still preserved Judaism.

Now that the rays of the Holy Faith of Rome have come to illuminate them, they have so rapidly gone blind with the brilliancy of the light that one may as well give up hope of their ever opening their eyes again.

It will be understood that it would be difficult to paint in a uniform style so many and various forms; therefore we shall not paint them

as they really are if we do not picture a new chimera, not invented or dreamt of but actual, so that all may know that this people is the greatest monstrosity which Africa (the mother of monsters) has ever revealed, even in her hidden and savage jungles.

Let me add, on the subject of this work, what I was going to say, namely, that my first intention is not to delight [the reader] with flowers of speech, but to relate only the truth to such as desire to accept it at its own value, without affectations and posturings, regarding which the poet has well said that they diminish rather than increase natural beauty.

In order to carry out my purpose, it is my duty to include in this book various extracts and fragments of certain chronicles or histories of the Abyssinians, faithfully translated from their language into our own; and I shall also make use of important passages in some of our Ecclesiastical histories. I shall quote certain letters, such as one from our glorious Patriarch, Saint Ignatius, to the Emperor Claudius, and many others from the Popes and Kings of Portugal addressed by them to the same. Others from Patriarchs and a number of our Fathers, in which, of course, the style and diction are various, as are the persons to whom or by whom they are written and the languages in which they were written, each of which has its own terms and its own phraseology.

Above all, I desire it to be known that Father Pero Paez (of whom I shall speak at length below) began to compose this History of Ethiopia, the Superiors in India having sent him a copy of one which had appeared recently in Valencia written by Father Frei Luis Urreta. This was in order that he might refute the many lies and errors that John Baltezar had put into the head of the aforesaid author. Father Pero Paez did his task, but as his main purpose was to refute, he did not produce so orderly and well arranged an history as was desirable: moreover, he was a Castillian and somewhat uncertain in the correct use of the Portuguese language in which he wrote, having already forgotten most of his Spanish, which he had not used for many years. But he made frequent use of Arabic, Turkish, Amarinha [Amharic], and the other languages of the books about Ethiopia which he had learnt.

For these reasons the Superior, who at that time was Padre Antonio, called me up amongst the many padres who happened to be present at an assembly we were holding at Gorgorra in the beginning of the year 1626, and ordered me for the service of God, and that the circum-

stances of that Christianity might come to the notice of many, to take upon myself to describe them. And this I did, but my duties were numerous and obliged me to go on my extensive travels, and afterwards in India these later years were not free from trouble for me. All these causes and the fact that Ethiopia filled so badly the promise held out by her, plunging herself into utter ruin, gave me a distaste for writing, and this work was not only much retarded but I nearly forgot all about it.

I was, however, obliged to continue the work by reason of an order which I received from our Very Reverend Father, General Mucio Vitelleschi, written on the 15th day of December, 1639, in which he employed these very words: "The work which your Reverence has taken in hand on the *Historia de Ethiopia* will, I expect, attain that degree of perfection with which, I am sure, you will compose it. And even if your official duties should not give your Reverence time to complete it quickly, in any case I recommend that your Reverence may arrange to push the work forward so that it may be issued in due time as well-achieved as is anticipated." Thus charged, I set myself with resolution to the task; in which, as I have said, I received much help from what Father Pero Paez had written, adding some historical details which had been more recently discovered and supplementing all those events which happened after the death of the said Father. These are so many and various during a period of twenty years that they exceed those of all previous centuries. I will arrange them in the best order I am able, and this will be the order:—

In the first book I deal with the position and physiognomy of the countries of the Abyssinian Empire; and at the same time with the various peoples which are there found, with their conditions, habits, and customs, in peace as well as in war. In the second I deal with the origin of the Abyssinian kings and with the genealogies of the Queen Sheba and of the King Solomon, the lists of the Emperors, with all that is known of them, and of the progress of the Holy Faith in Ethiopia down to the year of Christ our Lord 1500—for as very little is known of ancient times, it can all be well contained in a single book; which covers 2,500 years.

In the third, the happenings in Ethiopia from the time of King David, which was more or less the time when Ethiopia became known to the Portuguese, down to the year 1555, when the first Father of our Company entered that country; and here is recounted the entry into that country and the adventure of that very valiant Captain Dom

Christovam da Gama and of the 400 Portuguese which he took with him.

In the fourth is related all which happened in Ethiopia between the years 1556 and 1597, which is the period during which the Patriarch Dom Andre de Oviedo and his five companions lived. There is further recorded the death of the Emperor Claudius, and the life and death of Minas and Malac Segued.

In the fifth book I deal at length with the captivity of the Fathers Pero Paez and Antonio de Monserrate[1]: the martyrdom of the Father Abraham Maronita, the entry into Ethiopia of Father Pero Paez: the adventures of King Jacob and Za Dangul: the arrival of Fathers Antonio Fernandez and Lorenzo Romano: and of the Father Luis d'Azevedo and Francisco Antonio de Angelis, together with the many things that happened in the Empire from the death of Malac Segued down to the accession of the Emperor Susinios, or Seltan Segued.

In the sixth book (for the better knowledge of the many things which God performed by means of the Fathers of our Company) I give a general account of the condition in which they found Ethiopia in matters of Faith, and of the errors in which the Abyssinians had lived for many hundreds of years; and at the end of this book I reproduce what the chronicler of the Emperor Seltan Segued left written of his life, in that this has been of much use to me as outline, sketches, etc., for that which I have still to relate.

In the seventh book I write at great length on the adventures in the life of this Emperor, relating the progress which the Holy Catholic Faith made in Ethiopia in his day, down to the year 1622, in which this Emperor made public profession of it undisguisedly.

In the eighth we will relate the happy progress of the Faith during the four years which followed; especially the apogee which was reached with the arrival of the most Reverend Senhor Patriarch Dom A(l)fonzo Mendez.

In the ninth, of the decline which set in and which, in the year 1632, ended in a wretched wreck with the death of Seltan Segued.

In the tenth, how, in those eight years during which Facilidas (or Ferabras, which is the name he deserves) has reigned, both the Holy Faith and the Empire are declining and disappearing in such a manner

[1] Cf. Commentarius Mongolica Legationis, ed. Hosten: Memoirs of the As. Soc. Bengal, 1914, pp. 518-704; and Vincent Smith: Akbar the Great Mogul, pp. 171 seq., 193 seq.

that they are threatened with final and fatal ruin unless God take away that mighty hand with which He punishes this people and exercises towards them His infinite pity.

The last book, however, will be a source of edification and great consolation to all those who read it: for in it they will find illustrious examples of patience and endurance in the Holy (Catholic) Faith in many and very glorious martyrs who gave their lives for it: not only Fathers of our Company and other Europeans, but many Abyssinians of all classes: friars, priests, soldiers, captains, nobles, and plebians, men and women both young and old, the latter sometimes of venerable age. And in addition to those who gave their lives and attained the blessed fate of martyrdom, the rare examples are recounted of many who suffered great pains, loss, and confiscation of all their worldly goods in order not to be wanting in their duty as good Catholics; communicating only once (which was all that was demanded of them) with the heretics, offering often their head: not evading martyrdom, though sometimes the sword and fury of the tyrant might pass and spare them.

And since the world is, and always was, more full of toils than of pleasures, and these martyrs redounded so much to the glory of God and our Holy Faith, no one will be surprised to find the tenth book both longer and more comprehensive than many of the others. In the case of most of them a certain inequality could not be avoided, as the periods of time (dealt with in these books) are not equally eventful.

So that the readers may not criticize the occasional inconsistency of the tenses and the turn of phrase, I wish to call attention to the fact that sometimes I was in Ethiopia and at other times outside; and I went on with the book in the manner in which I began it, and have come to finish it in India; for this reason I write in the first books as one who was in that country, and in the later ones not thus but as one who was living in India, and it so happened that I began this book there and came to finish it in India.

THE TITLE PAGE.

[Folios I to VI—including the title page, which is written in large semi-Gothic letters—are on paper bearing the same watermark as Appendix I. Folios VII to XI are on paper from the same factory as that on which the main body of the text is written. Portuguese orthography was in a very fluid state at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and I have followed the peculiarities of the original MS. as closely as possible. The comma is always used where nowadays the *tilde* is employed, and is

moreover always on the second of two vowels coming together. The writer's habit of running the article and the pronouns together with a following or preceding word has the appearance of being intentional, and I have therefore adhered to it in the printed text.

Historia de Ethiopia a alta,
ou Abassia:
Imperio do Abexim, cujo Rey
uulgarmente he chamado
Preste Ioam
Trata da natureza da terra, e da gente, que apouoa;
dos Reys, que nella ouue; da Fê, que tiueram, etem;
e do muito. que os Padres da Companhia de
IESUS trabalharam polos reduzir a
uerdadeira, e sancta Fé da Igreia
Romana.
Pedicada â Magestade d'El Rey
D. Ioam o 4 Nosso senhor.
Composta pelo Padre Manoel de Almeida
da Companhia de IESUS, natural de Viseu.

THE PRELIMINARY MATTER.

A Magestade d'El Rey Dom Ioaõ o 4 N. Soõ

SENHOR

He a historia de Ethiopia propria de V. Magestade por todos os titulos: edeixando outros mais antigos, El Rej Dom Ioaõ Terceiro deboa memoria restaurou oimperio Abexim, tirandoo dopoder dos mouros de Adel, eentregandoo a seu Emperador Gladios, ou Claudio; epodendo tomar pera sj com toda ajustiça aomenos aterceira parte delle (porque esta lhe offereceo o Emperador Dauid pay de Gladios, quandolhe mandou pedir soccorro) naõ quiz oproueito temporal, senaõ somente o espiritual, que tambẽ se prometera. dedarẽ os Abexîs obediencia â santa feê Apostolica, deixando os erros Alexandrinos, epera isso lhes procurou dosummo Pontifice, e de sancto Ignacio nosso glorioso pay Bispos, e Padres, que os ensinassem; e Patriarcha, que os gouernasse; fiando de nossa companhia tam gloriosa empreza. Obras Heroicas, e grandiosas naõ se acabaõ empoucos annos, nẽ trazem consigo pequenas difficuldades: teue as esta tanto mayores; quanta era auentajem que fazia, ás mais famosas destes seculos.

Hũ quasi inteiro gastaraõ os filhos da Companhia em roçar o mato,

e espinhos, que as Heregias de Eutyches e Dioscoro tinhaõ produzido nos uastos campos, e incultas brenhas de Ethiopia, naõ perdoaraõ agastos, asuores, atrabalhos: passaraõ algũs largos annos decatiueiro: arriscaraõ muitos suas uidas: perderaõ nos outros nesta demanda ganhando gloriosas coroas de Martyrio, regando com seu sangue aseara, que laurauaõ com oarado do Euangelho.

Chegou emfim otempo, emque do ceo cayo abenignidade e misericordia diuina; deu asemente dapalaura de Deos odesejado [H*b*] fruito decento por hũ: rendeose aquella fortaleza de satanas: deu o Emperador Seltan Segued com todos os grandes deseu Imperio publica, e solenne obediencia ao Vigairo de Christo naterra: recolheose ao aprisco do Senhor aquelle rebanho desgarrado; entezouraraõse nos celeiros do Ceo almas sem conto.

Arrebentaua depura raiua oinferno; bramia oforte armado, uendose desapossado depraça, que tantas, centenas deannos possuira. Bradaraõ tambem ao Ceo peccados publicos: e parece quiz Deos podar, e prouar aquella sua noua uinha: e regar com sangue de Martyres seara deque desejaua fruito mais precioso: Preualeceo denouo a heregia; reuerdeceo, e floreceo auara, e sceptro damaldade. Dos Pastores, emestres hũs foraõ âforça desterrados, outros deixaraõ as uidas nas unhas dos lobos por naõ se apartarẽ do rebanho, nem deixarem sem oleite da doutrina celestial, epasto dos sacramentos aos cordeirinhos que guardauaõ. Destes tambem, e das ouelhinhas, foraõ muitas as que dẽixaraõ, naõ somente a lam dos beõs daterra, mas o sangue, eas uidas nos dentes, e unhas dasferas, queos tragaraõ, e espedaçaraõ.

Aquelles, que com grande magoa denossos coraçoẽs de là fomos lançados, uai em dez annos, que fazemos exquisitas diligencias porque se acuda com algũ soccorro (sendo, que naõ hẽ muito, oque se requere) aoremedio de tantos milhares dealmas: a obra de tanta gloria de Deos, e honra da nacaõ Portuguesa. Mas naõ hẽ muito, que este faltasse, pois naõ auia Rej Dom Ioaõ em Portugal: e is que nolo deu o Ceo. Agorasym, que tornou Deos o sceptro, e coroa Lusitana acuja era: afim sem duuida de V. Magestade, serenissima reconhecer por sua, etomar muito ásua conta tam propria, tampia, tam santa, etam louuauel empreza.

Seja pois do serenissimo Dom Ioaõ o Terceiro a Gloria, titulo, e renombre delibertador de Ethiopia das maõs dos Mouros: Serâ do serenissimo Dom Ioaõ o Quarto outro mais glorioso de Restaurador da sancta feẽ Catholica, Destruidor, e Assolador da Heregia naquelle

tam uasto, e estendido, imperio. O Serenissimo Dom Ioaõ Terceiro entregou [IIIa] aquelle Imperio ao Rey daterra: o Serenissimo Dom Ioaõ o Quarto o entregará ao Rey do Ceo; Sojeitandoo a seu Vigairo o Papa de Roma: eliurandoo do duro catiueiro do Pharao Egyptio; do schismatico, digo Patriarcha Alexandrino.

A Historia, que offereço, conta ao largo, oque aquj toquej em soma, polo que se uê, ser ella de V. Magestade naõ menos, que a empreza; naqual entrando opoderoso braço de V. Serenissima Magestade, dara materia aoutras mais cumpridas, e de mais uenturosos, e felices successos; aos quaes pelo mundo todo apregoará afama com mil bocas, ecom. as linguas detodas as Naçoe's, que opouoaõ: nẽ faltaraõ nouos Liuios, Homeros, e Virgilios Portuguezes, que com outro mais terso, esublime estilo os consagrem á immortalidade. Por ora ponha V. Magestade Serenissima os olhos benignos nesta pequena offerta, pois nasceo em tam ditosa estrella, que possa ser uista, e alumiada dos rayos do sol, que dâluz atoda a Lusitana monarchia.

Prologo ao Curioso, epio Leitor

Humano capiti ceruicem pictor equinam
Iungere si uelit, ac uarias inducere formas [*sic*]
Undiq collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
Desinat in piscem mulier formosa supernè,
Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?

Com esta prudente, egraciosa comparaçaõ reprehende o Autor, e Mestre da arte da poesia aqualquer escritor, que naõ he constante, e uniforme naobra, que emprende, uariando no estilo, no methodo, e nalinguajem de maneira que pareça ella mais pelote de giroẽs, que uestido de huã sò peça.

Se esta regra naõ tẽ, nem sofre exceiçaõ alguã, daqui dou a sentença contra mim, ẽjulgo que naõ deuia sair aluz este liuro, que escreuo. Porem, que apossa, edeua ter me persuade esta rezaõ. Apintura hade responder â figura que sepinta: desorte que naõ seria menor erro pintar muito uniforme huã Chimera, que pintar com uarias formas acousa, que as naõ tem; né he menos louuado opintor, que ao Demonio pinta com cabeça de leaõ, pontas de bode, unhas de tygre, cauda de mono; que aquelle que pinta hũ Anjo com agentileza, efermosura domais bem posto donzel, que omundo uio. Deue, pois apintura, como ouestido, acomodarse ácousa, que sepinta, e ueste; e quando acousa em sj he uaria, naõ sepode estranhar auariedade no estilo,

e linguajem, particularmente sendo os escritos. como notou hũ Douto Moderno, aquella uestidura deouro com que algreja santa seorna, apraziuel, euistosa com auariedade, que sempre custuma deleitar.

Ora se nomundo ha gente inconstante, e uaria, sabido he, que saõ os Abexis; portaes os apregoou sempre afama; mas desta historia constara, que he pouco, oque se diz, pera o que nelles hâ.

(Ierem. xiii, 23) *Si mutare potest Æthiops pellem suam* diz Ieremias *aut pardus uarietates suas.* He dizer, que nem o Ethiope pode serbranco, nem o pardo ou leopardo de huà so cor. Muitas uezes reparei em o Propheta ajuntar auariedade do pardo [IVa] com as cores dos Ethiopes; epareceme, que fez esta parelha pola que os Abexis tem no corpo, e alma; a saber, que assi como no corpo naõ mudaõ a cor negra, e he trabalho baldado *Æthiopem dealbare* assi na alma tem outra nodoa peor, e hê, nunca a terè de huà sô cor; que hê omesmo que serem tam uarios nas cores da alma, quam constantes nas do corpo: negros nestas, sem auer agua, que os possa lauar uarios einconstantes naquellas, pera naõ durar nelles bem algũ.

Donde se uerâ, quanto errou, quem em Valença quiz prouar que na sancta Feê Catholica foraõ elles sempre constantes; sendo pelo contrario os Abexis gente, que des da Rainha Sabâ ate o Eunucho da Rainha Candace lhes insinar a Feê de Christo, sempre foraõ meos Iudeus, meos gentios: dali ate otempo, de Fremonátos, ou Abba Salama ajuntaraõ esse pouco, que tinhaõ da Christandade com o Paganismo, e Iudaismo. Depois, a saber, des dos annos de Christo Nosso Senhor de trezentos, euintesete ate as Heregias de Dioscoro os entrarè; deixando o Paganismo (posto que muitos foraõ bõs Christaõs) os mais nunca largaraõ as ceremonias da lej de Moyses: e des do tempo em que as Heregias os penetraraõ, que he (como abaixo prouarej) pelos annos de seis centos etrinta, ou seis centos, e sincoenta atê nossos tempos, engolfados nas Heregias conseruaraõ o Iudaismo. Agora que os rayos da santa feê de Roma os hiaõ alumiando, tam depressa se cegaraõ com agrande claridade de sua luz, que se podem quasi perder as esperanças deos auerè mais de abrir em tempo algũ. Donde se uee bem, que mal se podè pintar cõ estilo uniforme tantas, etam uarias deformidades, pois os naõ pintaremos quaes em sy saõ, se naõ pintarmos huà noua Chimera, naõ fingida, nem sonhada, senaõ uerdadeira; de sorte que saiba omundo, que he esta gente amais estranha monstruosidade, que Africa, may demonstros, gerou em suas escondidas, e incultas brenhas.

Ajuntase ao sogeito destra obra, que he o que acabo de dizer. primeiramente ser meu intento nella naò deleitar com flores de palauras, mas contar singelamente auerdade, aquem aquizer estimar no que ella por sj ual, sem affeites e posturas. das quaes disse bem o Poeta, que soe mais danar, que acrecentar anatural fermosura.

Naturaq decus mercato perdere fuco. [IV*b*] E pera conseguir este intento me he necessario meter neste liuro uarios pedaços ou remendos. de alguàs Choronicas, ou Historias dos Abexis tresladandoas fielmente da sua na nossa linguajem ; e de alguàs historias nossas Ecclesiasticas ponho tambem partes notaueis ; assj mesmo refiro uarias cartas : huà de Nosso glorioso Patriarcha Santo Ignacio pera o Emperador Gladios ; outras muitas de Papas, e Reis de Portugal pera os de Ethiopia, e destes pera os mesmos ; outras de Patriarchas. e de uarios Padres nossos, nas quaes de força o estilo, e linguajè hade ser differente. pois o saò as pessoas, de què, e pera què se escreue ; e ainda as linguas, em que foraò escritas. que cada huà tem seus termos. e frazes proprias.

Sobre tudo quero, que se saiba. que o Padre Pero Paez, de què abaixo farej larga mençaò. começou acompor esta Historia de Ethiopia, mandandolhe os superiores da India. acom que em Valença tinha saido pouco antes o Padre Frei Luis Urreta, pera que refutasse os muitos erros, emintiras, que Ioao Baltezar metera nacabeça ao sobre dito Autor. Felo o Padre Pero Paez, mas como seu principal intento foi refutar, naò leuou a Historia tam infiada, e ordenada, como se desejaua : ejuntamente, como era Castelhano, faltou algù tanto na propriedade da lingua Portuguesa, naqual escreueo. por estar ia muito esquecido da Espanhola, que auia muitos annos naò usaua : tendo grande uso da Arabiga, Turquesca, Amarinhâ. e da outra dos liuros de Ethiopia, que tinha aprendido : Por estas rezoès o superior, que entaò era o Padre Antonio fez, ecmparecer dos mais Padres, que se acharaò najunta, que fizemos em Gorgorrâ no principio do anno demil e seis centos e vinte seis me encarregou, que por seruiço de Deos, e pera uirè â noticia de muitos as cousas daquella Christandade, tomasse áminha conta escreuelas. Assi o fiz, porem como as occupaçoès, que tiue, foraò muitas, e me obrigaraò a andar quasi sempre em caminhos muito cumpridos ; e depois na India estes annos atraz me naò faltaraò cuidados ; e principalmente por uer que Ethiopia respondeo tam mal ao muito que prometia, fazendo miserauel ruina; perdido ogosto de escruer naò sô fui dilatando aobra, mas ia apunha em esquecimento.

Porem obrigou me acontinuar com ella huà ordem de Nosso muito

[*Va*] Reuerendo P. Geral Mucio Vitteleschi escrita em huâ de 15 de Dezembro de 1639. Naqual diz estas formaes palauras.

" Aobra que V. R. traz entre maôs da Historia de Ethiopia estimarej que chegue com ella á perfeiçaô, com que creo acomporâ. Eposto que as occupaçoês do gouerno naô daraô a V. R. otempo, que he necessario pera a acabar com a desejada breuidade, toda uia emcomendo a V. R. que procure adiantarse demaneira, que a possa leuar por diante, ea seu tempo sair com ella taõ bem acabada, quanto se espera."

Ate aqui acarta de Nosso P.

Daqual obrigado me apliquei com resoluçaô á obra; naqual como digo, muito me aproueito doque o P. Pero Paez tinha, escrito, ajuntando das antiguidades, alguâs que otempo foi descubrindo, e acrescentando todas as cousas que succederaô depois damorte do Pe que saô tantas, etam uarias por espaço de quasi uinte annos, que excedê atodas as de tantos seculos passados. Darei atudo amelhor ordem que puder, e serâ esta.

Summa doque se contem nos liuros desta Historia

No primeiro liuro trato do sitio, enatural das terras do Imperio Abexim; ejuntamente das uarias gentes, que nelle hâ, de suas condiçoês, feiçoês, e custumes: assi napaz, como naguerra.

No segundo da origem dos Reis Abexîs, e descendencia da Rainha Sabâ, e del Rej Salamaô; os catalogos dos emperadores; e tudo oque delles, edos progressos em Ethiopia de nossa sancta Feê se sabe atê oanno de Christo sôr Nosso de 1500 porque, como dos tempos antigos se sabe muito pouco, em hũ sô liuro cabe bem tudo, oque sabemos deste espaço de tempo; que comprehende, 2500 annos.

No terceiro os successos de Ethiopia des do tempo del Rey Dauid, que foi pouco mais ou menos, o emque Ethiopia foi conhecida dos Portugueses, atê os annos de 1555; noqual nella entrou o primeiro Padre de nossa Companhia: e aqui se conta a entrada nella, e os successos domuito ualeroso Capitaô Dom Christouaô da Gama, e dos 400 Portugueses, que leuou consigo.

No quarto se contem tudo, oque succedeo em Ethiopia des dos annos de 1556 ate o de 1597 que he otempo em que nella uiueo o Patriarcha Dom Andre De Ouiedo, eseus sinco companheiros. [*Vb*] Contase amorte do Emperador Gladios: e auida e morte de Minás, e Malac Segued.

No quinto liuro trato largamente do catiuero dos PP. Pero Paez,

e Antonio de Monserrate ; o martyrio do Padre Abraham Maronita ; a entrada em Ethiopia do Pe Pero Paez : eos successos del Rey Iacobo. e Za Danguil : a entrada dos Padres Antonio Fernandez, e Lourenço Romano ; e dos Padres Luis d'Azeuedo, e Francisco Antonio de Angelis, com o mais que soccedeo no Imperio des da morte de Malac Segued ate o Emperador Susiniôs, ou Seltan Seguêd, entrar [*sic*] no gouerno delle.

No sexto liuro (pera mayor conhecimento do muito que Deos obrou por meyo dos Padres de nossa Companhia) dou huâ noticia geral do estado, emque elles acharaò Ethiopia nas materias da Feê, edos erras, emque os Abexis uiueraò por muitas centenas de annos ; e pera ocabo deste liuro ponho, oque o Coronista [*sic*] do Emperador Seltan Segued deixou escrito desua uida : porque me seruè muito estes, como rascunhos pera oque aodiante hej de contar.

No setimo liuro escreuo mais ao largo os successos dauida deste Emperador, contando os progressos, que em seu tempo teue em Ethiopia a Santa Feê Catholica, ate o anno de 1622 noqual este Emperador a professou publica, e desembuçadamente.

No oitauo contaremos os felices successos da Feê nos quatro annos que se seguem ; principalmente o auge, aque chegou com a entrada do Reuerendissimo Snor Patriarcha Dom Afonso Mendez.

No nono adeclinaçaò, que foi fazendo, atê no anno de 632 [*sic*] fazer miserauel naufragio, com amorte do Emperador Seltan Segued.

No 10. como nestes oito annos queha que reina Faciladás, ou Ferabrás (que este nome merece) foi a santa Feê, e o imperio descaindo, e perdendose demaneira, que ambos ameaçaò ultima, etotal ruina, se Deos por sua infinita bondade naò aleuantar apoderosa maò com que castiga esta gente, usando com elles de sua infinita misericordia.

Porem este ultimo liuro serâ de grande consolaçaò, e edificaçaò pera todos os que olerem ; porque nelle acharaò illustrissimos exemplos depaciencia, econstancia na sancta Feê Catholica [V1*a*] em muitos, emuito gloriosos Martyres, que por ella deram auida, naò só Padres denossa Companhia de Iesus, e outros Europeos, mas muitos Abexis detoda a sorte: Frades, sacerdotes, soldados, capitaés, nobres, e plebeios, homês, molheres, mancebos, euelhos deueneraueis cás. E alem dos que deraò auida, e alcançaraò aditosa sorte do Martyrio, se contaò raros exemplos demuitos, que padeceraò grandes trabalhos, aperda, e comfiscaçaò detodos os bés daterra, por naò faltarè á obrigaçaò de bòs Catholicos comungando huâ souez (que isto somente selhes

pidia) com os Hereges, offerecendo muitas uezes acabeça ; naò faltando elles ao martyrio, posto que lhes faltou, e perdoou aespada, e ira do Tyrâno.

E como detrabalhos o mundo está, e esteue sempre, mais cheo, que debonanças, e estes eraò de tanta gloria de Deos ede nossa santa Feê, ninguè se espante, uendo que sayo o decimo liuro mayor, emais cumprido, que muitos outros, como tambem entre os mais naò pode deixar de auer alguà desigualdade porque naò saò, nem foraò nunca os tempos todos iguaes.

Huà aduertencia quero fazer, para que o Leitor naò estranhe uariar en às uezes os termos, emodo defallar, soppondo huàs, que estou em Ethiopia, outras que forá della j porque assi aconteceo, que comecej lâ esta obra, e a uim acabar na India, pelo que nos primeiros liuros fallo como quem estaua dentro nella ; nos derradeiros naò assj, senaò como quem estaua já na India.

Catalogo dos Martyres de Ethiopia[1]

Pera consolaçaò dos que lerem esta historia com animo, e affecto Christaò os quaes naò duuido, que teraò osentimento, que todos temos da miserauel ruina, que em Ethiopia fez asanta Fê, taõ bem recebida primeiro, tendo chegado ao auge da major bonança e acrecentamento que lhe podiamos desejar : e pera que por isso naò cuide logo o mundo, que foraò mal empregados os gastos, que com esta missaò se fizeraò, e os trabalhos de tantos Religiosos tam insignes em santidade, e letras, me pareceo pôr logo aqui no principio deste liuro hù catalogo dos muitos Martjres [*sic*] Abexjs, que nestes annos entraraò no Ceo coroados de Gloria immortal, honrando naterra a sancta Igreja Cathólica com seus illustres triumphos.

E pera que esta consolaçaò seja mais perfeita, e sirua de fundamento de esperanças grandes da melhoria, que á quella Igreja desejamos, ha se de saber, que em nenhù dos seculos passados houue em Ethiopia Martjres, á falta, parece de Tyranos que persiguissem a Christandade. Pelo que naò he muito anteciparse Deos Nosso Senhor neste nosso em querer colher asprimicias delles, podando esta uinha

[1] This section begins on fol. VII*a* (fol. VI*b* being blank), and is written in the same hand as the main body of the history. It will be noted that the orthography differs from that of the Dedication and the Prologue which are written in a round hand, somewhat resembling that in which the First Appendix is written. The references to Book and Chapter at the end of each notice are in my opinion in the hand of Almeida himself.

tanto em bacelo ; e regando com sangue de Martjres esta nouaterra que abrio rocados os espinhos de tantas heregias que nella tinhaõ afogada aboa semente da uerdadeira. e Catholica doutrina.

Porem antes de neste Catalago pôr os Martjres naturaes de Ethiopia, pede arezaõ que ponhamos no principio, ecabeça deste liuro os nomes dos Europeos, que neste mesmo tempo dentro em Ethiopia, ou ás portas della deraõ auida pela Sancta Fê, que ou hiaõ pregar, ou tinhaõ pregado ; e assi foraõ os mestres, e pajs dos Abexis, que morrendo por ella alançaraõ a gloriosa coroa do Martjrio.

Começa o Catalogo

Padre Iorge Abraham.

Maronita da Companhia de Iesus, indo pera Ethiopia disfarçado ; conhecido em Maçuâ por Christaõ. foi pelos Turcos degolado em odio da Fê, uejase o Capitulo 7 do liu. 5° [VII*a*].

P^e^ Francisco Machado.

P^e^ Bernardo Pereira.

Indo pera Ethiopia poruia de Zeila, chegados a Auçà Gurrélê cabeça daquelle reino, que propriamente se chama Adel, foraõ pelo Rej Mouro prezos emferros e despois de dez dias deprizaõ mortos á espada em odio da Fê, epor saber que a hiaõ pregar a Ethiopia.— Uejase o cap. 9 do liur. 8°.

\+ *O Bispo de Nicea.*

D. Apollinar d'Almeida.

(*a*) *O P^e^ Iacinta Francisco.*

(*b*) *O P^e^ Francisco Rodrigues.*

Merece oprimeiro lugar dos que dentro em Ethiopia nesta persiguiçaõ morreraõ pola Santa Fê o Bispo que lá ficou por cabeça da quella afligida, e persiquida Igreja, pois a illustrou naõ sô com sua doutrina, mas com seu sangue. E apoz elle o 2° lugar seus dous companheiros os P.P. nomeados ambos de nossa Companhia ; todos tres foraõ por sentença publica condenados ámorte por pregarem e ensinarem a Santa Feé de Roma, pendurados em aruores no mesmo dia, e antes de espirar apedrejados.—Liur. 10, cap. 36.

P^e^ Gaspar Paes.

P^e^ Ioaõ Pereira.

Ambos da Companhia de Iesus em odio da santa Feê mortos ás zargunchadas pelos Hereges em Tigrê nacomarca de Assâ.—Liur. 10, cap. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30.

Pe Luis Cardeira.

Pe Bruno Bruni.

Ambos da Companhia de Iesus depois de grandissimos trabalhos, que padeceraõ por espaco [*sic*] de oito annos enforcados nafeira de Tembên por pregarem e ensinarem a santa Feê Catholica.—Liur. 10, cap. 40.

Pe Frej Agatangelo de Vandoma.

Pe Frej Cassiano de Nantes.

Dasagrada Religiaõ dos Capuchos, ambos Franceses denaçaõ; entrando em Ethiopia pera pregarê, e ensinarê a santa Feê Catholica, prezos pelos hereges foraõ enforcados em huâ aruore, por naõ quererem ouuir sua doutrina, nem deixar ointento de ensinar a santa Feê de Roma.—Liur. 10, cap. 37.

Ate aqui os Martyres estrangeiros, e Europeos. Os que se seguem saõ naturaes de Ethiopia. E ponho primeiro os que antes da mudança da santa Feê em persiguiçoês particulares morreraõ por ella.

Abba Tençá Christos.

Quer dizer. Resurreiçaõ de Christo [VIII*a*].

Abba Emanû Christos.

Quer dizer. Maõ direita de Christo.

Foraõ mortos naprouincia de Seguedê por hũ grande Herege por irem á quella terra ensinar a santa Feê de Roma, e dar a comunhaõ aos Catholicos por mandado do Emperador, e do Patriarcha, que lhes tinha dado Ordês sacras.—Liur. 9, cap. 2°.

Abba Iacobo.

Era natural de Fremonâ descendente de hũ venezeano, contado no numero dos Portugueses, sacerdote oprimeiro que tomou Ordês sacras da maõ do Patriarcha D. Afonso Mendez; Capellaõ de Tecla Guerguis Vizo Rej de Tigre, oqual aleuantandose contra o Emperador do Ceo eda terra, e apostatando da santa Feê Catholica, que tinha recebida, em odio della, e protestaçaõ decomo a deixaua, e tornaua aos erros da Alexandrina, publicamente matou este seu capellaõ ás zargonchadas.—Liur. 9°, cap. 4, com este presupposto.

Abba Zaselásseê.

Abexim, Mestre, idest, prelado, e superior mayor do mosteiro de Selálô, que he muito nomeado no reino Gojam:

Foj morto por Serta Christos Visô Rej de Gojam assi mesmo aleuantado contra os Reis do Ceo e da terra, apostatando:

E pera confirmar sua apostasia matou a este Catholico Frade,

por elle dizer, e protestar que em Christo nosso snôr hà duas naturezas humana, e diuina em hũ so supposto.—Liur. 9, cap. 20.

Tucur Emanô.

Por seu nome proprio chamauase Emanà Christos, que significa maò direita de Christo. Oprimeiro nome era como alcunha, pela qual era mais conhecido: quer dizer Emanà Christo's opreto, pera distinçaò de outros que o naò eraò tanto como elle. Era muito nobre, eparente muito chegado do Vizo Rej, grande soldado, emelhor Catholico: foj morto com omesmo intente, de o Vizo Rej com sua morte se publicar por persiguidor da Sancta Feê, morreo às bolotadas, que saò pancadas com massas de pao muito duro, e pezado, com que lhe quebraraò a cabeça.—Liur. 9°, cap. 20.

Zana Gabriel Machado.

Quer dizer, Historia de Gabriel, o sobre nome Portugues tinha por ser descendente dos que laficaraò em Ethiopia do tempo [VIII*b*] de Dom Christouaò da Gama: morreo despois demuitos dias, de feridas mortaès que recebeo dos Hereges quando mataraò aos santos Martires Gaspar Paez, e Ioaò Pereira em Assâ.—Liur. 10, cap. 27°, Et. 30.

Francisco Machado.

Minino tambem fo dos Partugueses morto na mesma occasiaò.—Liur. 10, cap. 27°.

Nessó.

Moço Abexim, que siruia aos Padres, morto com elles na mesma occasiaò. O seu proprio nome he Nessà Christôs; quer dizer tomou o Christo: aquelle era o ordinario; porque custumaò os Abexis a fazer semelhantes como sincopas, e abreuiaçoès dos nomes.—Liur. 10, cap. 27°.

Azage Tinô ou Zasôlasse.

Azage, quer dizer, desembargador: Tinô era alcunha, quer dizer em lingoa dos Gallas (cuja he apalaura) pequeno; porque o era muito no corpo, mas emtudo omais muito grande seu proprio nome era Zasselàssê; quer dizer, da Trindade, famosa Martyr, apedrejado uiuo por naò querer comungar com os hereges.—Liur. 10, cap. 35.

Abbâ Oracy Christos.

Quer dizer herdeiro de Christo. Era sacerdote ordenado pelo Patriarcha, foj primeiro pola Sancta Feê espancado muitas uezes, e açoutado cruelmente: depois em huà feira publica amarrado nochaò aquatro estacas, pera que todos opizassem aos couces, como fizeraò,

e no cabo dando lhe com huà grande pedra nacabeça lha fizeraò em pedaços.—Liur. 10, cap. 33.

Abbà Eustacios.

Sacerdote, por naò querer comungar com os Hereges, enforcado em huà aruore no mesmo dia com os dous, que se seguem.—Liur. 10, cap. 34.

Za Aureat.

Quer dizer, dos Apostolos. Era homem graue Debtera, bem uisto nos liuros de Ethiopia, foi primeiro açoutado, e desterrado, depois enforcado por naò querer comungar com os Hereges.—Liur 10, cap. 34.

Antonio.

Mancebo Portugues dos nacidos em Ethiopia, enforcado com os dous acima pola mesma causa.—Liur. 10, cap. 34.

Malac Debb.

Quer dizer, sogeitador de Usso. Era nobre Capitaò de Ras Cella [IX*a*] Christòs, emuito esforcado; por naò querer comungar com os Hereges foi primeiro açoutado grauissimamente, confiscando lhe tudo quanto tinha; depois morreo apedrejado polo acharem rezando pelas contas de Nossa Senhora.—Liur. 10, cap. 34.

Çafalam Xancô.

Çafalam entre os Damotes se chama oseu gouernador: e por que Xancô hù grande soldado, e capitaò daquella gente chegou à quella dignidade, lhe ficou sempre onome della; foj depois que recebeo a santa Feê de Roma, muito grande Catholico: nunca aquiz largar, nem comungar com os Hereges; polo que foi sentenciado e morreo enforcado no Arrayal do Emperador.—Liur. 10, cap. 44.

Bageracada Xancôr.

O primeiro he nome, on titolo he de honra; Xancôr quer dizer, cana de açucar, por naò querer comungar com os Hereges foi enforcado no mesmo lugar, edia com Çafalam Xancô.—Liur. 10, cap. 44.

Adam Cinà.

Molher uiuua honrada, fina catholica: acompanhou os Padres Luis Cardeira, e Bruno Bruni nomonte, aonde padeceraò muito: acusada por Catholica confessou que o era, e auia de ser atê amorte: polo que foi condenada à morte, e morreo apedrejada.—Liur. 10, cap. 44.

Aylon.

Cego, grande Catholico que tambem acompanhou os P.P. acusado por Catholico, e naò querendo comungar com os Hereges, foi assi

mesmo morte âs pedradas no mesmo dia, e lugar no Arraval de Asguedon Vizo Rej de Tigrê.—Liur. 10. cap. 44.

Zaselássé.

Quer dizer. da Trindade. Era Debtera sabia muito bem de liuro, e por isso os P.P. ofizeraõ mestre da lingua no seminario de Fremonâ ; no mesmo dia, e hora, e pola mesma causa morto as pedradas.—Liur. 10. cap. 44.

Hũ sacerdote cujo nome se naõ sabe.

Viuia Adicorrô, lugar uizinho a Fremonâ : foi morto pelos Hereges, por naõ querer comungar com elles. amorte foi ás pedradas.—Liur. 10, cap. 44.

Asmache Afliê Galla.

Criouse desde minino na santa Feê Catholica ao bafo do [IX*b*] Emperador velho ; nunca aquiz largar : foi por ella desterrado, e ultimamente morto âs bolotadas por perseuerar sempre constante, naõ querendo de nenhuâ manejra comungar com os Hereges.—Liur. 10, cap. 44.

Baassé Christos.

Quer dizer, homem de Christo ; por naõ querer comungar com os Hereges. sentenciado pelo Vizo Rej de Tigre morreo pendurado em huâ aruore.—Liur. 10. cap. 37.

Açará Christós.

Quer dizer, pegada de Christo ; era frade mestre, e superior major domosteiro de Çamoná, hũ dos majores de Gojam.—Eodem loco.

Abbá Ascoal.

Quer dizer, cacho de uuas.—Ubi supra.

Abbá Petros.

He como dizer Frej Pedro ; aestes tres por serem sacerdotes da Feê de Roma mandou matar em Gojam Abetô Gladios irmaõ do Emperador Faciladàs.—Ibidem.

Abbá Melchá Christos.

Padre ou Frej (isso ual Abbá) Melchà Christòs, quer dizer, fermosura de Christo : foj mestre do nosso seminario de Gorgorrâ muito bem entendido. e muito bom Catholico, e religioso de muito exemplo por perseuerar sempre na Feê de Roma, e anaõ querer largar, omandou matar em Gojam o Viso Rej Za Mariam.—Ibidem.

Abbâ Tomotheos.

o Corcouado: Catholico muito feruoroso, indo aconfessar hũ Catholico foi morto no caminho pelos Hereges.—No mesmo lugar.

Hadará Mariam.

Quer dizer, tomou por senhora a Maria: era molher de Oldo Christos clerigo, que por naõ largar a santa Feê foj prezo e padeceo muitos trabalhos: ella imitando ao bom marido pola mesma causa foj por uezes açoutada com tanto rigor que morreo dos açoutes.—No mesmo cap. 37, do liur. 10.

Tres outros Martyres.

Cujos nomes naõ sabia o Pe Bruno Bruni, mas affirma, que era, certo serem mortos por naõ quererem comungar [X*a*] com os Hereges: hũ dos quaes era criado de Ras Cella Christos, os outros dous dicipulos dos Padres.—No Mesmo lugar, liuro, e cap.

Catologo dos que padeceraõ desterro, e outros notaueis trabalhos pola santa Feê Catholica

Afora estes saõ muitos, os que naõ chegaraõ ainda anossa noticia, otempo os irâ descubrindo, emuitos mais os que sofreraõ desterros, açoutes, confiscaçaõ de seus bens: que naõ faltaraõ elles ao Martyrio, mas faltou lhes a espada dos persiguidores: dos quaes he bem, que façamos aqui alguã mençaõ, polo menos dos principaes: asaber.

Ras Cellâ Christôs.

Aquelle irmaõ do Emperador velho, e tio de Faciladás, decujas proezas estâ chea esta nossa historia. Esta ha dez a'nos desterrado offerecendo cada dia opescoço aotalho pola confissaõ da santa Feê de Roma.—Liur. 10, cap. 1: et., cap. 41.

Za Mariam.

Xumo de Tembên, que por naõ largar a santa Feê, nem entregar os Padres, que tomou àsua conta fez as majores façanhas, que se podiaõ imaginar, ate perder auida nesta demanda.—Vejase oliu. 10, cap. 38 por muitos §. §.

Oleta Guergnis.

Filha de ité Amáta Christòs, prima do Emperador, lustre e honra das matronas Abexìs que pola sancta Feê tem padecido necessidades, desterros, perda domuito que possuya, [X*b*] fomes, sedes, etudo

quanto se pode imaginar abaixo damorte, e tormentos; oque selhe naõ dà por sua grande nobreza, estando ella muito prestes pera pola santa Feê dar mil uidas se tantas tiuesse.—Liur. 10, cap. 42.

Abbá Marcu.

Omais graue, e authorisado frade, que houue nestes tempos em Ethiopia: foi mestre do Emperador Velho, confessou a santa Feê com tal constancia, que estiueraõ pera omatar: mas tendo medo, que uendo omorrer pola Feê, se conuertessem aella muitos dos Hereges, lhe commutaraõ amorte em desterro.—Liur. 10, cap. 41.

Manabará Christôs.

Quer dizer cadeira, ou throno, de Christo: era irmaõ do Martyr Abbà Eustateos; foi desterrado pola santa Feê.—Liur. 10, c. 41.

Eda Christôs. Paulo dasta Cruz.

Ambos açoutados por Catholicos e o 2º por ser sacerdote, e por confessar aos Catholicos.—Liur. 10, c. 41.

Abeto Joannes.

Filho da Oziero Raye, primo do Emperador; muitos annos com consentimento do mesmo Emperador uiueo liuremente professandose sempre na corte por Catholico; depois lhe confiscaraõ seus beẽs, e otiueraõ muito tempo prezo em cadeas em casa de sua propria maj, que era grande herege, elhe fazia grandes perrarias; tudo sofreo sempre com grande constancia.—Liur. 10, c. 41.

Abetó Anfúr.

Filho do Viso Rej Kebá Christôs, desterrado por Catholico, sofreo odesterro muito tempo com grande constancia, atè que otiraraõ delle, respeitando aos grandes merecimentos de seu Paj.—Liur. 10, c. 41.

Abetó Oldo Dauid.

Abetó Faciludás.

Filhos da Ozieró Romana Orc, que morreo Catholica; primeiro muito tempo selhes pirmittio uiuerem na Feê de Roma, atè que os desterraraõ pola naõ quererem largar.—Liur. 10, c. 41.

Azage Oldo Christós.

Sacerdote muito uisto nos liuros de Ethiopia, e muito [XI*a*] eloquente na sua lingua, andou muito tempo escondido pola santa fee; foi achado e condenado a desterro.—Liur. 10, c. 41.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

EVOLUTION OF MĀGADHĪ. By ANANTAPRASAD BANERJI-ŚĀSTRĪ, M.A., D.Phil. Introduction. Oxford, 1922.

This is an advance print of the introductory pages (fifty-two in all) of a dissertation on the Evolution of Māgadhī offered by Professor Banerji-Śāstrī as an exercise for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Oxford. As it is only a portion of the complete work—it breaks off in the middle of an account of the Aśōka texts—and as its author's final conclusions are not stated, it would not be fair to him to criticize the opinions which are here only adumbrated. Suffice it to say that, in his introductory chapter, he appears to follow the theory first expounded by Hoernle, and since generally accepted, of a Primary Māgadhī Prakrit of the Vedic period, developing through Pāli (here following Windisch and the present writer), literary Māgadhī Prakrit, and Māgadha Apabhraṁśa, into modern Bengali. He has evidently studied nearly all the literature dealing with the subject, and carefully gives his authority for every statement, but does not appear to have been aware of two works that have lately been published. The first of these is the important series of articles on Old Hindī by Paṇḍit Candradhar Śarmā Gulērī in Volume II of the new series of the *Nāgarī-pracāriṇī Patrikā*, and the other is Professor Jacobi's valuable account of Apabhraṁśa prefixed to his edition of the *Bhavisatta Kaha* of Dhaṇavāla,[1] completed and revised in the Introduction to his edition of the *Sanatkumāracaritam* of Haribhadra.[2]

Mr. Gulērī has dealt at great length, with hundreds of examples, on the development of Hindī from Apabhraṁśa, and has shown how some of the verses quoted by Hēmacandra are still current in Rajputana, word for word (with the necessary allowances for linguistic development) in almost the same forms as those given by the Prakrit grammarian. Professor Jacobi has thrown a brilliant light on the history of the origins of literary Apabhraṁśa, and of its relations, on the one hand, with Prakrit, and, on the other hand, with Dēśya forms of speech. I suspect that a study of his cogent arguments

[1] Munich, 1918. [2] Munich, 1921.

would induce Professor Banerji-Śāstrī to modify some of his statements regarding this stage of Indian language development.

The Professor has been misled by Pischel (Prakrit Grammar, § 1) in stating that Mārkaṇḍēya includes non-Aryan languages under the name of Apabhraṁśa. In the passage referred to, Mārkaṇḍēya is merely quoting from Rāma-śarman (Tarkavāgīśa), and a comparison of the statements of the two authors shows that, when giving the names of Dravidian countries, they did not mean that the Dravidian languages spoken there were forms of Apabhraṁśa. All that they implied was that the literary Apabhraṁśa written by Sanskrit or Prakrit scholars resident in those countries had developed certain minor dialectic peculiarities.[1] This Apabhraṁśa was used as a literary *κοινή* over the whole of India from the Himālaya to Cape Comorin. As such, it covered even Buddhist Eastern India, and was there (with, as usual, local modifications) employed for literary purposes. The literary Apabhraṁśa of the (Eastern) *Dōhakōśa*, and the Avahaṭṭhā Bhāsā of Vidyāpati Ṭhākur are based on Western, not on Māgadhī Prakrit.[2]

On the other hand, there appear to have been literary works in what may be called Dēśya Prakrits, or Dēśya Apabhraṁśas, long before the fixation of literary Apabhraṁśa. In course of time, the local languages having no literary standards to retard their development, these early works quickly became unintelligible, just as Hindī of the thirteenth century is unintelligible to the non-expert reader of the nineteenth. Originally popular in character, with unintelligibility they lost their popularity and disappeared, though efforts were made for their preservation by the preparation of Dēśī Kōśas, which explained the obsolete Dēśya words retained by them. A well-known example is Hēmacandra's *Dēśīnāmamālā*. But the growth of literary Apabhraṁśa, with its fixed standards of grammar and vocabulary, finally caused the supersession of these older popular works. We know of one—the *Taraṅgavatī* of Padalipta—written before the fifth century of our era, which seven hundred years or so later was intelligible only to the learned, and was therefore translated by an unknown author into Literary Apabhraṁśa, under the name of *Taraṅgalōla*. The original has been lost, but the anonymous translation has come down to us.[3]

The above is not written as criticism, but as a supplement to the information given by Professor Banerji-Śāstrī in his study of the growth

[1] See *JRAS.* 1913, p. 881. [2] Jacobi, *Sanatkumāracaritam*, p. xxviii.

[3] Jacobi, *Sanatkumāracaritam*, p. xviii. The *Taraṅgalōla* has been admirably translated into German by Professor Leumann, under the name of "Die Nonne" in the *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, iii, pp. 193 ff., 272 ff.

of an Indian vernacular. Indeed, as I have hinted, all serious criticism must await the completion of the whole work. The specimen which he has given encourages us to hope that this will form a solid contribution to Indian philology.

G. A. G.

CAMBERLEY.
10th July, 1922.

DIE SUPARṆASAGE. Untersuchungen zur altindischen Literatur- und Sagengeschichte. Von JARL CHARPENTIER. 8vo. Uppsala, 1922.

RUDRA. Untersuchungen zum altindischen Glauben und Kultus. Inaugural dissertation von ERNST ARBMAN. 8vo. Uppsala, 1922.

These two books may be fittingly noticed together, for they treat kindred subjects, their authors stand to one another in the relation of master and disciple, and they both issue from the school of Indian philology in the ancient university of Uppsala, the fine scholarly standard of which they fully maintain.

The Suparṇādhyāya, or "Chapter of the Bird", is a little poem obviously belonging to the later Vedic period, and narrating the legend of the divine bird Garuḍa. It has somewhat puzzled Sanskritists by certain obscurities in its diction and its references, and some of them, notably Hertel, have therefore seen in it a specimen of the "Rgvēdic drama", while others, with Oldenberg, would regard it as an example of the *ākhyāna*, or legendary narrative composed of prose changeable at the will of the singer or reciter surrounding a skeleton of unalterable verses, such as is the case with the Pali Jātakas. As both the "drama-theory" and the "*ākhyāna*-theory" were originally invented in order to give a satisfactory interpretation of certain Rgvēdic hymns, Professor Charpentier has opened his book with a careful criticism of their application to the latter. His conclusion as regards *ākhyāna* is, in his own words, "that the Jātakas indeed are on the whole to be judged by Oldenberg's theory, but that they stand in no genetic relation to existing Vedic literature, as the older specimens of the class of literature to which the Jātakas belong have vanished without leaving a trace: that no *ākhyānas* exist in the Epics, and that, moreover, none of the texts of the Brāhmaṇa-literature which writers have wished to use as evidences for the *ākhyāna*-theory fit the rules of that theory . . . that in the post-Vedic period the *ākhyāna* postulated by Oldenberg did not exist at all, but first arose in the earlier phases of the Jātaka-literature . . . that in the Rgveda also the *ākhyāna*-theory can find no place, and the form

composed of prose and poetry which we meet in the Jātakas, etc., arose at the outset from a popular literature remote from the Vedic texts that have come down to us." These are weighty conclusions, and as regards the Ṛgvēda and the Epics it seems to me that Dr. Charpentier has fairly established them. As to the Brāhmaṇas and Jātakas, however—speaking with the utmost respect and diffidence—I venture to think that the arguments are rather less cogent. As the *argumentum ex silentio* is uncertain, and as the method of *ākhyāna*—narratives in alterable prose and stereotyped verse—which was used for the Jātakas, is still commonly employed in many forms of religious recitations, especially Purāṇic, and as the Paurāṇikas borrowed from the Vēdic Aitihāsikas the bulk of their legend-materials, it seems unsafe to deny in general terms the existence of *ākhyānas* in the Brahmanic circles in which the Brāhmaṇa literature arose, though it is perhaps impossible to prove their existence.

Dealing next with the "drama-theory", Dr. Charpentier shows that it cannot be applied generally to the Ṛgvēda. He allows it only for x, 51–3 and 86—an important admission—while maintaining that all other dialogue-hymns of the RV. belong to the epic genus.

Coming now to the Suparṇa-saga, he studies it in its Vēdic form, especially in RV. iv, 26–7, and then as it is presented in later Vēdic and Epic works. Then he deals with the text of the Suparṇādhyāya, which he edits with critical notes and translation. A careful preliminary examination leads him to the conclusion that the *triṣṭubh* verses in it are older than the *anuṣṭubh* verses now mixed with them, and contain epic dialogues (the *triṣṭubh*, as elsewhere appears, was from earliest times used in dialogue); and he further shows that the part of the legend given in Sup. 20. 1 ff., agrees in the main with RV. iv, 26–7, that in the story of Kadrū and Vinatā given in Śat. Brāh. III, vi, 2, 2–7, we have the oldest surviving form of that saga, that the Sauparṇa of the Mahābhārata is mainly (though not exclusively) based upon the older *triṣṭubh* version of our Suparṇādhyāya, and that the latter was probably the sole source of Rāmāyaṇa III, xxxv, 27 ff. The origins of the legend are then discussed. They are, according to our author, twofold, viz. the saga of Kadrū and Vinatā and the saga of the Rape of the Sōma, with which is likewise connected the old tale of the Churning of the Ocean. The first of these is traced back into the realm of the beast-fable, the character of Garuḍa in later legend and cult discussed, and the stories of the Roc, familiar to us from Sindbad, narrated and connected with the Garuḍa-legend, with much else.

The above brief and imperfect analysis indicates the wide extent of the ground traversed by Dr. Charpentier. It must be added that throughout his literary peregrinations he carries with him an ample viaticum of exact learning and scholarly method. Even when unable to accept some of his conclusions, the reader will only dissent with extreme respect and diffidence. Without hypotheses there can be no scientific progress; and Dr. Charpentier's hypotheses are always broad-based upon good foundations of erudition and judgment.

From the work of the master we pass to that of the disciple. It is a peculiar pleasure for a reviewer to notice a book in which he finds some of his favourite theories set forth and proved by scientific demonstration. Dr. Arbman's central argument is that the god Rudra of the Vēdic religion, the Śiva of classical literature, was originally a stranger to the Vēdic pantheon, and belonged to the popular cults, in which from earliest times he figures as the lord of the demon-world, a spirit of terror and death whose home was in the northern mountains and who was the head of a motley troop of kindred spirits, the Rudras; that the Vēdic priesthood admitted him to the company of their celestials, thereby partly obscuring his real nature in their own circles, and considerably altering some parts of his primitive rites; and that while in the later Vēdic age the original personalities of the other gods faded away, Rudra reasserted his primitive character and gained increasing recognition, until his worship spread over almost the whole of India, preserving most of its grim pre-Vēdic features. This hypothesis, it seems to me, has been demonstrated very ably by Dr. Arbman. His learning is wide, embracing not only Vēdic and Sanskrit literature, but also the data of modern Indian folk-religion, and he handles it with sound method and sober judgment.

In the establishment of his thesis Dr. Arbman raises a number of interesting points, notably the fundamental difference between the priestly religion represented in the Vēdas and Vēdic literature and the popular worship of spirits, as a rule potentially malefic, which finds expression in the cult of Rudra-Śiva; the probability that temples and images were already in Vēdic times used in popular cults, though unknown to the Vēdic Śrauta texts; the fact that the word *dēva* even in Vēdic times occasionally signifies demons, and that its usual specific limitation to the celestial gods is due to the exclusiveness of the Vēdic priesthood; the various meanings of the plural *Rudrās*, which in RV. signifies the Maruts and in later Vēdic literature denotes sometimes a more or less abstract group of gods probably derived by

priestly ingenuity from the Maruts of the RV., and sometimes, again, the demon troop of Rudra, or demons in general: the nature of *bhūtas* and kindred spirits: the cult of Gaṇēśa, who apparently belongs to the same family: the connexion of Rudra-Śiva with snakes and dogs: and the red and black colours attributed to him. As regards the first of these points, while fully assenting to Dr. Arbman's general argument, I suspect that he is sometimes slightly inclined to over-estimate the simplicity of popular cults: some of the Sinhalese devil-rituals are very complicated indeed. In connexion with the red colour of Rudra, to which according to tradition he owes that name, it would be interesting to have a detailed study of the etymology of the epithet *Śiva*, which is usually taken to mean "gracious", by a euphemism similar to that which produced the Greek *Εὐμενίδες*, but has also been derived with considerable plausibility from the Tamil *śivan*, "red-man." Space forbids us from dwelling as we would wish upon these and many other points arising in the course of Dr. Arbman's discussions, and we take leave of him with hearty thanks and a sincere hope to see more from his scholarly pen.

There is one desideratum that we must deplore in both these works: neither has an index.

L. D. B.

THE VINAYA-PATTRIKĀ OF TULASĪ-DĀSA. With a commentary by PAṆḌIT RĀMÊŚVARA BHAṬṬA. pp. 14+6+374+6+3. Indian Press: Allahabad, 1913. Price 2 rupees.

The delay in the publication of this notice is due to the late disturbed condition of Europe. A copy of the book was sent to the School of Oriental Studies during the war, but a German submarine, with scant sympathy for a great Indian poet, diverted its course to the bottom of the Mediterranean. As it is of special value to European students of Indian literature, and as it appears to be little known in this country, I make no excuse for now drawing attention to it, even though nine years have passed since its publication.

Paṇḍit Rāmêśvara Bhaṭṭa had already done good service in the cause of making Tulasī-dāsa accessible to the general reader by his edition of the more famous *Rāma-carita-mānasa* of the same poet (Bombay, 1904), in which each verse of the original is accompanied by a literal translation into simple modern Hindī. This gave an excellent introduction to the poet's archaic Awadhī, which not infrequently

presents difficulties to the beginner. The poem, it is true, is simple enough in style, but the unfamiliar dialect is apt to discourage even an enthusiastic learner.

The Rāma-carita-mānasa is a narrative poem. Its author had no need for the employment of an unusual vocabulary, and it is his mastery of the home language of the Indian villager that has secured its universal popularity in Hindōstān. But the Vinaya-pattrikā is a work of an altogether different nature. The legend regarding its inception explains its character. Tulasī-dāsa's teaching that Rāma accepts freely the greatest sinner who is genuinely repentant aroused much opposition in the priest-ridden Benares, and he became the object of violent persecution. At length he had a dream, in which Hanumān appeared to him, consoling him, telling him that he was blameless, and advising him to become a complainant in the court of the Lord Himself. "Write," said he, "a *Vinaya-pattrikā*, a petition of complaint, and I will get an order passed upon it by the Master, and will be empowered to punish the present evil age." On this advice the book was written. The whole forms a series of prayers, addressed, one by one, to the various minor gods, as door-keepers and courtiers of the Supreme, and then, in an outburst of passionate entreaty and self-humiliation, to the Deity Himself. The final verse tells how, as in the case of an earthly monarch, the petition was granted under Rāma's own signature.

The style of the work is very different from that of the Rāma-carita-mānasa. It is that of a petition to an earthly monarch, couched in a courtly vocabulary full of high-flown words and phrases. These, in the context, are appropriate enough, but they do not tend to make the poem comprehensible to anyone who is not a learned man. Moreover, the intense fervour of the writer often carries him into an extremity of passion, bursting forth in an elliptical style very different from the limpid beauty of his narrative poems. Nevertheless, the "Book of Petitions" is one of the most important documents in the religious history of India. We have here a man, whose influence for good over generations of Indians cannot be exaggerated, laying bare the inmost recesses of his heart and displaying his most intimate feelings towards the Deity and towards that Deity's relations to humanity with a freedom from reticence and with a poetic fervour that have rarely been equalled. It is a book of confessions, but the confessions of a pure and faithful soul.

It will be gathered from the foregoing remarks that the Vinaya-

pattrikā is by no means an easy book for the beginner. By him it must be read with a commentary or with a translation. Several commentaries, excellent in their way, have been published,[1] but they are meant rather for Indian scholars than for the less highly educated Paṇḍit Rāmêśvara Bhaṭṭa's commentary is of a different character. To each verse is added a literal translation into modern Hindī, and besides this there are plentiful notes on the meanings of obscure passages or of uncommon words. It thus offers not only to every educated Indian but also to European students of the history of Indian religions, an edition of this great poem which can be studied with pleasure and which enables the reader to enjoy, without impediment, its many beauties. The printing and general get-up of the book is in every way worthy of the well-known "Indian Press" from which it has issued, and I can cordially recommend it to everyone who desires to gain an understanding of the mind-workings of one of the greatest of India's prophet-poets.

G. A. G.

AN ELEMENTARY AND PRACTICAL GRAMMAR OF THE GALLA OR OROMO LANGUAGE. By ARNOLD W. HODSON, C.M.G., F.R.G.S., Colonial Civil Service and CRAVEN H. WALKER, Sudan Civil Service (sometime scholar of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge), His Majesty's Consuls in Ethiopia. London (S.P.C.K.), 1922.

The materials available for the study of Galla have hitherto not been very abundant, and (with the exception of Viterbo's, for those who know Italian), useful rather to philologists than to students requiring a practical knowledge of the language. As it is much used in Abyssinia, and the Galla (Boran and others) are still fairly numerous in the north-eastern part of the Kenya Colony, there is certainly room for a book of the kind here provided. Within a small compass it gives the most essential features of the grammar, with short vocabularies and exercises. The table of verbs, with their derived forms, at the end of the book, the English-Galla vocabulary, and the series of connected texts will all be found extremely useful. Some of the texts are given both in Roman and Amharic characters, the latter being generally used and understood by the more educated Galla and adopted in Galla books

[1] I have seen the *Vinaya-candrikā* of Rājā Ratna Siṁha (Charkhārī, 1876), the *Rāma-tattva-bōdhinī* of Śiva-prakāśa (3rd ed., Lucknow, 1878), and the *Vinaya-pradīpa* of Baijnāth Kurmī (Lucknow, 1891).

printed for use in Abyssinia, e.g. in the Galla Bible, translated by Onesimus Nesib.

Galla, it may be scarcely necessary to remark, is a Hamitic language, closely related to Somali, and its structure is very interesting from a philological point of view. It is not included as a separate study in Meinhof's *Sprachen der Hamiten*, but that work contains much calculated to throw light on Galla grammar. Relations, remote and indirect, but conceivably possible, between Galla (or some earlier speech of the same stock) and the Bantu languages, may be indicated by such points as the causative in *-is-*. But problems like this lie outside the scope of Messrs. Hodson and Walker's book, which can be warmly recommended for the purpose it is intended to serve.

A. WERNER.

DIE SPRACHE DER BO ODER BANKON IN KAMERUN. VON FRIEDRICH SPELLENBERG, mit BEITRÄGEN VON CARL MEINHOF und JOHANNA VÖHRINGER. Berlin (D. Reimer), Hamburg (C. Boysen), 1922.

Bo or Bankon (Sir H. H. Johnston's No. 212, Abo)[1] is a Bantu language, spoken in the neighbourhood of the Wuri River, in the Cameroons. It is quite distinct from Duala, and, according to the authority just referred to, has been strongly influenced by the semi-Bantu languages of the north-east. Its relationship to (1) Duala and (2) the more typical eastern Bantu languages may be deduced from the following table of noun-classes.

Prefixes.			*Bo.*	*Duala.*	*Ganda.*	*Nyanja.*	*Swahili.*
mu-	Man.	1.	mut.	moto.	omu-ntu.	mu-ntu.	m-tu.
va-		2.	bot.	bato.	aba-ntu.	a-ntu.	wa-tu.
mu-	Heart.	3.	muem.	mulema.	omu-tima.	m-tima.	m-tima (archaic).
mi-		4.	miem.	milema.	emi-tima.	mi-tima.	mi-tima.
li-	Tooth.	5.	**i-sɔŋ.**	[dina "name."]	eri-nyo.	dzino.	jino.
ma-		6.	**ma-sɔŋ.**	[mina = ma-ina.]	ama-nyo.	mano.	meno.
ki-	Thing.	7.	kyom (ki-om).	yoma.	eki-ntu.	chi-ntu.	ki-tu.
vi-		8.	bi-om.	bema.	ebi-ntu.	zi-ntu.	vi-tu.
ni-	House.	9.	ndau.	ndabo.	enju.	ɲumba.	ɲumba.
li-ni-		10.	ndau.	ndabo.	enju.	ɲumba.	ɲumba.

[1] Bankon may be the same as Boñkeñ (Boŋkeŋ, "Bonkem" of Koelle), but this is entered as a separate language by Johnston (*Comparative Study*, i. 630, 641; ii, 146).

Prefixes.		*Bo.*	*Duala.*	*Ganda.*	*Nyanja.*	*Swahili.*
lu-	Tongues.	11. [not found.]	[not found.]	olu-limi.	lu-zi "string".	u-lhmi.
tu-	Birds.	12. [not found.]	lo-non pl. to 19.	[otu-lo "sleep".]	[tu-lo "sleep".]	[not found.]
ka-	Little child.	13. [not found.]	[not found.]	kana.	kamwana.	[not found.]
vu-	Brain.	14. (wu) **bəŋ.**	**bəŋgə.**	**obwəŋgə.**	**uwəŋə.**	**ubəŋgo.**
ku-	Death.	15. [not found.]	[not found.]	okufa.	kufa.	kufa.
pa-	Place (at).	16. ,,	,,	wantu.	pantu.	——
ku-	,, (to).	17. ,,	,,	kuntu.[1]	kuntu.	——
mu-	,, (in).	18. ,,	,,	muntu.[1]	muntu.	——
pi-	Bird.	19. fi-nun (pl. wu-nun 14).	i-nɔn.	[not found.]	[not found.]	[not found.]
γu-	Giant.	20. [not found.]	[not found.]	ogu-ntu.	,,	,,
γû-	,,	21. ,,	,,	[not found.]	chi-muntu.	ji-tu.

Here there are several interesting points to note. The thirteenth (*ka-*, diminutive) class is not found either in Bo or in Duala: the twelfth (*tu-*), which is usually its plural (it is found with a different use in Ganda, and in a few words in Nyanja, where it is no longer a diminutive, the regular diminutive plural prefix being *ti-*), exists in Duala (but not in Bo) as the plural of 19, which last is confined to the western Bantu languages.[2] The fourteenth prefix is usually a collective or abstract, without a plural—sometimes it is a plural prefix corresponding to 13: occasionally, as in Ganda, it performs the double function. It also does double duty in Bo, but the class to which it serves as plural is 19. The locative classes seem to have disappeared without leaving a trace.

The infinitive prefix *ku-* has also disappeared; its place is taken by *i-* (for which reason infinitives used as nouns are placed in the fifth class). This loss appears to affect most of the western Bantu languages from Angola northward; in Kongo only two verbs (*kwenda* "go," and *kwiza* "come") have *ku* prefixed in the infinitive, and this is all the more remarkable because we know from Brusciotto's grammar that the *ku-* infinitive was still used at São Salvador in the middle of the seventeenth century.

It is further remarkable that in Bo the infinitive is distinguished by a suffix *g* preceded by a vowel which varies with the vowel of the stem, e.g. *i-fim-eg* "to climb", *i-nig-ig* "to bend", *i-mot-og* "to squeeze", etc. Consonant endings occur to an extent unusual in any

[1] These forms are probably not in actual use. In Swahili the actual words are no longer found, their place being taken by the Arabic *mahali*, but the three concords are still traceable.

[2] See Johnston, *Comparative Study*, ii, 228, where it is treated as a variation of the eighth prefix and called "8ª". There is a trace of this class in Karanga (S. Rhodesia).

Bantu language, which bears out what has been said as to the transitional character of Bo.

The grammar has been worked out under the editorship of Professor Meinhof (who contributes the introductory remarks on phonetics) with all the care and thoroughness to be expected from German scholarship. Its usefulness is increased by a series of exercises, by two vocabularies (for a great part of which credit must be given to Frau Johanna Vohringer), and some texts, with translation and notes.

The monograph has been issued as a supplement to the invaluable *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* (formerly *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen*), which has continued to appear, in spite of adverse circumstances, up to the present, but is in danger of extinction unless further support can be secured. It is to be hoped that this appeal will not fail to meet with adequate response from those interested in linguistic science, whether in the Old World or the New.

A. WERNER.

DIE VOLKSDICHTUNG DER WAKWELI. SPRICHWÖRTER, FABELN UND MÄRCHEN, PARABELN, RÄTSEL UND LIEDER. Gesammelt und ausgewahlt von C. J. BENDER, von 1899–1910 Missionar in Kamerun. Berlin (D. Reimer), Hamburg (C. Boysen), 1922.

The Wakweli are the tribe sometimes called Bakwiri.[1] Very little has hitherto been written about them, though their language was studied some twenty or thirty years ago by Count Rogoczynski an English translation of whose notes appeared in an early number of the *Journal of the African Society*. They are among the farthest north-western outliers of the Bantu family, and live on the south and south-east slopes of the Cameroons Mountain. They appear to be closely related to their neighbours, the Duala, Ewori, and Mongo tribes.

This collection comprises 150 proverbs, 77 tales, fables, and "parables" (the aptness of the last designation seems a little doubtful), and some riddles and songs. A Hamburg student of folk-lore, Herr J. Ipsen, has contributed a very interesting introduction, in which the stories are compared with the numerous African variants, as well as with others from Europe, Asia, and America.

The Wakweli have been comparatively isolated for a long period from the main stock of the Bantu family, and this explains why many

[1] This form, according to Herr Bender, is "ein Irrtum, der auf Rechnung mangelhaften Horens und ungenugender Kenntnis der Sprachgesetze kommt".

tales, which are quite recognizable as variants of well-known Bantu themes, have departed so widely from the typical form. Thus we have (p. 109) a curious and apparently imperfect version of the tale given by M. Junod (in *Chants et Contes des Baronga*) as "Les Trois Vaisseaux", which is probably, as Herr Ipsen points out, of Indian origin (he refers to an important essay on this subject by Th. Benfey: Kleine Schriften, iii, p. 94). This story has reached peoples so far apart as the Yao of East Africa and the Kru of the Ivory Coast.

No. 20 (p. 51): Ngondo na Enjo "The Girl and the Leopard", is the well-known story of the wilful maiden who refuses all eligible suitors to accept in the end a leopard (or, in other versions, a hyena, an ogre, or a "devil") appearing in the guise of a handsome stranger. No. 25, "The Girl's Marriage," is the same theme, combined with a different one. The disguised bridegroom, in this instance, is a fish—the ndondo-ndume, who borrowed another skin in place of his own—that being covered with a noisome eruption. (He has in the end to resume his own, and the tale thus differs from that current in East Africa as to the exchange of legs and eyes between the millipede and the snake, which has left the one legless and the other blind.) Other well-known themes are that of the race (p. 48) between the tortoise and some other animal (here an antelope), which he wins by planting out his family all along the course; and that of the murdered lad whose bones reveal the secret to his mother (p. 94). No. 17 (p. 49). "The Chimpanzee and the Man," is recorded from the Congo area by the late W. H. Stapleton. It is not likely to occur outside the West African region, to which the anthropoid apes are confined.

The whole collection is of unusual interest, both from a linguistic and an anthropological point of view, and cannot be too warmly commended. As a specimen of the language we may quote two proverbs:—

Lia loko asa kaka lomba: "One hand does not tie up (a) bundle."

Mweni asala wua: "A guest does not eat *Wua*" (a poor kind of vegetable).

A. WERNER.

THE GRAMMAR OF THE LAMBA LANGUAGE. By CLEMENT M. DOKE, M.A. (Published under the joint auspices of the University of the Witwatersrand and the Council of Education, Witwatersrand.) London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1922.

Lamba is spoken "throughout the Ndola district of North-West Rhodesia and in the southern 'tongue' of the Katanga district of the Congo Belge". It was treated by the late A. C. Madan as practically one language with Lala (a classification followed in Sir Harry Johnston's *Comparative Study of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*), and scarcely distinct even from the neighbouring Wisa. Mr. Doke, however, is of opinion that "though there are such great resemblances between these three dialects that a speaker of any one of them would be tolerably understood by speakers of the others, yet the divergencies of grammar and phonetics and the differences of vocabulary are such as to make a separate treatment of them a necessity". He considers that in Lamba we find a very primitive form of Bantu. Whether this is so or not (and the comparative primitiveness of a Bantu language is not altogether an easy matter to decide), it certainly is a very interesting form of speech. The fact that the sixth class pronoun is *a* would, in our opinion, indicate a later stage than that represented by Giryama, Ganda, etc., which have preserved the form *ga*: but this can scarcely be pressed in view of the fact that "primitive" features are apt to occur sporadically: a language which shows some may be deficient in others, which, in their turn, may be found in one of (apparently) later development.

The phonetic section of this book has been most carefully worked out. It is a pity that the symbols of the International Phonetic Association have not been more extensively adopted than has been found possible here: but this, no doubt, is partly due to typographical difficulties, and partly to the author's having in view a system of spelling designed for native readers, for whom some of the symbols in question might prove unnecessarily confusing. For this latter reason *w* has been adopted in place of *v* for the bilabial fricative, while, at the same time, it serves to emphasize the fact that the sound is really nearer *w* than *v*.

With regard to grammar, it seems a pity that Mr. Doke has not followed Bleek's arrangement of the classes, which greatly simplifies comparative work—as any one who has used Meinhof's *Lautlehre* will agree. One cannot help regretting, moreover, that he should have formulated a system of "declensions", which does not correspond with

anything usually understood by that term, and has made five "cases" for which one can scarcely see the necessity. Properly speaking, there is no such thing as "case" in Bantu; the possessive is expressed not by an inflection of the noun, but by a prefixed particle agreeing with the thing possessed; there is no difference in form between nominative and accusative (in fact, Mr. Doke includes both these in his "absolutive" case), and the omission of the initial vowel in the vocative can hardly be held to constitute a case-inflection, since (*a*) this vowel is omitted for other reasons in a variety of instances, and (*b*) it is a debatable point among modern grammarians whether the vocative should be called a "case" at all. The distinctive marks of the "declensions", though some of them are certainly noteworthy and do not seem to have been recorded elsewhere, scarcely warrant the use here made of them. In particular, we find that nouns of "Declension B" (i.e. practically, personal nouns having no prefix) prefix the possessive pronoun instead of the possessive particle, e.g. *ilinso lyakwe* (not *lya*) *ciwa*, "the dove's eye"; whereas we have *akatemo ka* (not *kakwe*) *mfumu*, etc. Now this construction is quite common elsewhere—cf. in Swahili *mama yake yule mwanamke*,[1] but it has never been previously pointed out that it is confined to a particular class of nouns; it would be interesting to trace out how far this distinction holds in languages other than Lamba. Similarly, so far as I am aware, no law has yet been discovered for the retention or dropping of the normal prefix after the diminutive *ka* (e.g. *aka-ntu*, but *ka-mu-si*). On the face of it, Meinhof's suggestion—that plural prefixes were at first invariably added to singular prefixes and, in most cases, afterwards dropped—does not seem unreasonable, and might be applied as well to augmentative and diminutive prefixes. But Mr. Doke has made this distinction the ground for separating diminutives into two classes—4 and 4*a*—in which few, I think, will be found to agree with him.

In Meinhof's remarks on possibly lost noun-classes, he instances nouns with the prefix *ka-* which are not diminutives—e.g. in Herero and in Ganda. In Lamba we have evidence of, possibly, two such classes: one of male animals (*kaluwe* "zebra", otherwise *imbishi*; *kapati* "buffalo", otherwise *inyati*, *imbowo*), and one of verbal nouns indicating the agent (*kalama* "watchman", from *lama*; "watch" *kalola* "looking-glass", from *lola* "look"). Both these are treated as of "Class Ia", and prefix *wa-* to form the plural: but, if Madan was not

[1] P. Sacleux calls this construction "possessif renforcé" (*Gram. des Dialectes Swahilis*, p. 116).

mistaken in assigning to them plurals in *tu-*, they might seem to be in process of assimilation with the diminutive *ka-tu-* classes (Bleek's 13 and 12).

The fact that this book provides numerous starting-points for discussion which, in some cases, may end in serious differences of opinion, is rather a tribute to its importance than the reverse, and it must certainly be pronounced a valuable contribution to the progress of Bantu Studies.

It is impossible to do it justice within our limits, but we may single out for special commendation the careful treatment of the Demonstrative, the chapter on "Derivative Verbs", which recognizes several forms too frequently overlooked, such as the Stative in *-ama* and the "Contactive" (a useful new term) in *-ata*, and the very interesting and suggestive section dealing with Onomatopœia. In connexion with the second of these may be noticed a list (pp. 117–18) of "other forms derived from select roots only, to which as yet no grammatical position has been assigned". Most of these have not, so far as I know, been recorded elsewhere, though some, at least, exist, as **fiŋaŋa**, in Swahili, with the meaning "mould pots". But **-ŋgana** is certainly found as a reciprocal ending in some languages, e.g. Kongo, and all the examples given by Mr Doke are in harmony with the peculiar uses of the Bantu reciprocal (cf. Swahili **viriŋgana** "be round", which might be the reciprocal of a form in **-ŋga** otherwise unrecognized in Swahili.) That it should be confined to roots in *l* is a point requiring further investigation: it may be purely accidental. In conclusion, the "denominative suffix" *-pa* (here called a "Complementary Suffix"), which forms verbs from adjective stems, should not have been placed under this heading. It is not a derived form of the verb, but a distinct formation.

A. WERNER.

ASSYRIAN GRAMMAR, WITH CHRESTOMATHY AND GLOSSARY. By SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Ph.D., D.D., of the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago. London: Luzac & Co., 1921.

In this little book of 122 octavo pages, the reader will find all that he needs to introduce him to a knowledge of one of the most interesting of the Semitic languages of Western Asia, either ancient or modern. Without going so far as to say that Assyrian is "the Sanskrit of the Semitic tongues"—that proud position belongs, in all probability, to classical Arabic—we may say that we have here a very ancient form

of Semitic speech, and well worth the attention of all Semitic scholars. That it has its difficulties no one familiar with this ancient language will deny, but its difficulties themselves form, to all right-minded students, one of its attractions, for they give scope to the imagination and the natural desire of mankind to succeed where the cleverest may have failed. Discoveries, however, are no longer the events of every two or three days or weeks, and this is a pity, but one may come across something of importance at any time, provided one has the material needed—either an untranslated or an imperfectly understood inscription.

In the present book we have not only a sketch of Assyro-Babylonian grammar, but also a good selection of extracts showing what has hitherto been found in the inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria—extracts which give a good reason for taking up the study. The grammar itself occupies 68 pages, treating of the syllabary and the method of writing, the phonology, the pronouns, verbal forms, nouns and their suffixes, adjectives, etc., and finally sections upon the syntax. From here onwards to the end of the book (pp. 69–122) the student will find the Chrestomathy. Sign-list, and Glossary. And this, to many, will doubtless prove to be the most interesting part of the book, for we have "The Titles and Deeds of Ḫammurabi", "The Siege of Damascus and the Tribute of Jehu", "Aššurbanipal's First Egyptian Campaign", "Accession-Prayer of Nebuchadnezzar II to Marduk", "From Ištar's Descent into Hades", "A Lamentation", "An Observation of the Moon", and "Assyrian Letters". It is true that with regard to some of these the beginner will certainly find difficulties, but the extract with "Model Analysis", which forms chapter 31, will show him how these things are done, and will doubtless give hints.

It will probably be admitted that this is a goodly selection and a varied one, and in a work in which more space were available could have been greatly extended. Indeed, it is needless to say that a still greater variety could have been given if the legends, incantations, charms, penitential psalms, Tal-al-Amarna letters, late Babylonian letters, and the contracts of Assyria and Babylonia, etc., had been drawn upon. Specimens of the three classes of syllabaries—those texts upon which, with the grammatical inscriptions, our knowledge of the language is based—will be found on pp. 16–18.

It has already been said that Assyrian (otherwise Akkadian or Semitic Babylonian) is one of the most interesting languages known. It cannot be said that the Semites are good grammarians, and the

Assyro-Babylonians were probably not more acute etymologists and word-makers than the rest, but it is noteworthy that this ancient form of speech contains more varied verbal forms than any other tongue of the same family, and that these forms may be arranged and classified in quite symmetrical groups. Thus we have the Qal, or "light" conjugation, with its secondary form inserting *t* and its tertiary form inserting *tan*, and the Naphul, Puul, and Suphul derived conjugations, formed upon the same models. In addition to these, there are two intensives of the Suphul (Supaul and Sutapaul), and the double *t* or *tat* conjugations (Sitatapul, derived from the Puul, is one), which first came to my notice in a grammar for comparative purposes by Professor A. H. Sayce.

It is needless to say that this elaborated system of verbal forms, with other interesting characteristics (such as the syllabic and ideographic system of writing combined so fantastically), constitute an attraction even for those who ordinarily have no taste for puzzles and enigmas invented merely to while away time which might often be better spent. And another attraction for the student who has soared to competence is the reading of difficult texts, or the finding of improved renderings therein, by obtaining better copies. In these pastimes (for such they may be called) good eyesight, critical ingenuity, and a certain amount of draughtmanship are naturally needed.

Light on the History of Merodach's Temple at Babylon

And perhaps here it might not be a thing without interest to give an example of gains to knowledge which may be secured by the renewed study of a tablet. Among the Assyrian letters in the British Museum are two addressed to the King of Assyria by Warad-âḫē-šu, who seems to have been by profession an architect and builder. These inscriptions have been published by the late R. F. Harper in the first volume of his *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, Nos. 119 and 120, and I have been from time to time engaged in revising the whole series—a work which, owing to other occupations, goes very slowly. Having copied the first of these two inscriptions long before Professor Harper began his edition, I was well acquainted with its contents, which I decided to make use of in my recent lectures upon "Babylon and its Gods" at University College. I need not detail all the improvements which I made, but one correction stood out as being important, and that was in Harper's No. 120. In that text, line 7, which is part of the introduction, ends with  , the character for "house". On the

tablet, however, two characters follow this, and these are the signs  , *sag-gil*, making, with the last character of Harper's copy, *É-saggil*, the late and terminationless form of the original *É-sagila*, the great temple at Babylon dedicated to Merodach and the deities associated with him.

As I have said, I knew what were the contents of Harper's No. 119—it referred to work done on the restoration of the temple É-sagila, but No. 120 referred at some length to the quantity of cedar-wood sent eastwards for building operations. It could be surmised that these were in connexion with É-sagila, owing to the wording of the remainder of the introductory phrases, but the completion of line 7 places this surmise practically beyond a doubt. The uncertain point is whether the two tablets are rightly placed chronologically—they may be, but the probability is that that referring to the sending of the material preceded that recording the actual building operations.

These two tablets, then, deal with the work executed on the great Babylonian temple called É-sagila, "the house of head-raising," in the sense, apparently, of rendering joyful, comforting, satisfying, and the like. It was situated to the south of the Tower of Babel, and was apparently arranged in such a way as to facilitate the performance of the ceremonies in which the priestly authorities of the two fanes took part. Both of them were of extreme antiquity, and if anything the temple was the older of the two, the tower being a later erection, possibly by one or two centuries. Bishop Ussher's chronology places the building of the Tower of Babel at about 2247 B.C., but the foundation of the city of Babylon probably goes back to a much earlier date—indeed, it may be coeval with the date of Nippur (identified with Calneh), which the American explorers have estimated to have been founded about 8,000 years before Christ. The Tower was apparently completed, but it is probably true that "they left off to build the city"—under what influence we are left to surmise only, for although the confusion of tongues may have been great at Babylon, Sumerians and Akkadians always seem to have understood each other sufficiently to enable them to get on fairly well together.

The Tower having, then, been completed, it fell from time to time into decay, and had to be restored. And this probably took place during the reign of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, who destroyed Babylon, and possibly did not spare even the temple of its principal god. Esarhaddon, his son, wishing to regain the allegiance of the Babylonians, as well as their sympathetic support, restored, as far as

he could, the city and its temples, and his sons, Aššur-bani-pal, of Assyria, and Šamaš-šum-ukîn, who had been made king of Babylon, continued the work.

In the first letter—that referring to the cedar-trees—Warad-âḫê-šu salutes the King of Assyria, and hopes that Aššur of Ê-šarra may be gracious to him, and that Merodach, Zēr-panîtum, his spouse, Nebo and Tašmêtum, Nanaa, and all the gods of Ê-sagila, may favour him. After further good wishes, the writer goes on to say that he had brought 138 cedars during the year, apparently from a forest in the Palestinian region (? Lebanon). These trees for building seem to have been stored at Carchemish. Among them were thirty "mighty cedars", apparently for the shrine of the lord of the gate of the vessels (*papaḫ Bêl bâb ânû*), and from the mutilated remainder of the tablet we see that consignments (? of cedar-trees) had been taken three times. Other imperfect but interesting details follow, and the whole, when restored as far as such a defective text allows, will probably be found to contain interesting and perhaps important information concerning the great and celebrated temple in the most renowned city of the ancient Semitic world.

The other tablet, which is more perfect, refers to work done upon this same temple, apparently by the orders of Aššur-bani-pal ("the great and noble Asnapper"), who was co-operating with his brother in the restoration. With regard to this, the writer of these letters, Warad-âḫe-šu, mentions that "the King of Babylon" (apparently Šamaš-šum-ukîn) had been giving him instructions: "Ye shall construct the durable surrounding wall of Ê-sagilla," "Ye shall build the temple of the Lady of Babylon," and "Let the guardians of the approa[ches] of the courts of Ê-sagila take charge of the rest". "May the king my lord know", adds Warad-âḫê-šu—words which seem to imply that he objected to receive orders from one who was not really his master.

The Great Discoveries of Former Years

This is but a small addition to our knowledge compared with Sir Henry Rawlinson's acquisition, at the risk of his life, of the text of the Behistun inscription, which enabled him to place the crown on Grotefend's (and his own) discovery how to read the Persian cuneiform inscriptions; or when compared with the identification of Yaua, son of Ḫumrî, as Jehu, son of Omri on the Black Obelisk; or Sir H. Rawlinson's discovery of the name of Belshazzar; or, again, with George Smith's publication of the Deluge and the Creation stories.

These are only a few of our most noteworthy gains from the literature hidden in the wedge-formed characters found in the Mesopotamian Plain and its neighbourhood: and in that wonderful land of Babylonia, at the head of the Persian Gulf, dwelt the inventors of other Creation and Flood stories than those first translated by George Smith, each reflecting a new phase of the religious beliefs of that so-called changeless East, where the worship of the heaven-god Anu gave way to that of Ea, the god of the sea: where the god of the sea had later to yield, in his turn, to Merodach—"the merciful Merodach"; and when, after the departure of the sceptre from Babylon, he in his turn had to abdicate, his place seems to have been taken by Ana-Ellila, the combined representative of the god and creator of heaven, earth, and all that is therein.

Paradise

But through it all there seems to have been among the Babylonians the feeling and belief that their land was the place of Paradise, and this they retained to the end. There, at the head of the Persian Gulf, were the four rivers—four water-heads formed of artificial canals, to say the truth—and situated there was the "good city" called Êridu, with its "dark vine", the type of the trees of life and of knowledge. In the deep dwelt Ea, the profoundly wise, and the Sun god Dumu-zi, or Tammuz, between the mouths of the rivers on both sides—the Tigris and the Euphrates before the Shatt al-Arab was formed by the mud carried down and the sand silted up. Êridu, which is now represented by the mounds of Abu-shahrein, was one of the most interesting of the cities of Babylonia, and seems to have given its name to the whole of the country, for in many a contract-tablet we find the ruler designated *šar Êridu ki*, "king of Êridu," in the sense of "king of Babylon" or "of Babylonia"—for as Êridu was not the capital, it must in a sense have represented the provinces.

The Newest Babylonian Creation-story

What records we may ultimately obtain from Êridu no one knows, for we have still to learn a great deal about that city, its worship, and its priests. Until its secrets (if any) be revealed, however, we have the invaluable records from Niffer, the Biblical Calneh, to fall back upon, and of these an unexpected instalment, in the shape of a new and important variation of the Creation-stories, has come to light. The newspaper report informs us that the inscription has been translated

by Professor Edward Chiera, of the University of Pennsylvania, who claims that it is the source of the account of the Creation in Genesis. The tablet is described as being in Sumerian, and the text with which it is inscribed is in the form of a dialogue between Adam and his creator.

"It resembles the Biblical story in its reference to forbidden fruit—man's disobedience, man's unlawful attainment of knowledge, his expulsion into the desert, and his compulsion to labour. Man's adoption of clothing in consequence of his new knowledge is indicated, but there is no allusion to a serpent or tempter."

Such is the report, and it has all the appearance of a correct outline. It shows the importance of a knowledge of Sumerian to every Assyriologist, and a very excellent grammar of this archaic language is that of Professor Stephen Langdon, of Oxford. But what an immensely important subject Assyriology has now become! First, the flood-story is shown to have been of Babylonian origin; after that the story of Rahab is recognized as the reproduction of the Babylonian legend of Bel and the Dragon: and now the Babylonians of those prehistoric ages may almost claim as theirs the Hebrew account of the Creation. That in Genesis, if it was written (as is probable) to refute the claim made on behalf of Merodach to be regarded as the creator of the world and of all the life therein, and as he who ordered the universe, would by that intention testify to the earlier date of the Babylonian legend reproduced by Damascius, with which we were already acquainted.

Dr. Mercer's *Assyrian Grammar* will help the beginner to make himself acquainted with the important Akkadian (Assyro-Babylonian) language, which forms the key to Sumerian and its mysterious literature, and perhaps the author of this article may be allowed to refer also to his own *Outline of Assyrian Grammar*, with its syllabary of 366 characters, its list of Babylonian equivalents, its name-lists, and its texts with Aramaic dockets. In most cases the Sign-list gives the Sumerian forms of the Semitic words, and there are explanatory notes upon the texts published. THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES.

THE PHONOLOGY OF BAKHTIARI, BADAKHSHANI, AND MADAGLASHTI. By Major D. L. R. LORIMER, C.I.E. xi, 205 pp. London: Royal Asiatic Society.

It has been Major Lorimer's good fortune to serve in different parts of India and Persia; it is our good fortune that he has devoted his

scanty leisure to a study of the speech of those to whom he has ministered. He is already known to us through his *Syntax of Colloquial Pashto*, reviewed in the July number of the *JRAS.* for 1916.

The greater part of the present volume is given to Bakhtiārī. There is an admirable introduction of nine pages, describing the people themselves, followed by ninety pages on the phonology of the language. Finally there is a Bakhtiārī-English vocabulary of nearly 1,400 words. The author laments the fact that readers will miss the attractions of a modern novel. Perhaps they will, for just as we are getting into the plot the story is abruptly brought to an end, and we are not even given a clear promise that the rest of the narrative—grammar and texts—will appear in due time. The *Colloquial Pashto* certainly was as interesting as a novel, and this work, if completed, may almost rival its forerunner.

Badakhshānī and Madaglashtī are more briefly discussed, receiving less than eighty pages between them ; but from another point of view we may say that the treatment is more complete, for in addition to phonology and vocabulary (about 600 words in each case), we have a résumé of the grammar and one or two short texts.

We are grateful to Major Lorimer for his careful description of sounds. It is a branch of language study which is sadly neglected. Without actually meeting the men whose pronunciation he has indicated, it is rash to suggest changes. I cannot persuade myself that Bakhtiārī *c* and *j* are combinations of *t*+*sh* and *d*+*zh* (I expect they are plosives with a gradual détente), and some of the Badakhshānī sounds are not what my friends used, but we are not in a position to judge, and we can only thank the author for so fully whetting our curiosity.

In several points the account of Badakhshānī differs from the language to which I was accustomed. In saying this I do not suggest any error. The speakers were different, their habitat was different, their circumstances were different. One would anticipate a difference of speech, and one of the charms of the description for me has been the opportunity of noting this diversity. A few examples may be of interest. My friends had no ɔ: or ð among their sounds ; in accidence they said :—

ma for *man* ; *ūrā* for *ōrā* ; *asta* for *as* ; *mekunum* for *mekinam*.

They contracted more fully ; thus one heard regularly *cittur* for *cè tår* ; *ciqqa* for *cè qadar* ; the pres. indic. of *guftan*, *raftan*, and *dādan* were as follows :—

megum	megem	merum	merem	metum	metem
megī	megen	merī	meren	metī	metem
mega	megan	mera	meran	meta	metan

The author's informants do not appear to have employed retroflex consonants, or to have borrowed much from Pashto and Urdu or Panjabi. Those whom I knew did both these things. The following remark made to me by a person of high rank is a good illustration. He had been lamenting the waywardness of his grown-up son, and the restraining influence of English officers upon his own actions, "otherwise," he exclaimed, "*ma kẖo hama haḍḍīhā e ū rā meshikistāndum;* (if I had had my own way) I should have broken all his bones." This word *kẖo* was almost their commonest word.

Major Lorimer's preface was written in Gilgit. Though he has not yet acceded to my request of six years ago to write a Pashto manual, perhaps he will not refuse this second request—to utilize such time as he can spare from his official duties for the compilation of a Burushaskī Grammar and Vocabulary. Such an opportunity will perhaps not recur in this generation.

May this somewhat unsystematic review serve to draw attention to a work of not a little charm and felicity.

T. Grahame Bailey.

The Heart of Arabia: A Record of Travel and Exploration. By H. St. J. B. Philby, C.I.E., I.C.S., etc. In two Volumes. London: Constable, 1922. Three Guineas.

If records of exploration in Arabia are still comparatively few, their authors enjoy to the full the advantage that accrues to workers in an unfamiliar field; they are remembered and read when other travellers are forgotten. Of the series which begins with Carsten Niebuhr each link is still indispensable to the student; and besides the geographical and anthropological information which they furnish, these writers have left vivid impressions of their own interesting personalities. The newest contribution to this literature, Mr. Philby's two volumes of travel and exploration, is likely to be as long-lived as its predecessors, most of which it surpasses in fullness and accuracy of information, while it is scarcely inferior to any in freshness and vigour.

The first volume contains an account of a political mission which brought the author to the Court of Ibn Su'ud at Riyaḍ, and his journey thence by land to Jeddah, where he embarked for the Persian Gulf

Thence he presently returned to Riyaḍ, whence he undertook on his own account an exploring expedition, wherein he visited Kharj, Aflaj, and Wadi Dawasir. His account of this journey occupies his second volume. Both volumes are richly illustrated with photographs, and his geographical discoveries are embodied in two maps.

If advantages and disadvantages be balanced, probably it will be found that Mr. Philby's exploration was conducted under more favourable conditions than those enjoyed by any previous traveller. Most of his predecessors had to play some part, and for this and other reasons were seriously hampered in their movements; whereas Mr. Philby travelled as the accredited agent of the British Government to the Wahhabi ruler, who then as now was enjoying a British subsidy and had the status of an ally. Even so he clearly did not have everything his own way; but he had not to combine inconsistent vocations, or to discard scientific appliances of fear of rousing suspicion. Hence it is probable that greater reliance may be placed on his statements than on those of less fortunate travellers.

A portion of his second volume is devoted to discussion of Palgrave's veracity, and his results are not favourable to that brilliant writer. Places mentioned by Palgrave are not now known to have existed; others which ought to have come in his way are not known by him. Palgrave's history ordinarily turns out to be trustworthy, but the same cannot be said for his geography.

Mr. Philby's contributions to the latter subject appear to be of great value, and the understanding of his statements is greatly assisted by the numerous photographs which he inserts, all successfully executed. He has also contributed substantially to our knowledge of the Central Arabian vocabulary, which contains many local technicalities, only to be understood from personal observation. In certain cases he enables us to substitute something precise for vague definitions already to be found in our dictionaries He shows much acuteness in tracing out the etymological forms of words which have been altered in local pronunciation.

The political information is also of great value, not only for the history of the part played by the communities of Arabia in the war but for that of the Wahhabis from the point at which Nolde stops. The present ruler of Riyaḍ appears to have many of the gifts necessary for his station, though Mr. Philby does not conceal the narrow bigotry of his religious system, and the unhappy effects which it produces. The effects of Turkish rule in Arabia would, however, seem to have

been much more disastrous, and one gathers that its removal has ordinarily been followed by increased prosperity.

In the work of Doughty we get the life of the Arab depicted from the indigenous standpoint better than any other traveller has succeeded in depicting it. Possibly the work of M. Jaussen challenges comparison with that of Doughty in this matter, but then Moab is not quite the same as Central Arabia. While by no means neglecting manners and customs, Mr. Philby is probably strongest in geography, ethnography, and linguistics. In any case we have to thank him both for a most interesting work and for a stately series of additions to our knowledge.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

LINGUISTIC STUDIES FROM THE HIMALAYA, BEING STUDIES IN THE GRAMMAR OF FIFTEEN HIMALAYAN DIALECTS. By the Rev. T. GRAHAME BAILEY, B.D., M.A. (Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. XVII.) pp xv + [iv], 277. London, 1920.

It is not specially easy to review a work dealing with fifteen dialects, belonging to two distinct families of speech; and in the present case one of the families, the Indo-Aryan, is represented by dialects appertaining to three sub-groups, Lahndā, Western Pahārī, and Panjābī. Fortunately, Mr. Grahame Bailey's competence in respect of observation and method is so well established by his previous writings that it is unnecessary to raise any questions relating to those spheres.

With the exception of the Purik and the two Lahndā languages, the dialects here treated belong to the country lying to the west, north, and east of the Simla area; and perhaps more detailed inquiries in the future may detect more effects of the conjunction in this district of three large linguistic groups.

In general, the fifteen grammars may be described as similar in form to the expositions in the volumes of the Linguistic Survey, but with greater detail (in proportion to the importance of the dialects) and without the bibliographies. In each case we have a general introduction, an elaborate phonological description, a sketch of morphology and syntax, a collection of sentences, and a vocabulary; sometimes, also, a version of the "Prodigal Son". The statement in the Preface (1915) that only two of the dialects had so far been treated in the Linguistic Survey volumes requires at the present date considerable modification: but the value of Mr. Bailey's work is not seriously impaired, since in all the instances his accounts are much fuller than was requisite for the purpose of the Survey.

The two Tibeto-Burman dialects, Purik and Lower Kanaurī (with the Chitkhŭli spoken only in two villages), belong respectively to the non-pronominalized Western Tibetan and the pronominalized Himalayan groups. The former shares with the Ladakhi, in a high degree, the retention of the "prefixed" letters in pronunciation, and the vocabulary is surprisingly like that of the book Tibetan. It has some noticeable sounds, such as a velar *g̱* and *g*, an unvoiced *l*, and initial *r*. Possibly, the occasional change of *ŭ* to *ŏ* may be due to a following *n*. The morphology shows a marked development towards inflection. Mr. Bailey makes up a regular noun inflection with case suffixes not all transparent, and a plural suffix *un* (from *kun* "all"). The participial *ĕ* or *ĕi* is probably connected with the Tibetan *de*, *te*, *ste*, and the future *ŭk* (Kanaurī-*adk*) will go back to *l̤dug*, which in Tibetan also has future uses.

The Lower Kanaurī, which is to be compared with the Kanaurī of the Survey (partly supplied by Mr. Bailey), differs markedly from ordinary Tibetan in vocabulary, and shows a great advance in verb flexion. It belongs to the group of "complex pronominalized" languages, in which Mr. Bailey and the Survey recognize a Mundā substrate. The equipment of special dual forms seems to be clearly of Mundā origin. The chief peculiarities of pronunciation are the glottal catch after some vowels, and the half-pronounced final *k*.

There is not much to be said concerning the two Lahndā dialects, Kāgānī and Bahramgala. The nine Pahārī dialects occupy a considerable space, pp. 113–230. All have a Static Participle, which from Transitive verbs is passive, and all show the Future *l*, general in Pahārī, except when the Future does not differ from the present. Only dialects of Mandi and Suket exhibit *ng*, *gh*, or *gr* in the Future, a fact clearly connected with their neighbourhood to the Panjābī of Bilāspur, which, on its part, has taken over the Static Participle. The notes on the argot of the Qalandar and the secret words of the Qasai and the Panjābī Gamblers are mainly lexicographical.

Not much is to be said concerning the syntax of these languages, which is similar to that of ordinary Hindi, of Tibetan, and Central Asian languages, and is essentially non-Indo-European. But regarding pronunciation, Mr. Bailey dwells, not here for the first time, upon the presence of tones in many of the dialects, as in Northern Panjābī. A very interesting phenomenon is the connexion of the tone with a modification of the medial aspirates. Thus, in Northern Panjābī the sonant aspirate is never pronounced, but in a syllable having the

accent it undergoes a further change to the tenuis, the syllable taking the deep tone: thus *ghṓrā* is pronounced *kṓrā*. The variations which occur in this volume are as follows:—

Panjābī *ghṓrā*	pronounced	*kṓrā*.
Kāgānī *ghṑr*	,,	*kṑr*.
Kōcī *gṓhṛo*	,,	*gṓ'ṛo*
Jubbul *gṓhṛo*	,,	*gṓ'ro* (no tone), or *gṓ'ro*.

The connexion of the *h* with the tone is seen in the fact that an accented syllable following uncompounded *h* has the low tone, while preceding it has, in Kāgānī, the high-falling tone. It would be interesting to have a good phonetic theory of these changes. Provisionally, we may suggest stages more or less as follows:—

(1) Anticipation of the stress, which thus falls upon the consonant, making it *fortis*:—*ghṓrā* > *Ghṓrā*.

(2) The *h* (voiced aspirate), being inconvenient after the *fortis*, either (*a*) disappears, as in Panjābī, leaving only its naturally inherent low tone; thus *Ghṓrā* > *Gṓṛā*; or (*b*) is postponed, so as to follow the vowel: thus *Ghṓrā* > *Gṓhrā*.

(3) In *Gṓhrā* the *h* either (*a*) becomes a glottal catch (like the Greek *spiritus* lenis): *Gṓhrā* > *Gṓ'rā*: or (*b*) disappears, giving to the preceding vowel the high-falling tone: *Gṓhrā* > *Gṓrā*.

(4) In Panjābī the *fortis G* either persists and is heard as *k*, or actually becomes *k*.

We may remark that a connexion of the syllabic tone with differences of initial consonant is a common phenomenon, seen in Tibetan, Siamese, etc.

Mr. Grahame Bailey's work contains many other precise and valuable observations, and we are fortunate in possessing first-hand accounts of these dialects from so critical and reliable a scholar.

F. W. THOMAS.

NOTES AND QUERIES

TWO INDIAN STANDARDS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

With reference to the interesting standards described by Dr. T. Grahame Bailey in the *Bulletin*, Vol. II, Pt. III, pp. 549–54, it may perhaps be worth while to make the following supplementary remarks :—

(1) There seems to be no good reason for connecting either of these standards with Ḥaidar ʿAlī. The date 1216, which both of them bear, is subsequent to Ḥaidar ʿAlī's death.

(2) That those who rallied round these flags did not belong to the Shīʿah faith is sufficiently proved by the invocations of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān.

(3) الحلم لله should be corrected to الحكم لله. This idea is Qur'ānic, cf. *Sūrah* xl, 12 (فالحكم لله العلى الكبير); vi, 57, 62; xii, 40, 67; xxviii, 70, 88.

(4) The persons invoked on the round band of Standard I are well-known Ṣūfī saints. Their names in chronological order are as follows :—

(i) Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī (died A.H. 261 or 264; see *Encyclopædia of Islām*, i, 686*b*).

(ii) Junaid Baghdādī (died A.H. 297; see *Ency. Isl.*, i, 1063*a*).

(iii) Khwājah Yūsuf Hamadānī (died A.H. 535; see Ethé, India Office Catalogue, 283, 73).

(iv) Khwājah ʿAbd al-Khāliq Ghujduwānī (died 575; see *Ency. Isl.*, ii, 165*a*).

(v) Khwājah Muḥammad Bābā i Samāsī (adoptive father of Bahā al-Dīn Naqshband; see Ethé, 283, 80).

(vi) Saiyid Amīr Kulāl, pupil of the preceding *shaikh* (died A.H. 772; see Ethé, 283, 81).

(vii) Bahā al-Dīn Naqshband (died A.H. 791; see Ethé, 283, 82; Brockelmann, ii, 205, etc.).

With the exception of Junaid, who is regarded as a spiritual ancestor by the Qādirīs, all these *shaikhs* occur in the "pedigree" of the Naqshbandī order.

C. A. Storey.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY, NOS. II AND III

In these numbers Dr. John Sampson continues his valuable series of Welsh Gypsy Tales with translation and notes. In No. II is an explanation of the signs and letters used in his transcription. Two remarkable facts emerge from it. One is that Welsh gypsies have apparently no monophthongic sounds corresponding to *e* and *o*, but seem to employ English diphthongs. The other is the existence of three closely allied sounds, viz. *o* in "not", *ou* in "nought", and *o* in French "homme". One would like further assurance about these, especially the diphthongs. The statement that Indian palatals have ceased to be palatal, and have become t+ś, and d+ź, is rash. I doubt whether any phonetically trained student of modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars would corroborate it.

In No. III are interesting Rumanian gypsy songs by Miss Dora Yates. Unfortunately no indication of the system of transcription is given.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

A LIST OF ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS PRESERVED IN CAIRO

Thanks to Mr. Stephen Gaselee, librarian of the Foreign Office, there has been received in our Library a list of the Arabic manuscripts contained in the library of El-Azhar University, other than those mentioned in the printed catalogue of the Sultanic [late Khedevial] library at Cairo. The list comprises twenty-nine categories, as mentioned below, and is arranged under the titles :—

History.
Syntax.
Religious teaching of the Ahmed Ibn Hanbal Sect.
" " " Malik Sect.
" " " Shia'h Sect.
" " " Shafie Sect.
" " " Abou Hanifa Sect.
Biography.
Geometry.
Reciting the Koran.
The Personality of God.
Grammar.
Wisdom and Philosophy.
Medicine.
Logic.

Ethics.
Language.
Astronomy and Chronometry.
Literature.
Ritual.
Higher Criticism of the Sayings of Mohammed.
Textual Commentaries.
Sufi Devotions.
The Sayings of Mohammed.
The Art of Prosody and Rhyming.
Eloquence.
The Art of Discussion and Argument.
The Study of Word-roots.
Etymological Science.

The History section is not very extensive, but contains 24 volumes of Ibn-al-Asakir's *History of Damascus*; and a copy of the very rare work of Khalil upon the history of the vezirs; 25 works on Hadis; and 29 works on Sufism. The largest section is under the title of "Adab", or Literature, and comprises nearly 100 numbers.

The list will be preserved in the Library of the School, and it is hoped that students will avail themselves of the opportunity to consult it.

THE SINDHI IMPLOSIVES[1]

Implosives differ from plosives in being uttered with an intake of breath. It may be taken into the lungs or stopped in the larynx. Theoretically a plosive-implosive is also possible, in which air is expelled from the lungs and simultaneously inhaled, the current in both cases going no further than the larynx. A final decision can only be made in a phonetic laboratory, but without such aid it is possible to give an approximately correct account of these sounds.

The Sindhi implosives are four in number, all unaspirated sonants, a bilabial, a guttural, a retroflex tongue-tip palatal, and palatalized blade-front-dento-alveolar. Three of them correspond to the North Indian sounds usually written *b*, *g*, and *ḍ*. The fourth is supposed to correspond to *j*, but is actually a palatalized *d*. The ordinary *d*-implosive is not found. All four may be initial, medial, or final. Many other sounds may be enunciated in this way, but Sindhi has only four.

[1] "Implosive" has sometimes been used in a slightly different sense, e.g. by Professor Jones in *English Phonetics*.

One must first learn to control one's larynx and to raise or lower it at will. It is not difficult to make a difference of an inch between the high and the low position of the larynx, and with practice this could be increased. The best rule for producing them is perhaps this: try to make an ordinary *b*, *g*, *d*, or palatalized *d*, but at the same time close the glottis and lower the larynx. This will necessitate an intake of breath, and prevent air from going beyond the larynx.

I feel convinced that the amount of air that reaches the lungs is negligible. A simple experiment goes to prove this. If one holds one's breath and repeats the implosive *b* as often as one can without taking a fresh breath (it is easy to do so about 250 times), one will find that at the end one can make a full inhalation. If at each of these 250 repetitions an appreciable amount of air had been taken in, a final inhalation would have been impossible.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

TO THE QUESTION OF EARLY PERSIAN POETRY

In the interesting paper published by Mr. C. E. Wilson in Vol. II of this *Bulletin* (p. 215 seq.) is raised once more the question of the beginnings of the Persian literature. The author comes to the conclusion that there must have been Persian poets long before the times of the Sāmānid dynasty, though the couplets quoted in various Tadhkiras, even in the oldest of them, the Lubabu'l-Albāb of 'Awfī, "may be authentic, but are more probably not so" (p. 218). Nearly the same has already been said in the first volume of Professor E. G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia*[1] about the well-known ode ascribed to 'Abbās Merwezī, as if presented to the Khalīf Ma'mūn in 193 = 809, and professing to be the first piece of poetry in Persian. There is no difference whatever in language between this piece and much later productions—of course, a strong evidence against the authenticity of the ode quoted by 'Awfī.[2] There can be no doubt that such forgeries were already common at the beginning of the thirteenth century: 'Awfī himself had seen, in one of the libraries of Bokhārā,

[1] *Lit. Hist.* i, 13. From the same book (p. 11) is taken what is said by Mr. Wilson about the "surviving monuments from the time of the Sāmānides": he does not mention the very valuable geographical work *Ḥudūdu'l-'Alem*, written in 372 (982–3) and discovered in Bokhārā by the late A. Tumanski in 1892; see Tumanski's paper in the Russian *Zapiski*, x, 121 sq. The work is mentioned several times by J. Marquart in his *Osteuropaische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Lpz. 1903) und *Ostasiatische Dialektstudien* (Berl. 1914).

[2] *Lubāb*, i, 21.

a copy of the Dīwān of Bahrām Gūr, though apparently not in Persian but in Arabic.[1]

Like Persian historians, the authors of Persian Tadhkiras did not know anything about the real facts of the political and intellectual life of their nation in the first centuries of Islām. For early and trustworthy information about such facts we must turn to Arabic historians and geographers. By students of Persian poetry this has not yet been done; if I remember right, no one, even of our best authorities, has mentioned the fact that the geographer Ibn Khordādhbeh[2] (ninth century) quotes the following verses in Persian by Abū-l-Taḳiyy al-'Abbās ibn Ṭarkhān, of course, the same poet as 'Abbās Merwezī:—

سَمَرْقَنْد كَنْدمَنْد بِزِينَت كَى اَفْكَنْد
أَز شاش نَه بَهِى هَميشَه نَه جَهِى

The verses are in a much more ancient language than the ode quoted by 'Awfī and others, and allude to historical facts quite unknown by historians: there can therefore hardly be any doubt about the authenticity. The translation given by de Goeje[3] is perhaps not quite correct and must be revised by an Iranist: the verses may not be very remarkable as poetical production; nevertheless, they are the only available remains of the earliest poetry of Eastern Īrān, entirely forgotten by later generations.

Equally interesting and equally unknown by Persian authors and unnoticed by Persian scholars in Europe is the information given by Ṭabarī, unfortunately without any specimens, about an early poet of Western Īrān. Amongst the adherents of Bābek was Muḥammed ibn Ba'īth, the owner of several castles in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Urmia, who betrayed Bābek and was helping the Arabs against his countrymen, but afterwards revolted against the Khalīf, was captured in 850, and died about the same year. One of Ṭabarī's authorities (the name is omitted in the manuscripts) has heard in Marāgha, from the "shaikhs" of that town, verses *in Persian*,[4]

[1] Ibid., i. 79 sq.

[2] *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vi, text. p. 26.

[3] Ibid., translation, p. 19: "Samarkand est une ruine Comme il a renversé tous ses (?) ornements! Tu n'est pas meilleure que Schâsch: tu n'échappes pas toujours."

[4] بالفارسيّة, *Tabarī*, iii, 1388, 8.

composed by Muḥammed ibn Ba'īth; the same shaikhs spoke with praises of his cultivation (*adab*) and bravery. From the last words we may conclude that the poetry of Ibn Ba'īth, not mentioned in any "Tadhkira", and probably already forgotten in the time of the Sāmānides, must have enjoyed some success amongst his contemporaries.

W. BARTHOLD.

OBITUARY

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS

WE have to record, with deep regret, the death of Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, a member of the Governing Body of this School, whose name has for many years been a household word among Oriental scholars and whose great work in the field of Pali Buddhist research is of epoch-making importance. He has passed away in the fullness of years and with the satisfaction of knowing that the greater part of the task he had set himself was accomplished, although the last work for which he was responsible, the new Pali Dictionary appearing under his superintendence, is still passing through the Press.

This brief and inadequate notice of a great Orientalist is intended to be supplemented hereafter by a more detailed memoir.

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC, PERSIAN, URDU, AND HINDI.

With a view to securing uniformity of transcription in all the languages taught in the School of Oriental Studies, a Sub-Committee consisting of the Director, Professor Sir Thomas Arnold, and Dr. T. Grahame Bailey was appointed by the Academic Board to draw up a scheme of transliteration for Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and Hindi, and this has now been adopted. The scheme for the other languages will follow in due course. A complete scheme for a phonetic rendering of the languages of Asia and Africa is also in course of preparation.

Arabic		Urdu and Persian	Hindi
ث	th	s̱	—
ج	j	j̱	j
چ	—	ch	ch
छ	—	chh	chh
ح	h	ẖ	—
خ	kh	kh̲	—
د	d	d	d
ذ	dh	ẕ	—
ڈ	—	d *and* ڑ = ṛ	ḍ *and* ड़ = ṛ
ڈھ	—	ḍh	ḍh
ز	z	z	—
ژ	—	zh	—
ش	sh	sh	—
श	—	—	ś
ष	—	—	s
ص	s	s̱	—
ض	d	z	—
ط	t	t	—
ظ	z	z	—

ARABIC		URDU AND PERSIAN	HINDI
ع	ʿ	ʿ	---
غ	gh	gh	—
ق	q	q	—
ण	—	—	ṇ
ङ	—	ṅ	ṅ
ञ	—	—	ñ
و	w	v	v
ی	y	y	y
ळ	—	—	ḷ
ـَ	[fatḥah] a		
ـِ	[kesraḥ] i		
ـُ	[dḥammah] u		
ـَی	ay	ay	ai *or* ay
ـَو	aw	aw	au *or* av
ـِی	ī		
ـُو	ū		
ا *or* آ	ā		
ـیّ	ayy		
ـوّ	aww		
ـُوّ	uww		
ـیٰ	[alif maqsūrah] à		
ء	[hamzah] ʾ		
Nasal vowels	—	~	~
Aspirates (1)	bh, kh, etc.	bh, kh, etc.	bh, kh, etc.
(2) In separate syllable	s'h, etc.	s h, etc.	

INDEX TO VOLUME II

A

ABBOTT, JUSTIN E., *Discovery of the original Devanāgarī Text of the Christian Purāṇa of Thomas Stevens*, 679.
'ABD AL-RAZIQ, Shaykh M. H., *Arabic Literature since the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century*, 249.
Abyssinia, *see* Ethiopia.
Adi Purāṇ, 679.
Ahsan ma sami'tu, 75.
Al-Farid, Khamriyyah of, with translation by A. Sefi, 235.
Al-Mansūr, caliph, 618.
Al-Tha'alibi, 75.
Alh-Khand, Episode from the, 573.
Almeida, Manoel de, 514, 520–3, 783.
Amharic, 763.
Andro, 39.
Arabic, foreign words in, 250–2; geographical and historical works, 264–5; influence on Persian language and literature, 220; journalism, 257; Kurdish works written in, 506–7; linguistic works, 262–4; modern literature, 249; manuscripts preserved in Cairo, 834; medical and mathematical works translated from the French, 253–4; poetry, 258–61; pronunciation of, in Syria, 567; text and translation of Khamriyyah, 235; translations from ancient and modern Aryan literatures, 255; translations from inscriptions on Indian Standards, 549, note on, 833; transliteration of, 173.
Arabs, Embassy to China, 469; in Central Asia, 467, 613.
Armenians, sect in Kurdistan, 197, 500.
Aryan literature, Arabic translations from, 255.
Asoka's Inscriptions, 481.
Assamese, phonetic transcription of, 183.
Auromani, a dialect spoken by Kurds, 505.
Aurousseau, Léonard, 486.

B

Babism in Kurdistan, 198–9.
BAILEY, T. GRAHAME, *The Pronunciation of Urdu and Hindi*, 539; *Two Indian Standards of the Eighteenth Century*, 549.
Baldaeus, work of, 732 seq.
Baltezar, John, 786.
Barros' *Da Asia*, 163.
BARTON, JUXON, *Turkana Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary*, 43.
Beccari, Father, S.J., 515, 522, 783.
Bengali Phonetics, 1–25, 178–83.
Benin and Prester John, 163.
Bhāsa, dramas of, 480.
Brown, John P., The Dervishes, 341–2.

C

Cairo, Arabic MSS. preserved in, 834.
Caland, W., 733, 736.
Canarese, phonetic transcription of, 192.
Cantonese, Gramophone records in, 263.
Central Asia, Arabs in, 467, 613; Chinese in, 468.
Chairel, 39.
Ch'ang Hēn Ko, 343.
CHARPENTIER, JARL, *Preliminary Report on the "Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais"*, 731.
CHATTERJI, S. K., *Bengali Phonetics*, 1; *Phonetic transcriptions from Indian Languages*, 177.
Chelebi, Girijihli or Kirichelebi, queries as to meaning of, 163; Chelebi Husām-ud-Dīn, 163.
China, Arab Embassy to, 469.
Chinese in Central Asia, 468.
Christian Purāna of Thomas Stevens, 679.
Cilicia, Kurdish tribes in, 497.
Cœdès, George, 486.

D

Davids, T. W. Rhys, Obituary, 838.
Dervishes, The, by John P. Brown, queries as to terms, etc., 341–2.
Deva Puran, 679.
DOKE, CLEMENT M., *Dissertation on the Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, 685.
DRIVER, G. R., *The Religion of the Kurds*, 197; *Studies in Kurdish History*, 491.

E

Earth Pyramids in Western and Central Sudan, 225.
Eliot, Sir Charles, on Turkana, 43, 47.
Elliott, Sir Charles, on Alh-Khand ballads, 573.
Ethiopia, Almeida's History of, 783.
Ethiopic, 523, 763, 783.

F

Farghāna, Tibetan attack on, 472.
Fasilidas, 521, 788.
Fenicio, Father, S.J., 741–54.

Firdausī, 220.
Fu-Hsi, Leibniz and, 165.

G

GIBB, H. A. R., *Arab Invasion of Kashgar in* A.D. 715, 467; *Chinese Records of the Arabs in Central Asia*, 613.
GILES, LIONEL, *Two Parallel Anecdotes in Greek and Chinese*, 609.
Girijilibi, see Chelebi.
Goa, 515, 517–22, 680–3.
GOVER, M. B., *An "Abyssinian" Vocabulary of the Seventeenth Century*, 763.
Gramophone records in Mandarin and Cantonese, 263.
Greek, Two Parallel Anecdotes in Greek and Chinese, 609.
GRIERSON, Sir GEORGE, 482, 483; *Kadu and its Relatives*, 39; *The Lay of Brahma's Marriage: an Episode of the Ālh-Khand*, 573.
Gujaratı, phonetic transcription of, 189, 190.
Gupta Inscriptions, 481.
Gūrānī, dialect spoken by the Kurds, 505.

H

Hausa, origin of the language, 229.
Haydar 'Alī, 549, 550.
Hindi, transliteration of, 173.
Hindostanı, phonetic transcription of, 186–7.
Historia de Ethiopia a alta, 514.
Hosten, Father H., S.J., Marsden MSS., 736.

I

Ildephonsus, 731.
India, Archæological Survey of, 477; Ballad poetry of, 574; Linguistic Survey of, 482; Museums of, 482; Muslim domination in, 575; Proposed Research Institute in, 475–90; Research Societies in, 476–7.
Indian Languages, phonetic transcriptions, 177.
Indian Standards of the Eighteenth Century, 549, 833.
Inscriptions. Arabic, on Indian Standards, 549, 833; of Asoka, 481; Gupta, 481; South Indian, 480.
Iranian languages, table of, 494.
Islam, in Persia, 216, 223; Kurdish attitude towards, 197–8; Literature of, 250.

J

Jacobites, sect in Kurdistan, 197.
JOHNSON, FREDERICK, *Notes on Kimakonde*, 417

K

Kārnāmak-ı Artakhshatr-ı Pāpakān, 219.
Kaurālaka, identification of, 569–70.
Kēdah, 27.
Kēlantan, 27.
Kimakonde, 417.
Kirıchelebi, see Chelebi.
Kurds, attitude towards Islam and Judaism, 197–8; Cilician Kurds, 497; dialects spoken by, 505; languages spoken by, 493, 505; literature, 505; nomadic habits of, 500; origin and character of, 491; religions, 509–11; Babism, 198; Christian sects, 197.
Kurmānji, a patois of Persian, 493.
Kwanamı and Seami, dates of, 167.

L

Leibnız and Fu-Hsi, 165.
Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais, 731.
LLOYD, R. J., *Phonology of the Malay and Negrito Dialects spoken in the Malay States of Lower Siam*, 27.
Lokuto language, 267.
Lord, Henry, work on Hinduism, 740.
Lūı languages, 39.
Lyall, Sir Charles, Obituary, 173.

M

Magahi, phonetic transcription of, 184–5.
Maithili, phonetic transcription of, 185–6.
Makua, affinity with Kimakonde, 417.
Malay, 27.
Malayalam, phonetic transcription of, 193–4.
Malik Ṭā'ūs, 201, 209, 211, 509.
Mandarin, text and transliteration of gramophone records in, 263.
Marathi, phonetic transcription of, 190–1; manuscripts in Marsden Collection, 679.
Marsden, William, 513; Manuscripts, 513, 679, 736.
Masai, affinity with Lokuto, 268.
Mas'ūdı, 491–2, 495, 498.
Mawarı, phonetic transcription of, 187–8.
Mendez, Affonzo, 521, 788.
Miguel, Gaspar de, 682–3.
Monserrate, Antonio de, 788.
Music, Malay chants, 30–4

N

Negrito dialects of the Malay Peninsula, phonology of, 38.
Nestorians in Kurdistan, 197.
Nō Plays, supplementary notes on, by Arthur Waley, 167.

O

Obituary, Sir Charles Lyall, 173; T. W. Rhys Davids, 838.
Ogané, title of, 164–5.
Oriya, Phonetic transcription of, 184.

P

Pacunar, Tamil poet, 739.
Paez, Pietro, 521, 786–7
Pahlavi, Draxt i Asurīk, 637; index of words, 670, 673; translation of texts, 637–40.
Palmer, H. R., *Hausa Legend and Earth Pyramids in the Western and Central Sudan*, 226.
Pangan, Negrito tribe, 27; vowel and consonant systems, 38.
Panjabi (Western), phonetic transcription of, 188.
Patani, 27.
Paulinus a S. Bartholomæo, 731.
Persian language, formation of modern Persian from Pahlavi, 215; index of Middle Persian words, 667; Middle Persian, 215; Parsi, 215, 217; transliteration of, 173.
— literature, Arabic influence on, 220; beginning and progress of, 215; early poetry, 836–8; Firdausī's Shāhnāma, 220; Kārnāmak-i Artakhshatr-i Pāpakān, 219; Rūdagī, 218, 220; Vāmiq and Azrā, 218.
Phonetics, Bengali, 1–25, 178–83; Sindhi, 835; Zulu, 685.
Po Chu-i, Ch'ang Hēn Ko, Comments by Arthur Waley, 343.
Prester John and Benin, 163.
Prithīrāj, famous Chauhān prince of Delhi, 574–5.

Q

Qur'ān, translations of, 119.
Qutayba ibn Muslim, Arab general, 467, 615.

R

Raglan, Lord, *The Lokuto Language*, 267.
Rājputānā, ancient customs in, 576.
Rescher, O., 73, 75, 76.
Reviews of Books, 125–61, 321–39, 555–64, 805–29.
Ricci and Tung Ch'i-Ch'ang, by Arthur Waley, 342.
Rivière, E. M., reference to Father Fenicio, 741.
Roger, Abraham, work on Hinduism, 740.
Rose, H. A. R., Work in the Punjab, 484.
Ross, Sir E. Denison, *Almeida's "History of Ethiopia": Recovery of the Preliminary Matter*, 783; *Ludovico Mariacci*, 117; *The MSS. Collected by William Marsden, with special reference to two copies of Almeida's "History of Ethiopia"*, 513; Marsden Collection, 736; Marsden MSS., 679.
Rūdagī, 218, 220.

S

Saldanha, Antonio de, 681–3.
Sale, George, translation of Qur'ān, 117
Samarqand, 467, 621.
Sārada inscriptions, 480.
Schurhammer, Father G., S.J., 741.
Seami, *see* Kwanami.
Sefi, A., *Khamriyyah (The Wine Song) of Shaykh 'Umar ibn Al-Fārid* (with translation), 235.
Sēmang, Negrito tribe, 27; vowel and consonant systems, 38.
Sengmai, *see* Lūi languages.
Shāhnāma, 220.
Simla, Conference of Orientalists at, 483.
Sindhi, implosives in, 835–6; phonetic transcription of, 189.
Sinhalese, phonetic transcription of, 194–5.
Skeat, W. W., 27.
Stevens, Thomas, 679 seq.
Storey, C. A., *On the Interpretation of some passages in Al-Tha'alibi's "Ahsan ma sami'tu"*, 75.
Sudan, Earth pyramids in the, 226.
Susinios, King, 521.
Suto, clicks in, 713.
Syria, pronunciation of Arabic in, 567.

T

Tagore, Rabindranath, 21–5.
Tamil, phonetic transcription of, 192–3.
Tānkarī inscriptions, 480.
Telugu, phonetic transcription of, 191.
Tellez, Balthezar, 514, 521.
Temple, Sir Richard, 484.
Tibetans, attack on Farghāna, 472, 614.
Tipū Sāhib, 549, 550.
Transcriptions of texts in dialects of the North of the Malay Peninsula, 27; of Pahlavi, 670, 673.
Transliteration of Arabic, Persian, and Hindi, 173.
Transoxiana, *see* Central Asia.
Turkana, 43.

U

Unvala, J. M., *Draxt-i-Asurīk*, 637.
Urdu, 539.

V

Vāmiq and Azrā, 218.
Venkayya, South Indian Inscriptions, 480.
Vocabularies, "Abyssinian," 763; Kimakonde, 438; Lokuto, 277; Turkana, 54.
Vogel, J. Ph., *A British School of Indian Studies*, 475.

W

Waley, Arthur, Note on Leibniz and Fu-Hsi, 165; Po Chu-i's "Ch'ang Hēn Ko", 343; Ricci and Tung Ch'i-Ch'ang, 342; Two Notes on Nō plays, 167.
Waterfield, W., translation of Alh-Khand, 573–4.
Werner, Alice, Professor, *Utendi Wa Ayubu*, 85, 297, 347.
Wilson, C. E., *The Formation of Modern Persian*, 215.
Winstedt, E. O., Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, 568.

X, Y, Z

Xavier, Francis, 517, 518.
Yao, affinity with Kimakonde, 417.
Yazidi Kurds, sect of, 199–213, 509–11.
Zachariae, review of some works of Professor Caland, 733, 736.
Zaghawa, 228–31.
Zamakhshari, 117.
Zaza, a dialect spoken by the Kurds, 505–6.
Zoroastrianism, 216, 217, 222, 223.
Zulu language, phonetics of the, 685.

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY New Delhi

73

Central Archaeological Library,
NEW DELHI.

Call No. A342:-25161

Author—

Title— Bull. School of Oriental Studies London Institution Vol. 2, 1921-23.

Borrower No.	Date of Issue	Date of Return
Sh. B. S Kesvan	14/6/67	15-1-68

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book clean and moving.

S. 148. N. DELHI.